

**THE *HISTORIA COMPOSTELLANA*, ITS AUTHORS, AND THEIR TIMES (1088-
1148): AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY**

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Abstract

This thesis provides an historiographical study of the *Historia Compostellana*, a twelfth-century serial record from the Galician city of Santiago de Compostela, in the northwest corner of Iberia. Produced in three stages between 1108 and 1148, and covering the years 1088-1139, the *Historia Compostellana* was a contemporaneously written history of the life and achievements of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez, produced by his partisans in the city's cathedral scriptorium. By approaching this text as a piece of historical writing, this thesis provides a new, literary understanding of the *Historia Compostellana*, detailing its complex production history, its three differing authorial conceptions, and its overall unity as a final product. Compiled in a place and time experiencing rapid social and political change, the *Historia Compostellana* offers a window onto the many transformative processes of the age, touching on issues such as Church reform, inter-episcopal rivalry, Galician politics and society, and a Leonese-Castilian succession crisis. As a dynamically compiled serial record it also embodies this era of change, retaining within it some of the innovative ways in which twelfth-century compilers sought to refashion the past to serve their institutional ends. In order to foreground these changing contexts, the thesis is structured with respect to the work's authorship and its three production phases (or *registra*), with Chapters One, Three, and Four concerning the conceptions of the *Historia Compostellana* (those of Munio Alfonso, Gerald, and Pedro Marcio) and Chapter Two examining Hugh's *furta sacra*, a noteworthy narrative integrated into Munio Alfonso's work. This thesis makes use of a narratological analysis and an examination of various literary features, namely authorial intention, genre, intended audience, and social, historical, and political contexts. By insisting on this culturally situated, socio-political reading, one that broadly avoids modern categorisations, the thesis provides a basis for understanding the *Historia Compostellana* that is closer to the authors' own, while also giving an insight into the thoughtworlds they operated within. It argues that the final *Historia Compostellana*, that which

one encounters today, is a largely incoherent text, whose differing styles, approaches, and perspectives reflect an unstable production history and a work subject to divergent institutional priorities, authors, and historical contexts. Ultimately, it provides scholars a tool with which they can understand the intrinsic subjectivity of the *Historia Compostellana* and offers a template for others wishing to conduct similar studies of medieval serial records.

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Notes on Language Used

My approach to the rendering of names aims above all at maximising clarity and comprehension with a few concessions being made to tradition and practicality. Regarding given names of historical figures, I avoid the Latin and prefer modern vernacular replacements. Generally speaking, I use the equivalents currently used in the modern-day states that correspond to their places of their birth, with the king of León-Castile being rendered as Alfonso, the first king of Portugal Afonso, and the French author of the HC being named Bernard. There are some exceptions to this with Hugh for example (another of the HC's contributors) receiving an English name rather than a French name. This is because the French equivalent (Hugues) has never previously been associated with the individual and because of the two names used by scholars (Hugo and Hugh) the second emphasises his foreignness, which I believe is a significant part of his story. This is an imperfect solution. As I discuss below, I have throughout the writing of this thesis sought to avoid statements and positions which imply that national states (along with their naming conventions) inevitably and teleologically arose from the twelfth-century constellation of royal, ducal, and comital territories that preceded them, and I am aware that using names in this way goes some way to contradict that. It is my opinion however that the alternatives, of rendering them all in modern English or Spanish equivalents is worse, in that it leads either to uncanny distortions (such as Jake/Jacob for Diego or Alphonse for Alfonso) or flattens out regional identities that are important to the analysis. Regarding the names of places, English names are used as standard as are other contemporary vernacular names where English ones do not exist. Finally, with respect to primary sources, Latin names will mostly be deployed. This is because they are generally the most widely used and so the most commonly recognisable.¹

¹ The Latin *Historia Compostellana* is for example, considerably more widespread than its English equivalent *The History of Compostela*.

When referring to regional peoples, territories, or institutions I also try to be specific, referring to Galicia and Aragón rather than north-western or north-eastern Spain. This is mainly to be more precise, but it is also motivated by the fact that the word Spain itself is somewhat anachronistic when speaking of the twelfth century when no such political or institutional unity existed on the peninsula. An idea of *Hispania* did exist, owing its origins to the Roman provinces of the same name and the memory of its successors. However, as its precise meaning through the Middle Ages was unstable, the geographical term ‘Iberia’ is preferred as it can be deployed relatively neutrally when describing the peninsula in any age.²

² See: Carlos de Ayala Martínez, ‘Realidad y Percepción de Hispania En La Edad Media’, *Journal of Iberian Studies* 37 (2017): 206–31.

Abbreviations

CA	<i>Concordat Antealtares</i> – López Ferreiro, Antonio. <i>Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela IV</i> . Santiago de Compostela, Seminario Conciliar Central: 1900. Appendix 1.
CE	<i>El Cronicón Iriense: Estudio Preliminar, Edición Crítica y notas Históricas</i> . Edited by M.R. García Álvarez. Madrid, Editorial Maestre: 1963.
CAI	<i>Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris: Chronica Hispana saeculi XII: Pars I, CCCM 71</i> , edited by Antonio Maya Sánchez, 149-248. Turnhout, Brepols: 1990.
ELg	Díaz y Díaz, Manuel Cecilio. <i>Escritos Jacobeos</i> . Santiago de Compostela, Consorcio de Santiago: 2010. 124-126.
ELI	Díaz y Díaz, Manuel Cecilio. <i>Escritos Jacobeos</i> . Santiago de Compostela, Consorcio de Santiago: 2010. 123.
HC	HC – <i>Historia Compostellana</i> . Edited by Emma Falque. Turnhout, Brepols: 1988.
HT	<i>Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin: Book IV of the Liber Sancti Jacobi (Codex Calixtinus)</i> . Edited and Translated by Kevein Poole. New York, Italica: 2014.
LSJ	<i>Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus</i> . Edited by laus. Herbers and Manuel Santos Noya. Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia: 1998.
<i>Tumbo A</i>	<i>La Documentación del Tumbo A de la Catedral de Santiago: Estudio y edición</i> . Edited by Manuel Lucas Álvarez. León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro: 1998.
<i>Tumbo C</i>	<i>La Colección Diplomática de Tumbo C, Estudio y Edición</i> , ed. Manuel Lucas Álvarez (León, 1997).
<i>Vita Karoli Magni</i>	Einhard, <i>Vita Karoli Magni: The Life of Charlemagne</i> . Edited by George Jeffery. Miami, University of Miami Press: 1972.

Introduction

When Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo wrote his *Chronicon Regum Legionensium* in the later 1120s, he did so with the interests of his Asturian see at heart, hoping, through writing a highly-partisan history, to make its stifled voice heard amidst a crowd of increasingly bold and noisy bishoprics, all of which were vying for royal attention.¹ Oviedo had been in relative decline since the early tenth century when the locus of royal power had shifted south from Asturias to León, taking with it the prestige and patronage that such a relationship conferred.² In more recent times Pelayo, despite being a stalwart of Queen Urraca (r.1109-1126), had been ungraciously side-lined by her son Alfonso VII from 1126, a fact that diminished the bishop's influence at court and deprived Oviedo of the royal patronage it sorely needed.³ This bad luck on the royal front was compounded by rapidly shifting geopolitics in which the see of Oviedo was losing ground to the ascendent sees of Toledo, Braga, and Santiago de Compostela, all of which were (to varying degrees) benefitting materially from Rome's new-found interest in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴ Pelayo saw the danger present in the situation and moved to arrest Oviedo's decline.

Lacking the connections and resources of his peninsular colleagues, Pelayo turned to literature, deciding to push his case by commissioning what is now known as the *Corpus Pelagianum* (of which the *Chronicon Regum Legionensium* is a part), a large assemblage of texts relating to

¹ The *Chronicon Regum Legionensium* was ostensibly written by Pelayo, but it easily could have been the work of one of his subordinates. The history itself is an Oviedo-centric work spanning the reigns of Vermudo II (r.c.982-999) to Alfonso VI (r.1065-1109) Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, *The World of El Cid, Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2000), 65, 71.

² Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 128.

³ Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid, Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, 67.

⁴ For an excellent (if somewhat elderly) overview of this process, see: Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1978), 181–220.

the history of Oviedo, its church, and its place within the kingdom.⁵ Determined to seize the initiative for his see, he produced this holistic *Corpus* with a liberal disregard for what came before, borrowing and eliding old history while falsifying some new, all with the aim of crafting a past that better suited his beleaguered see's prospects, one that cast the city as a place of substance with a claim to royal and ecclesiastical pre-eminence.⁶ In compiling his *Corpus* he employed different genres to address Oviedo's different needs: forging charters to protect its legal status; interpolating miracles into older works to enhance its cultic cache; and rewriting history to settle old scores.⁷ The result was a sort of literary weapon, created to contest aggressively Oviedo's case while also defending its ancient rights at a time of great disruption. Such was the brazenness with which Pelayo sought to reshape the past that he has since been described as '*el Fabulador*' and the 'prince of falsifiers'.⁸ He was not, however, the only writer of his time to work in this way. While Pelayo of Oviedo's literary output does stand out for its unsophisticated style and for the audacity of its claims, it does not for its methods used.⁹ His active reworking of the past through the creation of a dynamically edited, multifaced compendium of history and legal documentation was not an isolated incident nor an historiographical outlier in the twelfth century. Rather, and as shall be seen a little below, it was an especially unsubtle example of an approach that had become widespread at the time.¹⁰ For modern-day historians, interest in such works lie not just in their – often unoriginal – contents, but in the choices made during compilation, the methods with which they reshaped the historical writings they drew upon, and the authorial and institutional imperatives that lay

⁵ For a study of its contents, see: Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, *El Libro de Los Testamentos de La Catedral de Oviedo* (Rome: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1971).

⁶ Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid, Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, 71.

⁷ Barton and Fletcher, 65.

⁸ Peter Linehan, 'Religion, Nationalism, and National Identity in Medieval Spain and Portugal', in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. Stuart Mews, Studies in Church History 18 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 162.

⁹ Compared with its contemporary Iberian histories it employed a rather workmanlike Latin prose, Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid, Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, 71.

¹⁰ For a brief discussion of the tendency in Iberia, see: Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 177–79.

behind this active reshaping.¹¹ They offer a glimpse into the ‘thoughtworlds’ of medieval historiographers while also revealing something about the socio-political pressures that brought them into being.¹²

Another such example of this type of work (and likely its formal inspiration) was the *Historia Compostellana* (henceforth, the HC), a richer and more nuanced history produced near-contemporaneously with the *Chronicon Regum Legionensium*, roughly three-hundred kilometres to its southwest in the cathedral scriptorium of Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, in the far northwest of the peninsula. It is with the HC that the present thesis shall engage.

Like Pelayo’s *Corpus*, the HC is a composite document, comprising narrative texts and legal documents, each produced with a particular institutional need in mind. As such it is, again like the *Corpus*, not just a source of traditional history (informing posterity of what happened, when, where, and involving whom) but also a deliberately compiled text which, approached correctly, offers the historian access to the thought-world of those who created it. However, and despite the considerable advances of the last forty years, the HC has not been thoroughly interrogated in this way.¹³ Nor have its underlying perspectives and motivations been fully examined. The present thesis seeks to conduct precisely this sort of investigation.

The central objectives of the thesis are: to advance understanding of the HC as a piece of history and literature, to further elucidate the rationales behind each of its conceptions, to gain an understanding of the development of the text through its production phases and its coherence

¹¹ See discussion below, 12-15.

¹² Thought-world being a derivation of the German *Gedankenwelt*, which means a ‘combination of mental attitudes, beliefs, presuppositions, and concepts about the world and characteristics of any particular people, time, place, etc.’, Oxford English Dictionary, ‘Thought-World’, Lexico, accessed 16 February 2022, <https://www.lexico.com/definition/thought-world>.

¹³ See below for the discussion on the HC’s research context: 21-25.

as a whole, and to and uncover the socio-politics of the Compostelan see between 1108-1148, the world in which the HC was created.¹⁴ It shall also evaluate the extent to which the HC (in its present form) works as a coherent whole. This thesis argues that the HC, while presented as a single literary unit made up of three books, is best understood as an evolving text whose overall coherence is undermined by a series of shifting literary visions, each corresponding (and responding) to a changing outside world. The conclusions are reached through a narratological analysis and discussions of the HC's constituent parts with respect to ideas such as authorial intention, genre, and dynamic compilation. Indeed, given the HC's considerable length, richness of description, unusual focus, contemporaneous production (with the events it narrates), and presence of legendary and ideological detail, there is good cause for such a literary approach to be used. Moreover, the advances in our knowledge of the text, enabled by the excellent scholarship of the last few decades, have provided the fundamentals for such an approach to be attempted.

Before proceeding to the thesis proper, it is necessary to outline some of those advances, as well as some of the core concepts and scholarly debates that pertain to them. In order to achieve this, the following introduction provides an overview of the broad research context that relates to this study, looking particularly at changing approaches to and understandings of medieval history and historiography, before moving on to discuss the narratological methodology and the authorial focus the thesis maintains. Then, it introduces the authors of the HC, the HC itself (including its theories of production), the research context of the HC in particular, a discussion of the language used, and finally an outline of the thesis.

¹⁴ The 1088-1148 range mentioned in the thesis title includes both the span of the HC's storyworld (from the 1088 Council of Husillos to Diego Gelmírez's 1139 invitation to the Second Lateran Council) and the dates of its production contexts (from about 1110 to 1148). It does not include the storyworld of the first two chapters which provide a background history, covering the years from Jesus's ministry to 1088.

Approaches to Medieval History: Medieval Iberia and the Twelfth Century as a Time of Change

For much of its history, Spanish medievalism has been dominated by the *Reconquista*, an idea that posits the Iberian Middle Ages as being an eight-hundred-year struggle between the Christian kingdoms of northern Iberia and the Islamic states of southern Iberia. This understanding of history conceives of the Muslim rule of much of the peninsula (to various degrees between 711-1492) as being an historic aberration and tends to portray the Christian ‘reconquests’ as the fulfilment of a manifest destiny.¹⁵ According to Martín Ríos Saloma, this seam of historiography was developed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries with the general aim of asserting the Spanish monarchy’s antiquity, while connecting contemporary Spanish institutions and ideas with the peninsula’s deep Christian past.¹⁶ The concept was carried into the early twentieth century where, upon being appropriated by the Catholic-nationalist Franco regime, it was promoted and preserved within a restricted intellectual climate.¹⁷ So dominant was this ‘intellectual autarchy’ that even historians not associated with the regime (such as Ramón Menéndez Pidal) and those vehemently opposed to it (Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz) tended to maintain the *Reconquista* narrative and the wider essentialist ideas that supported it.¹⁸ It was in the works of Menéndez Pidal that such Castile-centric,

¹⁵ For a discussion of the historical usage of the *Reconquista* motif, see: Tiago Queimada e Silva, ‘The Reconquista Revisited: Mobilising Medieval History in Spain, Portugal and Beyond’, in *The Crusades in the Modern World: Engaging the Crusades*, ed. Mike Horswell and Akil N Awan, vol. II (New York: Routledge, 2019), 57–58.

¹⁶ Martín Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista: Una Construcción Historiográfica (Siglos XVI-XIX)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Ediciones de Historia, 2011).

¹⁷ Queimada e Silva, ‘The Reconquista Revisited: Mobilising Medieval History in Spain, Portugal and Beyond’, 58; Jaume Aurell, ‘Current Trends in Spanish Medieval Studies’, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105, no. 1 (2006): 64.

¹⁸ Essentialist history being that which discerns and lists the essential characteristics of a nation or culture with a view to understanding it. Major works of Menéndez Pidal include: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Crónicas Generales de España* (Madrid: Real Biblioteca, 1898); Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mío Cid: Texto, Gramática y Vocabulario* (Barcelona: Bailly-Baillière é hijos, 1908). For a more recent reassessment of his work, see: Conde Juan-Carlos, ed., *Ramón Menéndez Pidal after Forty Years: A Reassessment. Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Institute 67 and Publications of the Magdalen Iberian Medieval Studies Seminar* (London: La Corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures, 2010). The arguably most significant of Sánchez-Albornoz’s works is: Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, Un Enigma Histórico*, vol. I–II (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1956).

determinist understandings of Spanish history received their fullest articulations.¹⁹ An exception to this trend (although still an essentialist himself) was Américo Castro who, in his ground-breaking 1948 book *España en su historia*, argued that contemporary Spanish culture was a hybrid of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim roots and a product of *Convivencia*, a term denoting the apparent tolerance and cultural dynamism of medieval Iberian societies.²⁰ From the mid-1970s onwards, following Franco's death and the transition to democracy, Spanish medievalism experienced a diversification of historiographical styles producing (in part due to exposure to and collaboration with extra-peninsular intellectual traditions) scholarship which used approaches from Marxist and *Annales* schools of history.²¹ Such histories focused more on the economic 'feudal' developments of the Iberian Middle Ages (and contra the essentialist tendency, its connections with the rest of Europe) and the ways in which the people of medieval Iberia understood and interacted with their world.²² Meanwhile, traditionalist history of the Pidal and Sánchez-Albornoz bent was maintained by the Madrid school, perhaps best represented by the work of Pidal's grandson Diego Catálan.²³ The same period also produced reams of English-language publications on Iberian Medievalism, including Derek Lomax's *The Reconquest of Spain*, a title which acknowledged the *Reconquista* as an interpretive concept rather than the central fact of Iberian medieval history.²⁴ Especially important for this thesis are Bernard Reilly's three monographs on the Kingdom of León-Castile during the reigns of

¹⁹ Ksenia Bonch Reeves, *Visions of Unity after the Visigoths: Early Iberian Latin Chronicles and the Mediterranean World* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 27.

²⁰ Sánchez-Albornoz's *España: un enigma histórico* was in part a response to Castro's study, Américo Castro, *España En Su Historia; Cristianos, Moros y Judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948).

²¹ Aurell, 'Current Trends in Spanish Medieval Studies', 67–68.

²² For an influential example of Spanish Marxist medievalism, see: Abilio Barbero and Vigil Pascual Marcelo, *La Formación Del Feudalismo En La Península Ibérica* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1978), ; For an overview of the early impact of the *Annales* school on Spanish Medievalism see: Carlos Barros Guimerans, 'La Contribución de Los Terceros Annales y La Historia de Las Mentalidades. 1969-1989', *Iztapalapa* 36 (June 1995): 73–102.

²³ For an overview of the man's life and works, see: Pascual Jose Antonio, 'Diego Catalán, Filólogo y Hombre de Bien', News, El País, 12 April 2008, https://elpais.com/diario/2008/04/13/necrologicas/1208037601_850215.html.

²⁴ Derek W Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longman, 1978).

Alfonso VI, Urraca, and Alfonso VII; these works are the best general histories of these reigns and are among the most significant Anglophone contribution to scholarship on the period.²⁵ At the same time, histories with a more regional focus were being produced emphasising the particularities of Galician, Basque, and Catalan stories, a phenomenon which in turn affected the way general Spanish histories were formulated.²⁶ In more recent years, Spanish medievalism has, like professional history more generally, come to focus on issues of culture, structures of power, and the uses of historiography as a political instrument.²⁷ It is within the latter group that my work fits, in that I conduct an historiographical, socio-political reading of the text. Furthermore, and considering that the HC is from what was Galicia's premier city and during a period of outward-looking efflorescence, the thesis also has implications for Galician and broader Iberian history.

The present thesis, while focussing primarily on the HC and its socio-political context, necessarily touches other areas of Spanish medievalism. In doing this, and because the concern of my work is an understanding of the text comprehensible to its authors and their times, I try to avoid the usage of any grand historical theories or terms that would have been meaningless to the practitioners of twelfth-century historiography such as *Reconquista* or feudalism. Consequently, whenever I do make generalisations that I feel help illuminate the contents of the HC and its wider significance, I try (where possible) to do so on twelfth-century terms without slipping into anachronism.

²⁵ Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109* (Guilford, 1988); Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126* (Guilford: Princeton University Press, 1982); Bernard Reilly, 'The Court Bishops of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla, 1147-1157', *Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies* XXXVI (1974): 67-78.

²⁶ The general works of Bernard Reilly (and later Peter Linehan) being a case in point: Bernard Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spains, 1031-1157* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Bernard Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Peter Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).

²⁷ Aurell, 'Current Trends in Spanish Medieval Studies', 77.

The idea of the twelfth century as a time of change originates with the American historian Charles Henry Haskins who identified in his 1927 *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* a convergence of cultural, organisational, and intellectual changes occurring between 1050-1250 (a period he termed the ‘long twelfth century’), processes which he argued collectively constituted a first European renaissance, one several centuries prior to that of the fifteenth.²⁸ While almost a century old, Haskins’s work remains influential and is still read by undergraduates today.²⁹ Building directly on Haskins’s work, Joseph R. Strayer composed the 1970 study *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* in which he developed aspects of Haskins’s analysis, focussing especially on governmental institutions and specialist bureaucracies between 1000-1300.³⁰ One major criticism of twelfth-century ‘renaissance’ scholarship to that point was its neglect of the role of the Church. This issue was addressed in the works of Robert Benson, Giles Constable, and Brenda Bolton (to name a few) in the early 1980s; their scholarship shifted focus to the organisational, political, and (crucially) spiritual changes that occurred in the Church between the later eleventh and twelfth centuries.³¹ Constable made an especially large impact with his 1997 monograph *Reformation of the Twelfth Century* which, much as Haskins had done earlier with the word ‘renaissance’, appropriated the word ‘reformation’ so as to emphasise the significance of the twelfth century’s

²⁸ Among the changes and phenomena of the period, Haskins notes: the crusades, the development of a complex governmental bureaucracy, Romanesque (and later Gothic) art and architecture, the emergence of vernacular literatures, more rigorously applied justice, philosophy, and considerable improvements in education, Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (London: Harvard University Press, 1927).

²⁹ Phillipa Byrne, ‘How Long- and How Great- Was the Twelfth Century?’, Torch, 26 February 2016, <https://www.torch.ox.ac.uk/article/how-long-and-how-great-was-the-twelfth-century>.

³⁰ Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1970).

³¹ Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (London: Harvard University Press, 1982); Brenda Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation* (London: Hodder Arnold, 1983).

religious transformations.³² These Church-centred histories were complemented by the 1993 translation of Gerd Tellenbach's *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, the culmination of a fifty-year-long career. With this translation, Anglophone scholarship was introduced to Tellenbach's argument that the developments of the high medieval Church (emphatically with a capital C) could not be disentangled meaningfully from the changes of the secular world and so should be studied together.³³ In diversifying the nature of that religious focus, R.I. Moore's corpus is also significant in that it stressed some of the more negative aspects of the period's cultural and political changes, arguing specifically that they led to the formation of a persecuting society, one less tolerant of Jews, Muslims, and heterodox Christians living within the European *societas Christiana*.³⁴ Developing this more pessimistic view of the long twelfth century (however its parameters might be defined) were T.N. Bisson and John Cotts who, while also detailing some of the more painful adaptations of the age, sought to eschew the undue focus on the traditional 'core' of European kingdoms and microstates (namely those corresponding to England, France, Germany, and northern Italy) by looking more at the transformations' effects on peripheral territories, namely those in Iberia, eastern Europe, southern Italy, and the Middle East.³⁵ In this latter regard, Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe* remains influential, asserting that it was on the continent's periphery where the changes of the twelfth century were most apparent.³⁶ My thesis, which concerns a text from

³² Which are identified as a series of institutional, spiritual, and moral reforms that change the way the clergy relate to the laity, Giles Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³³ Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

³⁴ Robert Ian Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Robert Ian Moore, *The First European Revolution: 970-1215* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).

³⁵ Thomas Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2009); John D. Cotts, *Europe's Long Twelfth Century: Order, Anxiety, and Adaptation, 1095-1229* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

³⁶ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London: Penguin, 1993).

medieval Galicia, itself a traditionally ‘peripheral’ part of Latin Christendom, contributes to this broadening of the geographical focus of scholarship on twelfth-century transformations.

Related to scholarship on the twelfth century as a time of change, are the debates on the precise meaning and parameters of what has traditionally been termed ‘Gregorian Reform.’ First coined by Augustin Fliche in 1924, ‘Gregorian Reform’ was originally conceived as a political and religious struggle of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (named after its most vigorous proponent Pope Gregory VII) aimed at purifying the political structures and moral authority of the church and its clergy.³⁷ In the many years since, Fliche’s concept has been revised considerably, with more recent historians asserting its didactic, parochial, and cultural aspects, leading many to conclude that the phenomenon was more of a bottom-up, localised movement than a wholly top-down, centrally-directed one.³⁸ This emphasis on the constituent micro-reforms underlying the ‘Gregorian Reform’ proper has somewhat destabilised the term, leading some to question its continued relevance as a category.³⁹ Collin Morris made one such criticism, noting the fact that the reform ideals of Gregory VII (who concerned himself primarily with limiting lay interference in Church matters and in making papal power felt in distant episcopates) did not envisage many of the later initiatives (such as Urban II’s push for the First Crusade and the more aggressive spiritual reforms of post Concordat of Worms papacy) that modern historians would place under the ‘Gregorian’ umbrella.⁴⁰ In this way, the term ‘Gregorian Reform’ implies an historical unity of purpose among reformers across the whole late-eleventh-to-early-twelfth centuries that was not there, flattening out the changing social,

³⁷ Augustin Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne*, vol. I–III (Paris: Louvain, 1924).

³⁸ For an excellent overview of the historiography on ‘Gregorian Reform’, see: Jehangir Yezdi Malegam, ‘Pro-Papacy Polemic and the Purity of the Church: The Gregorian Reform’, in *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy: Growth of an Ideology and Institution*, ed. Keith Sisson and Atria A. Larson (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 38–45.

³⁹ Malegam, 44.

⁴⁰ Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 3–4.

cultural, and political vicissitudes that drove the reforms at different times, and underplaying the roles of individuals who helped articulate and promote reform during its many stages and iterations. It is perhaps better then not to speak of one single project of reform, initiated by Gregory and implemented by his successors, but instead of a series of related reforms conceived and fought for during an age of reforming vigour. As witness to Compostela's most vigorous period of reform, the HC has much to say about how said reform could be locally articulated, as well as how increased contact with the papacy could affect a previously marginal see's relationship with the wider Church.

Approaches to Medieval Historiography: Archival Practice and Memory

After over a century of history dominated by Leopold von Ranke and his positivist school, the practice of history began to change in the 1970s when more literary methodologies infiltrated the mainstream of professional history.⁴¹ In medievalism, this led to a revaluation of certain medieval texts that prior historians had regarded as irredeemably corrupted by religious and ideological imperatives.⁴² Newer historians increasingly came to view such accretions and literary aspects of medieval texts, not as waste products of history but as sources worthy of study in themselves.⁴³ This change was brought about by the rise of postmodern thought and the 'linguistic turn', a shift in the practice of history that led a change in focus from tangible sources to more abstract cultural ones like language, ideals, values, identity, and other times of representation.⁴⁴

⁴¹ That is not to say that other schools of history did not exist but rather that positivism remained dominant for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, 2nd ed. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005), 2–4.

⁴² Justin Lake, 'Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography', *History Compass* 13, no. 3 (2015): 90.

⁴³ Lake, 91.

⁴⁴ Kathleen Canning, 'Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience', *Signs*, Winter 1994, 368–404.

It is perhaps through a discussion of its underlying philosophy that one can best understand how such literary approaches contrasted with what came before. Whereas older ‘scientific’ approaches to history assumed realist and positivist positions (accepting that some parts of reality exist outside of oneself and that the natures of those external parts can be discovered through observation) postmodern historians maintain a relativist ontology and a constructivist epistemology. These latter positions posit that reality outside oneself cannot be contacted directly, that any contact with it is mediated by human (and so cultural) interpretations, and that any conclusions drawn are necessarily subjective. Crucially, such an approach holds that knowledge is not ‘discovered’ but is instead created or ‘constructed’. For medieval studies, this shift has produced a new-found appreciation of the previously ignored cultural aspects of medieval texts, birthing a range of new interdisciplinary focuses, including histories of gender, ideology, and ethnicity. Crucially for the present thesis, it has also heralded the ‘revival of narrative’ and a new-found emphasis on the value of stories as means through which the constructed realities of medieval writers can be accessed through their works.⁴⁵

The scholarship resulting from this ‘revival of narrative’ has converged in: highlighting the ‘present-centred’ nature of medieval texts and their ‘legitimising and polemical function’, emphasising the fact that medieval texts were usually produced in response to specific contemporary needs, and in demonstrating the value of such texts as cultural representations of what those needs might be and the thought-worlds that conceived them.⁴⁶ From this new scholarly tradition has sprung various new ideas, such as Brian Stock’s ‘textual community’,

⁴⁵ For this idea, see: Lawrence Stone, ‘The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History’, *Past & Present* 85 (1979): 3–24. This is not to say that positivist histories are necessarily weaker or without value but that new philosophical developments have allowed historians to approach sources in alternative ways which complement positivist scholarship and help enrich understanding.

⁴⁶ Lake, ‘Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography’, 92–93.

which holds that certain communities are bound together by, and share a common identity through engagement with a shared text or set of texts.⁴⁷

There has also developed a tranche of scholarship concerning compilation and editorship as a form of authorship, and the effect that archival practices had on the restructuring of history. Such ideas have been tackled from different angles by various scholars, with Patrick Geary focussing on the way in which archivists and scribes emphasised certain aspects of history while eliding others through the process of deliberate forgetting and oblivion so creating new history congenial to contemporary needs.⁴⁸ Graham Loud, Warren Brown, Sarah Foot, and Jeffrey Bowman have looked variously at the memorialising power of charters and their compilations into serial records and the ways in which these were produced with political ends, with the aim of providing evidenced historical bases for their various claims.⁴⁹ M.T. Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record* is especially important here, noting the transformation of archival practices in the Central Middle Ages as society became increasingly literate and more reliant on documentation for remembering its past.⁵⁰ On the role of the cartulary (and other

⁴⁷ The idea of textual communities has proven very influential and has been further developed by other scholars, perhaps most notably by Jennifer Paxton and Steven Vanderputten, Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1983); Jennifer Paxton, 'Textual Communities in the English Fenlands: A Lay Audience for Monastic Chronicles?', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2004): 123–37; Steven Vanderputten, 'Monastic Literate Practices in the Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Northern France', *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 101–26.

⁴⁸ Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance, Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1994); Patrick Geary, 'Medieval Archivists as Authors; Social Memory and Archival Memory', in *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar*, ed. Francis Blouin Jr and William Rosenberg (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 106–13.

⁴⁹ Graham Loud, 'Monastic Chronicles in the Twelfth-Century Abruzzi', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27 (2005): 101–31; Warren Brown, 'Charters as Weapons. On the Role Played by Early Medieval Dispute Records in the Disputes They Record', *Journal of Medieval History* 28, no. 3 (2002): 227–48; Sarah Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story?', in *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler and Rois Balzaretti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 39–65; Jeffrey A. Bowman, 'From Written Record to Historical Memory: Narrating the Past in Iberian Charters', in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 173–80.

⁵⁰ Michael T Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066–1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993). The tradition of memory as a mode of historical investigation has its roots in Maurice Halbwach's 1925 treatise *Mémoires Collectives* and was developed more recently by James Fentress, Chris Wickham, and Jan Assman, see: Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford: ACL Humanities, 2008); Jan Assman, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

similar legal works) in the creation of historical memory in Iberia, Carlos Sáez and Adeline Rucquoi have made significant contributions.⁵¹ Peter Linehan's *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* is also influential, tracing the development of historical methods and trends across the span of the Iberian Middle Ages.⁵² Given the form of the HC, such scholarship exerts a strong influence on the thesis and its modes of analysis, as outlined below.

The *Historia Compostellana*: Content, Form, Production Context, and Genre

The HC is a twelfth-century history of the see of Santiago de Compostela, as told through the life of its reforming bishop and later archbishop, Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140).⁵³ It details his rise to the episcopacy, his successes in enhancing its wealth and status, and his role as a major player in the politics of León-Castile and the Latin Church. Among other things, his rule coincided with three Leonese-Castilian monarchs, five papacies, two Lateran councils, a civil war, the latter part of the investiture crisis, and the first half-century of the crusading movement. It also provides the socio-political backdrop to the emergence of the *Camino de Santiago* phenomenon, a Jacobean pilgrimage route which remains hugely popular today.⁵⁴ As it presently exists, the work is separated into three books, more than two hundred and fifty chapters, and over a thousand parts.⁵⁵ The first book concerns Diego's episcopacy, while the

⁵¹ Carlos Sáez, 'Origen y Función de Los Cartularios: El Ejemplo de España', *Gazette Du Livre Médiéval* 46 (2005): 12–21; Adeline Rucquoi, 'La Invención de Una Memoria: Los Cabildos Peninsulares Del Siglo XII', *Temas Medievales* II (1992): 67–80.

⁵² Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*.

⁵³ For the precise dates of production, see below:38-43.

⁵⁴ The amount written on medieval Christian pilgrimage generally, and the Camino de Santiago more specifically, is immense and so cannot be listed here. For an excellent overview of the phenomenon of Christian pilgrimage in the Middle Ages see: Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c.700-c.1500*, 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave, 2002). For three collections of essays concerning different aspects of Jacobean pilgrimage, see: Marie-Hélène Davies, ed., *Holy Days and Holidays* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1982); Maryjane Dunn and Linda Kay Davidson, *The Pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (London: Garland, 1996); Antón Pazos, ed., *Redefining Pilgrimage: New Perspectives on Historical and Contemporary Pilgrimages* (Routledge, 2018). See also the frontmatter from the recent doctoral thesis, John Seasholtz, 'Money and Morality on the Pilgrim Roads to Santiago de Compostela, 1078-1211' (Birmingham, University of Birmingham, 2021), iv–xi.

⁵⁵ A Book is the largest subdivision of the HC, beneath which there are chapters and then parts, which make up the smallest formal units of text in the thesis. There are several occasions where a part has to be further divided

second and third cover his archiepiscopacy. The entire work is prefaced by a *monitus* (a warning to thieves against stealing it) and each book is introduced with a prologue.

The first printed edition of the HC, and the version which established ‘Historia Compostellana’ as the work’s title, was published by Enrique Flórez in 1765 as part of volume XX of his *España Sagrada* series.⁵⁶ While most of the earlier manuscripts carried the title *Historia Compostellana*, those produced from the seventeenth century onwards had various alternative titles.⁵⁷ Curiously, the earliest example, the Salamanca codex, does not use that title, which suggests that *Historia Compostellana* was not its original name.⁵⁸ Flórez’s work, which drew on four manuscripts and was last published in 1965, was the only printed version to exist for over two hundred and twenty years, until it was superseded by Emma Falque’s 1988 critical edition, the version used in the present study.⁵⁹

Despite inheriting a rich historiographical tradition from its Visigothic forebears, the Kingdom of León-Castile and its predecessor the Kingdom of Asturias-León were not literarily fecund when compared with most other Christian kingdoms of the period, although by the time of the HC’s production, a tradition of Leonese-Castilian historiography had been firmly established.⁶⁰ The earliest post-Visigothic flowering of historiographical production in the northwest of the peninsula occurred in the later-ninth and tenth centuries, during which the *Chronica*

into a and b sections – this is because the scheme of division is, in places, insufficient and does not note a change between texts. Book I has 117 chapters, Book II has 94, and Book III has 57. In its most recent critical edition, Book I has 214 pages, Book II has 204, and Book III has 112, *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Emma Falque (Leiden, 1988).

⁵⁶ The full title being: *Historia Compostellana siue de rebus gestis D. Didaci Gelmírez, primi Compostellani archiepiscopi*, *España Sagrada* XX (Madrid, 1765).

⁵⁷ Falque, *Historia Compostelana* (1988), xxxv-l.

⁵⁸ Falque, *Historia Compostelana* (1988), xxxiii; Salamanca, University Library, 2658.

⁵⁹ Moreover, two Spanish translations of the text have been produced, the first by M. Suárez and J. Campelo in 1950, and the second by Falque in 1994: M. Suárez and J. Campelo, *Historia Compostelana, o sea Hechos de D. Diego Gelmírez, primer arzobispo de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela, 1950). See footnote no. 22 for Falque reference.

⁶⁰ Although this has been recently challenged somewhat by Bonch Reeves: Bonch Reeves, *Visions of Unity after the Visigoths: Early Iberian Latin Chronicles and the Mediterranean World*, 47–69.

Albeldensia, produced in the Kingdom of Pamplona but covering the history of the whole peninsula from antiquity to the tenth century, the *Chronica Adefonsi Tertii Regis*, a history of the kingdom up until the reign of Alfonso III, and the *Chronica Prophetica* were written.⁶¹ Prior to these there were several works of Christian historiography written within Muslim Al-Andalus and later brought into the northern kingdoms by Christian migrants, so influencing Leonese-Castilian historiographical culture.⁶² In the eleventh century two more royal histories were produced, specifically the *Sampiri Chronicon Regum Legionis*, which was conceived as a continuation of the *Chronica Adefonsi Tertii Regis* bringing the narrative up to the late tenth century, and the *Historia Silense*, which narrated the history of Iberia from the time of the Visigoths up until the first years of Alfonso VI of León-Castile.⁶³ Writers of the Iberian twelfth century produced two more histories, both written several decades after the HC: one of Alfonso VII's reign, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, and the *Chronica Naierensis*, a universal history which drew heavily on Pelayo of Oviedo's *Corpus*.⁶⁴ Among this tradition, the HC stands out, along with the *Historia Roderici*, as being one of only two substantial histories written about a non-royal personage, and the only one with a geographical focus away from the centre of royal power.⁶⁵

In addition to this broader Iberian historiographical tradition, twelfth century Compostela was home to a vibrant intellectual and literary culture that would have informed the HC's production. From around the mid-ninth century there existed a cathedral school in Compostela

⁶¹ These chronicles were typified by an apocalyptic quality and a 'Neo-Gothic' ideology, see: Bonch Reeves, 23, 153–94.

⁶² They include the *Continuatio Hispania* (or *The Chronicle of 754*), the *Chronica Byzantia-Arabica* (or *The Chronicle of 741*). In addition to these, the Christian migrants from Al-Andalus also brought several polemical biographies and hagiographical texts produced in the tenth century, Bonch Reeves, 71–152.

⁶³ Bonch Reeves, 153–94.

⁶⁴ Bonch Reeves, 47–69.

⁶⁵ For an overview of the *Historia Roderici*, see: Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid, Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, 90–98.

which, from the eleventh century onwards, generated a substantial literary output including: a penitential known as the *Cordubense*, the legendary recension of the *Translatio Sancti Jacobi*, the *Titulus Metricus* of one Presbyter Martín, the *Kalendorium Compostellanum*, and the acts of councils from 1056 and 1063.⁶⁶ Into this milieu Diego Gelmírez and his scriptorium added a tranche of new writings, including (as well as the HC) the council acts of 1113, the *Chronicon Compostellanum*, the *Chronicon Iriense*, the *Codex Callixtinus* (or much of it), and *Tumbo A*.⁶⁷ Internal evidence from the HC also suggests a familiarity with, and so access to, the works of early medieval and classical writers, including those of the Church Fathers, Isidore of Seville, Sallust, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, and Boethius.⁶⁸

Ideas from outside the peninsula also influenced the HC's production context. It has been argued many times that Compostela's spring of historical writing was in part encouraged by the city's increased contact with the intellectual centres of Latin Christendom, by means of the *Camino de Santiago* and an increasingly interventionist papacy, at the turn of the twelfth century.⁶⁹ The HC makes much of Diego's Francophilia and the architecture produced in Compostela and along the *Camino* during his episcopacy indicate the strength of his trans-

⁶⁶ Adeline Rucquoi, 'Compostela: A Cultural Center from the Tenth to Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 519–21.

⁶⁷ The partial exception to this list is the *Chronicon Iriense* which was likely produced slightly prior to Diego's episcopacy but while he was still associated with the see, Rucquoi, 521.

⁶⁸ Emma Falque, ed., *Historia Compostellana* (Leiden: Brepolis, 1988), xxix–xxx.

⁶⁹ It is also generally understood that Bishop Diego Gelmírez's pro-papacy policies encouraged this cultural development, at least in the Compostelan context. For the interactions between the see of Santiago de Compostela and the papacy see: Ermelindo Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y la Ballesta* (Madrid, 2016), 22-46, 126-162; Richard Fletcher, St. James's Catapult, *The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), 192-222. For the changing relationship between the Leonese crown and Rome, see: María Pallares Méndez and Ermelindo Portela, *La Reina Urraca* (San Sebastián, 2006), 156-164; José María Mínguez, *Alfonso VI: Poder, Expansión y Reorganización Interior* (Handarribia, 2000): 211-218; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 181-184. For the *camino* as a highway of ideas, see: Adeline Rucquoi, 'Compostela: A Cultural Center from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century,' in *Culture and Society, in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D'Emilio (Leiden, 2015), 512-542; Rucquoi, 'Culture and Learning in Compostela and the Way of St. James,' 100-109; Marta González Vazquez, 'Lugar de Culto y Centro de Cultura,' in *Historia de la Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela*, ed. Ermelindo Portela (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), 173-221.

Pyrenean connections, as does his affiliation with the Church jurists Cardinal Deusdedit and Cardinal Gregory of Ostia.⁷⁰ These new connections exposed Compostela's scriptorium to the serial record historiographical form which was (as discussed above) transforming the practices of record-keeping across Latin Europe. The HC is the earliest known Iberian example of a serial record and went on to influence several others, including Pelayo of Oviedo's *Corpus*, the *registrum* of Coria in Asturias, and the *Liber Testamentorum* of Lorvão.⁷¹

Although one can discern a great deal about the HC's production history from the text itself, one cannot learn much about the earliest stages of its post-production life, given that the autograph manuscript is lost.⁷² The HC does survive however in eighteen manuscripts, the earliest being from the mid-thirteenth century and the latest from the eighteenth.⁷³ All of them appear to have been produced on the peninsula, which implies that the HC had a local audience.⁷⁴ It should also be noted that the variations between the different texts are minor and that the same rubrication appears in them all, suggesting that its origins date back at least to the archetype and perhaps to the autograph.⁷⁵ As López Alsina has implied, the incomplete rubrication of Book III would probably not have been transmitted unless it were original.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Rucquoi, 'Compostela: A Cultural Center from the Tenth to Twelfth Century', 530; Manuel Castiñeiras González, 'Didacus Gelmírez, Patron of the Arts. Compostela's Long Journey: From the Periphery to the Centre of Romanesque Art', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 32–97.

⁷¹ Falque, *Historia Compostellana*, 24, 27.

⁷²For discussions on manuscript transmission see Reilly's article and the chapter from Falque's critical edition: Bernard F. Reilly, 'Existing Manuscripts of the "Historia Compostelana". Notes towards a Critical Edition', *Manuscripta* 15 (1971), 131-152; Falque, *Historia Compostelana* (1988), xxxiii-l. And, more recently: José Antonio Souto Cabo, "'Liber Registri Didaci Secundi". Sobre La Tradición Manuscrita Medieval de La "Historia Compostelana"', *Madrygal: Revista de Estudios Gallegos* 21 (2018): 239–71.

⁷³ There are also three, or possibly four lost manuscripts that are known of, Falque, *Historia Compostelana* (1988), l-lliii.

⁷⁴ Adeline Rucquoi, "Culture and Learning in Compostela and the Way of St. James", In *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez* ed. S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo (Milan, 2010), 105.

⁷⁵ Falque, *Historia Compostellana*, xxiii.

⁷⁶ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, 89.

Serial records such as the HC developed from what contemporary historians call cartularies but which medieval authors generally termed *registra*, and existed as collections of documentation, copied from separate sheets of vellum, and compiled into one codex or roll.⁷⁷ While the first known *registrum* was produced in mid-ninth century Fulda, the form remained rare until the eleventh, at which point the first true serial records emerged.⁷⁸ These texts blended the legal documents of the *registra* or cartularies with historical narrative in such a way that helped guide the reader's interpretation of a given event or document, so leading them to specific conclusions.⁷⁹ In their earliest forms, cartulary chronicles were primarily legal documents with small amounts of narrative and commentary used to provide extra context; later examples became much more historiographical, to the extent that, while their legal function never completely disappeared, they became more explicitly historiographical.⁸⁰

There has long been agreement among scholars of the HC that the text should be considered part *registrum* and part *gesta*, containing as it does many literary elements consistent with a *gesta* (stories concerning the life and deeds of a given figure) as well as a *registrum*.⁸¹ This fact led Falque to suggest the *Liber Pontificalis* as a key influence, a plausible idea considering how many copies of that work were in circulation.⁸² Usefully, Gerald, one of the HC's authors, offered his understanding of the work's genre, explaining why the term *registrum* was appropriate. Using an etymological theory borrowed from Isidore of Seville, he explained that the name *registrum* was appropriate because it contains *res gestas* (things that happened) and

⁷⁷ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 103-104.

⁷⁸ See: chapter 3 of Rosamund McKitterick, *The Carolingian and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), 77-131.

⁷⁹ See 'Archival Memory and the Restructuring of the Past', in: Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 81-114.

⁸⁰ Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* 86-87; Geary's observation is the development of an idea first discussed in relation to collections of tradition notices: Stephan Molitor, "Das Traditionsbuch," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 36 (1990): 61-92.

⁸¹ Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, (1994), 20-26.

⁸² Falque, "La Historia Compostelana en el Panorama de la Historiografía Latina Medieval," 479.

retrogesta (things that happened before).⁸³ While this definition of *registrum* does not marry perfectly with its modern counterpart, being rather vague, it does not explicitly contradict it either; rather, it provides the term an additional twelfth-century context. The same cannot be said for the genre-category *gesta* which is not used by the HC's authors.⁸⁴

In his 2001 article on medieval historiographical typologies, Steven Vanderputten noted how the form of the monastic *gesta* changed over time as their authors' priorities shifted, so casting doubt on the term's usefulness.⁸⁵ He described how these *gesta*, while remaining institutional histories, grew from being ambitious foundational histories in the early twelfth century, to inward-looking community histories by the thirteenth. This was due, according to Vanderputten, to the relative decline and political importance of traditional monastic houses and the concomitant changes in the aims of their scriptoria.⁸⁶ The general conclusion of this study, that medieval genre-categories are often unstable over time, has obvious implications for the present study; namely, that genre categories we use, even if they have considerable antiquity, might have different meanings over time. As such, one must remember that specificity is important when handling technical terms and that an over reliance on broad typologies can undermine a study, especially if genre is central to its method.⁸⁷

⁸³ 'Bene autem officium huius libri cum ethimologia sui concordat uocabuli, cum sane hac de causa 'registrum', quod 'retrogesta' uel 'res gestas' contineat, appellatur.' HC II.61.1; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* I, 43; see cit. 415 of Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, (1994), 414.

⁸⁴ Despite, rather confusingly, the word *gesta* being used to explain the use of *registrum*.

⁸⁵ Steven Vanderputten, "Typology of Medieval Historiography Reconsidered: A Social Re-interpretation of Monastic Annals, Chronicles and Gesta," *Historical Social Research* 26, no.4 (98) (2001):152-155.

⁸⁶ Vanderputten, "Typology of Medieval Historiography Reconsidered," 154-155.

⁸⁷ This also has implications for some of the HC's integrated documents, among which we can count prologues and epistles, whose genre categories are less stable than they initially appear. For letters, see Geary: 'Medieval Archivists as Authors', 89-90; for prologues see: Aengus Ward, "El Prólogo Historiográfico Medieval," *Cahiers d'Etudes Hispaniques Médiévales* 1, no.35 (2012): 61-77.

Finally, before moving on, it is worth briefly reflecting on another of modern genre categories' limitations when discussing medieval texts. In her ground-breaking article 'Beyond Positivism and Genre,' Felice Lifshitz demonstrates the fragility of 'hagiography' as a genre category by exposing its many contradictions and detailing its conception as a nineteenth-century historiographical construct.⁸⁸ To illustrate her point, she uses an often-cited definition for hagiography, as formulated by Hippolyte Delehaye at the turn of the twentieth century: '[hagiography] intends primarily to engender, propagate, strengthen etc. the cult of a saint.'⁸⁹ This she dismisses as factually inaccurate, for many hagiographies do not relate to any saint's cult, but, more importantly, conceptually anachronistic. For Lifshitz hagiography, as well as other medieval historiographical genre-categories, were the product of the positivist intellectual culture outlined above. Such positivist approaches produced, according to Lifshitz, reductionist genre-categories which separated the corpus of extant medieval writings into historical and mythical texts. As such, literary and cultural content was often overlooked and many texts replete with hagiographical *topoi* were dismissed as being of limited value. To overcome this, Lifshitz concludes that scholars must cast aside redundant genre-categories and should try to understand the texts on their own terms.⁹⁰

The observations of Lifshitz's article do pertain to the HC which, as we have seen, does not yield to neat categorisation. Nevertheless, as a post-genre vocabulary for medieval texts is yet to emerge, many of the old labels will be retained so as to allow the reader to make some pertinent assumptions about the HC. However, they should be considered not as sealed categories with prescribed features, but as non-exclusive identifiers, which can be used to

⁸⁸ Felice Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre. "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25 (1994): 95-113

⁸⁹ Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre. "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', 96; Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1906): xiii, 2.

⁹⁰ Felice Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre. "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25 (1994): 113.

express the general orientation of the text. With this in mind, the thesis will proceed to use the HC's traditional *registrum-gesta* categorisation, aware of the fact that it does not fully describe the work and its contents. Moreover, the genre categorisation is useful in helping define the HC's various production phases against one another, as some lean more towards *registra* (with a focus on documentary material) and others towards *gestae* (with more of an emphasis on narrative).

The *Historia Compostellana*'s Research Context

Aside from Flórez's eighteenth-century edition of the HC, modern scholarship on the text began with the work of Antonio López Ferrerio (1837-1910), a canon at the cathedral church of Compostela. Writing over a period of almost fifty years, López Ferreiro produced, among many other works on the history of Galicia and its Church, the monumental four-volume *Historia de la Santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, a work that forms the basis of much contemporary scholarship on medieval Galicia.⁹¹ It was during the latter part of López Ferreiro's career that the first modern biography on Diego Gelmírez was written: Manuel Murguía's *Don Diego Gelmírez*, a Carlylean portrait of the bishop which presented him as a the great man of Galician history.⁹² The second major historical work on Diego Gelmírez, and the first in English, was Anselm Gordon Bigg's *Diego Gelmírez. First Archbishop of Compostela* in 1949. This study, while dated, remains influential on account of its 1983

⁹¹ Of these, volumes II-IV are most relevant to this study, Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. II (Santiago de Compostela: Seminario Conciliar Central, 1899); Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. III (Santiago de Compostela: Imp. del Seminario Conciliar Central, 1900); Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. IV (Santiago de Compostela: Seminario Conciliar Central, 1901). For a more comprehensive list of those who have followed López Ferreiro in writing about the history of the Compostelan see, consult: José García Oro, ed., *Iglesias de Santiago de Compostela y Tuy-Vigo*, Historia de Las Diócesis Españolas 14 (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002), 8–9.

⁹² Manuel Murguía, *Don Diego Gelmírez. Ensayo Crítico-Biográfico* (A Coruña, 1898). Murguía's biography was part of the *rexurdimento*, a Galician nationalist movement which sought to renew and revive the region's language and culture. It should be noted that Diego Gelmírez's reputation has not always fared so well amongst Galician nationalists, with many blaming him for the region's loss of historical influence, see: Ramón Villares, "The Fortune of Diego Gelmírez in the Cultural Tradition of Galician Nationalism," in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. by S.A. de Xestión do Plan, Xacobeo (Milan, 2010): 188-201.

translation into Galician.⁹³ This was followed within the next half century by two more biographies, the first *Gelmírez, o el Genio Afectuoso, Creador y Humorista del Tiempo Románico* by Ramón Otero Pedrayo (written in 1951 but only published in 1991) and later Richard Fletcher's *Saint James's Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, both of which produced sympathetic if balanced accounts of Diego's life.⁹⁴

Between López Ferriero and the late 1970s/early 1980s, the majority of works making use of the HC tended to be positivist biographies of the bishop. There did however from the late-1970s onwards appear a flurry of scholarship on the HC and a diversification in the types of work produced. This period saw, amongst others, output from Bernard Reilly, Richard Fletcher, Emma Falque Rey, and Fernando López Alsina. Reilly was an historian with wide-ranging interests who published, as well as his three regnal histories of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a structural study of the HC and several articles on twelfth-century León-Castile that made use of the HC.⁹⁵ Fletcher was primarily an historian of medieval Iberia who, in addition to his aforementioned monograph, produced several articles on Galicia and Compostela in the twelfth century.⁹⁶ Falque is a philologist and textual scholar whose prolific output on the HC,

⁹³ Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez. First Archbishop of Compostela* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1949); Xunta de Galicia, *Compostela and Europe, The Story of Diego Gelmírez* (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 386.

⁹⁴ Ramón Otero Pedrayo, *Gelmírez, o El Genio Afectuoso, Creador y Humorista Del Tiempo Románico. Vida y Glosas de Su Vida* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1991); Richard Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). To this could perhaps be added Xavier Adro's more literary account: Xavier Adro, *Diego Gelmírez, Reino de Galicia Siglos XI-XII* (Barcelona: Editorial Casals, 1985).

⁹⁵ Incidentally, Bernard Reilly died the day prior to these words being written. He leaves behind a huge body of work, including several pertinent to the study of the HC: Bernard Reilly, 'Existing Manuscripts of the "Historia Compostelana," Notes towards a Critical Edition', *Manuscripta* 15 (1971): 131–52; Reilly, 'The Court Bishops of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla, 1147-1157'; Bernard Reilly, 'On Getting to Be a Bishop in León-Castile: The "Emperor" Alfonso VII and the Post-Gregorian Church', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 1 (1978): 35–68; Bernard Reilly, ed., *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985).

⁹⁶ Richard Fletcher, 'The Archbishops of Santiago de Compostela between 1140 and 1173, a New Chronology', *Compostellanum* 17, no. 1–4 (1972): 45–61; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*.

which includes a critical edition, a Spanish-language translation and commentary, and a number of chapters and articles, is central to any study of the HC.⁹⁷ López Alsina is an historian of Galician culture and society whose many works, most notably his 1988 *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, were crucial to the formation of the present thesis.⁹⁸ It is upon his ideas concerning the HC's production and development that this thesis is built. Using the HC as a key source, Ludwig Vones has also made an important contribution to scholarly understanding of the place of Compostela with respect to Church reform and the peninsula and its relationship with the wider Latin Church.⁹⁹ Moreover, Spain's growing integration into the international mainstream was reflected in the study of its past; as with many other Spanish sources at this time, the HC became more widely used by non-Spanish authors many of whom used it, not just as a national historical text, but as a European text reflecting within it currents of change present across the whole continent.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ A selection of her works include: Falque, *Historia Compostellana*; Emma Falque, ed., *Historia Compostellana*, trans. Emma Falque (Madrid: Akal, 1994); Emma Falque, 'Los Discursos de La Historia Compostelana', *Treballs En Honor de Virgilio Bejarano* 1 (1991): 389–94; Emma Falque, 'Peregrinos y Peregrinación a Compostela y Jerusalén En El x.XII a La Luz de La Historia Compostelana', in *Otium Cum Dignitate: Estudios En Homenaje al Profesor José Javier Iso Echegoyen*, ed. José Beltran et al (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2013); Emma Falque, 'La Historia Compostelana En El Panorama de La Historiografía Latina Medieval', in *O Século de Xelmírez*, ed. Fernando López Alsina et al. (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2013), 459–86; Emma Falque, 'Los Prólogos en La Historiografía Latina Medieval: La Historia Compostelana y El Liber Eliensis', *Revista de Humanismo y Tradición Clásica* 15 (2014): 121–35.

⁹⁸ A selection of his work includes: Fernando López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 2nd ed. (Santiago de Compostela: Consello de Santiago, 2013); Fernando López Alsina, 'La Invención Del Sepulcro de Santiago y La Difusión Del Culto Jacobeo', in *El Camino de Santiago y La Articulación Del Espacio Hispánico (Actas de La XX Semana de Estudios Medieval de Estella. 26-30 de Julio de 1993)*, ed. Gobierno e Navarra. Departamento de Educación y Cultura. (Gobierno de Navarra. Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1994), 59–84; Fernando López Alsina, 'Urbano II y El Traslado de La Sede Episcopal de Iria a Compostela', in *El Papado, La Iglesia Leonesa y La Basílica de Santiago a Finales Del Siglo XI*, ed. Fernando López Alsina (Santiago de Compostela: Consorcio de Santiago, 1999), 107–28; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*. In much of his work, López Alsina was building on that of Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, much of whose scholarship was included in a posthumous collection of articles and chapters: Manuel Díaz y Díaz, *Escritos Jacobeos* (Santiago de Compostela: Consorcio de Santiago, 2010).

⁹⁹ Ludwig Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' Und Die Kirchenpolitik Des Nordwestspanischen Raumes. 1070-1130. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien Und Dem Papsttum Ze Beginn Des 12. Jahrhunderts.* (Köln-Wien: Kölner historische Abhandlungen, 1980).

¹⁰⁰ Gerd Tellenbach and Thomas Bisson are amongst the many scholars who have sought to include Spanish contexts in Europe-wide studies and have used the HC as a source: Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993); Thomas Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Woodstock, 2009).

The last twelve years have seen three major works make substantial use of the HC. The first of these was the *Xunta de Galicia's* 2010 *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, which is a collection of essays written to coincide with an exhibition of works produced in Santiago de Compostela during Diego's episcopacy.¹⁰¹ The second was James D'Emilio's *Culture and Society in Medieval Europe*, a multi-disciplinary collection of essays examining many aspects of medieval Galician politics, society and culture.¹⁰² The third was Ermelindo Portela's *El Báculo y la Ballesta*, the most recent biographical study of Diego and the power structures he built around himself.¹⁰³ Curiously, the general move towards cultural history has not yet prompted a full-scale historiographical reading of the HC. As the former dean of Santiago cathedral José María Díaz Fernández has noted, the "intentions of the authors/witnesses has not received enough attention; so well did they fulfil their role."¹⁰⁴ Bringing together the tools provided by the above scholars (particularly Falque and López Alsina), with the methodological observations of postmodern of postmodern theorists, this thesis aims to do just that and produce a study of the HC that foregrounds its authors, their methods, and their perspectives.¹⁰⁵ My aspiration is to provide a reading that foregrounds the role of authorship and production context in the HC's creation process, while also insisting on an interpretive structure that aligns with transitions in authorship and production phases, rather than with the explicit three-book division. The methodological means by which I hope to achieve this, is detailed below.

¹⁰¹ Xunta de Galicia, *Compostela and Europe. The Story of Diego Gelmírez* (Milan, 2010).

¹⁰² This collection has a broad, interdisciplinary focus and contains contributions from many leading scholars: James D'Emilio, ed., *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe* (Leiden, 2015).

¹⁰³ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y la Ballesta*.

¹⁰⁴ José María Díaz Fernández, 'Gelmírez's "Pious Robbery"', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 158.

¹⁰⁵ These 'tools' being Falque's various linguistic and structural works which, among many other things, made studies of the HC far more accessible, and López-Alsina's theories about the HC's production and development.

Reading the Text: Narratology and Authorship

The terms narratology or narratological analysis encompass a set of related academic approaches that assume that any given text has within it a ‘common literary language’ or ‘universal pattern of codes’ whose individual and collective meaning can be identified through the examination of that text’s narrative structure.¹⁰⁶ Put in its simplest terms, a narrative structure can be defined as ‘the representation of an event or series of events’ as related by a given form of media.¹⁰⁷ The approach owes its origins to the works of various linguistic, anthropological, and literary theorists before becoming more fully articulated by the French Structuralists from the 1960s.¹⁰⁸

Narratology has, in more recent incarnations, been applied by historians to ‘get behind the text’ and has, through the studying of its codes and what they *represent*, provided access to texts’ thought-worlds and has ultimately allowed for understandings that align more closely with the those of their authors. The word ‘representation’ is crucial here. As Porter Abbott explained, historical narratives are engaged in ‘re-presenting’ stories that appear (and are assumed) to pre-exist the mediated stories themselves in some way.¹⁰⁹ This means that such stories, while not direct lines to the historical events themselves, are as narratives powerful surrogates for and indirect witnesses to the reality that created them. Put simply, representations are important because they contain within them the perspectives and intentions of the world from which they

¹⁰⁶ Adam Augustyn, ‘Narratology’, Britannica, accessed 14 January 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/art/plot>.

¹⁰⁷ H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 13.

¹⁰⁸ Marcus Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narrative: Perception and Narration in Accounts of the Second, Third, and Fourth Crusades*, *Crusading in Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), 47. Hayden White is perhaps the biggest figure in this field, writing several works theorising about the relationship between narrative and history, such as: Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975); Hayden White, ‘The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality’, *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (1980): 2–27.

¹⁰⁹ Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 15.

came. The key to exploiting these representations is the decoding of their culturally specific meanings.

One of the benefits of narratology, when practically applied is (in the words of Marcus Bull) the fact that it ‘resonates with the ways in which historians have traditionally gone about the task of reading narrative sources’ while also introducing ‘greater precision into reading strategies that might otherwise be intuitive or common-sensical. It works with the grain of these strategies, and it is not intrinsically hostile or indifferent to historical inquiry in the way other literary approaches can seem to be.’¹¹⁰ Significantly then, it does not run counter to the positivist studies that have come before but rather builds on them, applying new methods that allow for more nuanced readings, and enriches their observations.

In practical terms the narratological analysis employed in this thesis concerns both the structure of the HC’s texts and its subtexts (specifically the ways in which the narrative codes were organised and for what purpose) as well as the recurrence of codes of a similar quality that might tell us something about the perspectives present in (and behind) the text. It is, put more simply, concerned with identifying narrative elements by frequency and by type, with a view to learning something what the authors of the HC were trying to do. Consequently, a focus on the literary aspects of the HC will be maintained, discussing things such as plot, characterisation, themes, framing narrative, narrative sequencing, and authorship. It is this last focus, that of authorship, around which the whole thesis is organised. Therefore, the concept requires some exposition before proceeding.

¹¹⁰ As Bull convincingly argues, Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narrative: Perception and Narration in Accounts of the Second, Third, and Fourth Crusades*, 48.

Prior to the twentieth century, medieval history did not concern itself much with the critical examination of medieval authorship nor with its role in the production of texts.¹¹¹ This issue of authorship in medieval texts was first by Johannes Spörl in 1933 and later (and more substantially) by Helmut Beumann in 1950, after whom a steady number of works with a focus on medieval authorship were produced.¹¹² From the perspective of the early twenty-first century, authorship is a primary concern of medieval scholarship, as it is to the thesis.

In his 2014 article on Authorial Intention in Medieval Historiography Justin Lake identified four aspects of authorship that deserve scholarly attention, namely genre; audience; prologues and *topoi*; and history and politics. Each of these will feature in the analyses.¹¹³ As Lake himself notes, the *why* of medieval historiography cannot be separated from genre as it was partly through the selection of an appropriate genre that the medieval historian sought to convey their message and press their broader aims.¹¹⁴ However, medieval authors were quite inconsistent in defining their genre-typologies, meaning that such typologies tended to change over time. This fluidity with respect to medieval genre categories, which pertains to their modern equivalents too, need not be a problem. In fact, for any study such as this, which concerns the dynamic development of a medieval text over time, an approach that uses genre-typologies while also acknowledging their malleability, can only yield richer results. This method is especially suitable for the HC whose authors frequently experimented with genre through its production phases.

¹¹¹ Justin Lake, 'Authorial Intention in Medieval Historiography', *History Compass* 12, no. 4 (2014): 344.

¹¹² Johannes Spörl, 'Das Mittelalterliche Geschichtsdnken Als Forschungsaufgabe', in *Historisches Jahrbuch Der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 53 (Köln: J.P. Bachem, 1933), 281–303; Helmut Beumann, *Widukind von Kervei; Untersuchungen Zur Geschichtsschreibung Und Ideengeschichte Des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1950).

¹¹³ Lake, 'Authorial Intention in Medieval Historiography'.

¹¹⁴ Lake, 345. Although Roger Wright has argued that Latin and its various Romance offshoots were not conceived as separated languages at this time, see: Roger Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance. Twenty-One Studies on Language and Texts from the Iberian Peninsula between the Roman Empire and the Thirteenth Century* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1994).

This poses a significant challenge to the historian involved in practically subdividing and analysing texts by genre on the terms of their times and necessitates the (careful) retention of some modern genre terms.

A text's intended audience is also important because it reveals who a given work was aimed at and therefore says something about who the author wanted to influence and what they wanted to achieve. Discerning the significance of a given 'intended audience' is a common aspect of contemporary narratology where, for example, the contents of a politician's speech might be assessed for whom it is targeting, whether it be a foreign or domestic audience or a certain subset of the electorate. For medieval narratologists however the performative context can be somewhat obscure. One can assume; indeed, it is often implied in the prologue (more below) that a given text was at least partially intended for an internal audience. Moreover, the usage of Latin, which was not a natively spoken language by the twelfth century, would also appear to limit the audience to select educated few.¹¹⁵ For the case of the HC, which was written in Latin and produced within a cathedral chapter, both assumptions pertain.

Another potential source of evidence for identifying an intended audience would be the manuscript tradition, with which one could attempt to discern contextual information through codicological and paleographical analyses. Unfortunately in the case of the HC, such investigations cannot be meaningfully conducted for the twelfth-century context, as the autograph is lost and the majority of the extant copies from the tradition are considerably younger.¹¹⁶ Of the four surviving medieval examples (spanning the thirteenth and fifteenth

¹¹⁵ Lake, 'Authorial Intention in Medieval Historiography', 348.

¹¹⁶ See: Falque, *Historia Compostellana*, xxxiii–lxvii.

centuries) three were definitely produced in Compostela (one of which was later moved to Salamanca) while a fourth currently resides in Pontevedra and is of uncertain provenance.¹¹⁷ The fact that all these places are either Compostela itself or suffragan dioceses might suggest that the intended audience was the Compostelan archiepiscopal family. However, care is required in not conflating what happened later in the text's life with the intentions of its original authors; the motivations of the later copyists and disseminators of the HC were likely different from their own.

The same can be said of drawing audience-based conclusions from the works with which the HC was bound, of which most of the medieval examples include the *Chronicon Compostellanum*, a list of Compostela's archbishops; the *Chronicon Iriense*, and the *Gesta Berengarii de Landoria*; a history of the life and works of Bérenger de Landore (1262-1330), a French Dominican who assumed the archiepiscopacy of Compostela between 1317-1330.¹¹⁸ Again, one could conclude from this that the target audience was rather local, but one would again risk conflating the actions of later copyists with the intentions of its authors.

Taking a minimalist view, one could safely assume that the text was primarily meant for consumption by the canons of Compostela's cathedral (and possibly its satellite sees) and perhaps also for reading by ecclesiastics from the wider church. Given Diego Gelmírez's outward looking politics and his track record of promoting himself abroad (another of his works, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, achieved a wide European reach) one could plausibly argue for

¹¹⁷ Falque, xxxiii–xxxvi.

¹¹⁸ For a critical edition of the former, see: Manuel Rubén García Álvarez, ed., *El Cronicón Iriense* (Madrid: La Real Academia de la Historia, 1963). For a critical edition of the latter, see: Manuel Díaz y Díaz, ed., *Hechos de Don Berenguel de Landoria, Arzobispo de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1983).

a secondary audience of churchmen from the wider Latin Church.¹¹⁹ It is worth noting that exactly who these canons and churchmen were (and what their priorities were) would have necessarily changed over the life of the HC's production.

When evaluating the intended function of a given text, it is also important to consider the explicit reasons given for writing in a work's prologue something which, while important, can be potentially hazardous given their preponderance for using *topoi* and conventions. For example, prologues tend to emphasise the moral-exemplary contents of their work while also foregrounding their commemorative function.¹²⁰ This is not to say that these were not genuine motivations, but rather that they were only part of a whole, together with an obscured part which might detail the socio-political motivations that really drove the desire for commemoration. They do however in their formulaic nature relate something of the historiographical assumptions medieval authors made when approaching their work and are important in relating how they understood their task at hand. Furthermore, the dedications reveal not only the identity of a work's patron but also something of the nature of the relationship between patrons and the works they patronised. Examinations of all of the HC's prologues are conducted in chapters one, three, and four of the thesis.

Perhaps most important is the evidence indicating the appropriation of history and its turning to contemporary socio-political ends. Typically, such ends might include the promotion of a saint's cult, a favourable resolution to a diocesan boundary, or the obtaining of an ecclesiastical primacy. Uncovering such motivations involves a close reading of the text, identifying patterns

¹¹⁹ Klaus Herbers, 'Codex Calixtinus. The Book of the Church of Compostela', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 140–41.

¹²⁰ Falque, 'Los Prólogos En La Historiografía Latina Medieval: La Historia Compostelana y El Liber Eliensis', 122–26.

of codes or themes, and a rich contextualisation of those codes so as to enable informed inferences about the priorities that lay behind the text. Such an approach is central to the thesis. There is something that must also be said about the gap between the author (as an historical person) and the narrator (as the voice narrating the text) and the potential dangers of carrying across biographical details into one's reading of that author's work. That is not to say that biographical information should not be used (it provides useful contextualisation) but rather that it should be used with care and that an awareness of the gap between author and narrator should be maintained. If done correctly, such an approach might enrich the analysis by drawing attention to the fact that historiography is necessarily performative and that all historians have to assume a persona in order to write and to communicate their message through the medium of literature.

Finally, there are some interesting questions about the nature of authorship which ought to be addressed here. As Patrick Geary has noted in his 2010 study on archivists as authors, one's conception of authorship should extend beyond the person or persons who wrote a specific text so as to include those who might re-contextualise or repurpose it.¹²¹ He argues that authorship implies the imposition of intention and personality onto a text, by an individual who exists outside of it.¹²² In this conception an archivist, who creatively selects, orders, and excludes material when creating a composite document, should be granted the status of author, even if nothing new is written in their compilations. This observation informs my analysis of the HC given its composite nature and various authors.

¹²¹ Patrick Geary, 'Medieval Archivists as Authors: Social Memory and Archival Memory' in *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* ed. Francis X. Blouin Jr and William G. Rosenberg (Ann Arbor, 2010) 107-108.

¹²² Geary, 'Medieval Archivists as Authors', 108.

The Authors

Having outlined my approach to authorship, it is now necessary to introduce the authors themselves, each of whose work will constitute a chapter of the thesis.¹²³ The first of these is Munio Alfonso (*Munio Adefonsiades* sometimes rendered ‘Nuño Alfonso’), a Galician canon and cathedral treasurer whose time at the church of Santiago predated Diego Gelmírez’s episcopacy.¹²⁴ Munio’s life is, like many minor ecclesiastics of his era, not well evidenced. Little beyond a rudimentary biography can be evinced from the few fragments of texts and charters that refer to him beyond his contribution to the HC. An early ally of Bishop Diego, Munio was sent to Rome three times between 1100 and 1104 to act as an advocate for Diego and Compostela.¹²⁵ After this, in the years 1109-1112, Munio was ensconced in the cathedral’s scriptorium where he worked on the HC continuously until leaving Compostela in 1112 to become bishop of Mondoñedo, a position he likely attained through the patronage of his master.¹²⁶ Later in life he became a member of King Alfonso VII’s royal curia, before retiring to Compostela and founding a house of Augustinian canons.¹²⁷ He is last mentioned in the HC in 1130, six years prior to his resignation from Mondoñedo.¹²⁸

¹²³ There are five known authors in the HC, they are: Munio Alfonso, Hugh, Pedro, Gerald, and, theoretically, Pedro Marcio. Only Munio, Gerald, and Pedro Marcio are considered primary authors in this study as they wrote and compiled different sections of the HC. Pedro and Hugh are secondary authors who contributed specific sections to Munio Alfonso’s work. Pedro is the only of the HC’s five known authors who will not be featured substantially in this thesis, as his contribution was so small.

¹²⁴ Although Munio’s origins are not explicitly noted, his name (which was very common in Galicia) suggests he was native to the area, as does his description of Galician as *nostro vocabulo* in HC I.3, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 54. Munio’s account of Diego Gelmírez’s election, which was written largely in the first-personal plural, appears to come from the perspective of an eyewitness and participant. It is therefore probable that Munio was established in the cathedral chapter at the time of the election. And prior to Gelmírez’s episcopacy, Luis Sala Balust, ‘Los Autores de La Historia Compostelana’, *Hispania* 3 (1943): 50.

¹²⁵ Munio Alfonso’s three missions to Rome included a late 1100/early 1101 trip with Diego’s brother Munio Gelmírez which concerned episcopal ordination (HC I.10), an 1104 visit with the archdeacon Gaufrido, meant to secure Diego the *pallium* (HC I.16), and a slightly later jaunt which aimed at resolving a boundary dispute with the see of Mondoñedo, HC I.34.5.

¹²⁶ The author of the chapter narrates a scene in which Diego was heavily involved in Munio and Hugh’s consecration, a scene that implies the elevation was a reward from St James, HC I.81.2.

¹²⁷ Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 62–63.

¹²⁸ He is named, by his office rather than his person, as being among those attending the consecration of the new bishop of Salamanca at a council in Carrión, HC III.15.

The HC's second author Hugh (alternatively Hugo or Ugo) was a canon, chaplain, and later archdeacon at the cathedral of Santiago.¹²⁹ His name, like that of his brother William (*Guilielmus*), was uncommon in Galicia, suggesting a French or at least trans-Pyrenean provenance, as does his apparently uncertain knowledge of Galician geography.¹³⁰ Given that his first appearance in the HC is in the 1102 list of canons, one cannot be entirely sure that his time at Compostela predated the bishop's; however, considering how quickly he was admitted into Diego's confidence, accompanying him to Braga less than a year after the oath had been sworn, most scholars think that his tenure predated Diego's and that he was likely appointed by Diego's predecessor Dalmacio.¹³¹ Like Munio, Hugh was a member of Diego's early core team, travelling to Rome three times in five years for Diego in addition to his trip to Braga.¹³² After becoming the bishop of Porto in 1112, Hugh remained loyal to Diego and continued to ally himself with him in inter-episcopal disputes, before eventually dying in 1136.¹³³

Gerald (variously *Giraldus* and *Girardus*) was a canon and master at Compostela's cathedral chapter who was, in the opinion of Ludwig Vones, a specialist of language, letters, and philosophy.¹³⁴ Likely a Frenchman and a native of Beauvais, a city some seventy-five kilometres north of Paris, Gerald came to Compostela sometime during Alfonso VI's reign,

¹²⁹ In the HC his name is spelled 'Hugo' by Munio and Gerald (e.g. HC I.14.1, II.P) and 'Ugo' by himself (HC I.15.5); Hugh was chaplain while in Portugal with Diego and was archdeacon by the time he wrote his chapter, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 64.

¹³⁰ Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 12; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 63–64.

¹³¹ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 64.

¹³² See: HC I.9.1, 14.1, 15.5, 16.1,

¹³³ HC I.81; Andrea Mariani and Francesco Renzi, 'The "Territorialization" of the Episcopal Power in Medieval Portugal. A Study on the Bullae of Popes Paschalis II and Callixtus II and the Conflicts between the Diocese of Oporto, Braga and Coimbra', *Lusitania Sacra* 37 (2018): 162–63.

¹³⁴ Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' Und Die Kirchenpolitik Des Nordwestspanischen Raumes. 1070-1130. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien Und Dem Papsttum Ze Beginn Des 12. Jahrhunderts.*, 55.

plausibly as part of Diego's 1102 drive to improve capitular standards.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, and unlike his predecessors Munio and Hugh, Gerald did not seem to have left a trace on history aside from his contribution to the HC, neither writing nor featuring in any other known works.¹³⁶ Fortunately however, Gerald's contribution to the HC was voluminous and he was willing to insert himself into his narrative where he could; consequently, there is a reasonable amount of internal material to work with when trying to reconstruct his thoughtworld.¹³⁷ Like Munio and Hugh before him, Gerald showed himself to have been a close partisan of Diego and someone in whom the bishop could trust. After what appears to be a relatively quiet first decade for the *magister*, Gerald became (from 1113) more intimately involved in church affairs, from that point on being a frequent participant in narrated events.¹³⁸ In 1118 he followed in his literary predecessors' footsteps in visiting Rome on Diego's behalf, although his write-up of the occasion suggests that he was less temperamentally suited to diplomatic work than were Munio or Hugh.¹³⁹

First arriving in the chapter around 1128 Pedro Marcio was, at the time his contribution was written, employed simultaneously as canon, archdeacon, and notary at the church of Santiago – a triad of roles he held until 1152.¹⁴⁰ As proposed by López Alsina in 1988, Pedro Marcio's authorship is, given its anonymity, entirely theoretical.¹⁴¹ He is however the most likely candidate for the authorship of the HC's latter third. Despite being silent about his name, that

¹³⁵ Declaring himself present at an armed conflict on the fringes of Diego's dominions, Gerald wrote about his fear and his wish that he 'had been in Beauvais', suggesting that the French city was his hometown (HC I.109.4). His various comments about Galicians also show that he was not one of them, indicating that he was from elsewhere (HC I.109.4). Gerald states that he arrived in Compostela prior to Alfonso VI's death (HC I.46).

¹³⁶ In her critical edition, Falque notes an unpublished work by J. Gil which suggests that the HC's Gerald was the same person as the previously unidentified Gerald who was recorded assisting Pope Innocent II, Peter Abelard, and Bernard of Clairvaux at mass in Morigny in 1131, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 14.

¹³⁷ See: HC II.6, 8, 10, 12, 19, 56.

¹³⁸ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 71.

¹³⁹ See below for the discussion of Gerald's temperament, 192-193.

¹⁴⁰ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 96-97.

¹⁴¹ See footnotes immediately below for relevant references.

author did identify himself on several occasions as being a member of Compostela's chapter and as one especially loyal to Archbishop Diego.¹⁴² He also identified himself as being distinct from the *maiores*, certain distinguished members of the chapter who, despite being previously favoured by the archbishop, eventually turned against him.¹⁴³ The author first places himself within the narrative (chronologically speaking) at a 1127 capitular meeting, at which he appears to have played no active role, something which López Alsina has taken to indicate he was rather junior at the time.¹⁴⁴ This indication of his apparent minority at the Compostelan chapter, combined with his knowledge of trans-Pyrenean ecclesiastical structures and affairs (as well as his usage of certain refrains that hint at a partially Italian formation) led López Alsina to think that he was likely a Galician by birth with some non-Iberian education.¹⁴⁵ Given these hints at the author's personage (a link with the chapter c.1127 onwards, a good literary education, relative youth, and possible links abroad), and given what is known about the Compostelan chapter in the middle of the twelfth century, López Alsina concluded that there was only one viable candidate for authorship: Pedro Marcio, whose personal career (first formally appearing in 1132), youth (he lived to at least 1174), and apparent ability (considering his various roles and his eventual elevation as Compostelan cardinal), best falls within these parameters.¹⁴⁶ Significantly, his later role as the 'transcriber', or in effect the author, of the c.1155-1173 *votos de Santiago*, a supposed copy of a ninth-century charter from Ramiro I rendering an annual

¹⁴² HC II.68, 87, 91, III.47, 53; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 94; Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 481.

¹⁴³ HC III.46; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 88, 95.

¹⁴⁴ HC II.87; López Alsina, 94.

¹⁴⁵ Emma Falque notes the author's reference to the winter winds of Boreas (the north wind) and Eureus (the south, south-west wind): *In tempore hiemis Euro flante et Borea comitante* (HC III.1, 47). These winds do not Falque notes, accurately refer to Galician meteorology (as the author suggests) but rather to those of certain parts of Italy. This suggests that the author may have misapplied meteorological knowledge that he had picked up during a stint in Italy, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 581; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 95–96.

¹⁴⁶ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 96–97.

tribute to the see, shows that he was not alien to the scriptorium and so likely capable of writing history.¹⁴⁷ He was also responsible for writing Archbishop Pelayo's will in 1154.¹⁴⁸

This theory about Pedro Marcio's authorship, which is plausible if eminently unprovable, prompts one to consider again the gap between author and narrator and the potential dangers involved when employing external biographical information in the analysis of a text. In Pedro Marcio's case such dangers are especially present given the fact that the author behind the text cannot be linked with any certainty to its narrator. Consequently, the thesis will not employ any external biographical details (although it will use inferred details from within the text) when analysing his contributions. To that end, it is perhaps fortunate that knowledge of the historical Pedro Marcio is limited to his presence in several diplomatics, meaning that he is something of a blank slate whose attribution comes with little baggage.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ López Alsina, 187–93; Klaus Herbers, *Política y Veneración de Santos En La Península Ibérica: Desarrollo Del Santiago Político* (Pontevedra: Fundación Cultural Rutas del Románico, 2006), 66–71. For the later effects and the reception of the *votos*, see: Ofelia Rey Castelao, *La Historiografía Del Voto de Santiago: Recopilación Crítica de Una Polémica Histórica* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1985).

¹⁴⁸ Tumbo C, f.14v-15r, f.268v-269r; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 97.

¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the historical Pedro Marcio's career at Compostela spans a fascinating period for the church, covering at least 1132-1174. Indeed, it covered the archiepiscopacies of Diego Gelmírez, the disputed election of Berenger (1141-42), that of Pedro Elías (1143-1149), Berenger's short-lived return (1150-1151), Pelayo (1153-1155), Martín (1156-1167), Pedro Gudestéiz (1167-1173), and finally Pedro Suárez de Deza (1173-1206). During this time, he would have witnessed the decades of instability that followed Diego's death, serving under administrations of variant length and stability that were alternately close with the crown (such as Berenger and Pedro Gudestéiz) then hostile to it (Pedro Elías and Martín), before reaching, in his probable dotage, the archiepiscopacy of Compostela's second greatest twelfth-century incumbent, Pedro Suárez de Deza. Indeed, it was Archbishop Pedro Suárez, a Paris-trained theologian and former royal chaplain to King Fernando II of León and Galicia, who finally managed to establish calm relations with both the monarchy and the Galician aristocracy. It was also during his rule that Compostela arguably reached its artistic (if not political) peak, with the cathedral finally being completed under the architect Mateo, and with education in the city being considerably reformed. It is for these reasons that Roger Wright concluded that Pedro Suárez would be 'as widely celebrated as Diego Gelmírez, if only he had a biographer.' In this way, Pedro Marcio, even if one discounts his authorship of Registrum III, would be a figure of considerable interest given that he was one of few people to bridge the archiepiscopacies of Diego Gelmírez and Pedro Suárez de Deza. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 53–61; Roger Wright, 'Galician before 1250', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D'Emilio (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 852. For a detailed overview of the medieval archiepiscopate of Compostela from 1150 onwards, see: Marta González Vázquez, *El Arzobispo de Santiago: Una Instancia de Poder En La Edad Media, 1150-1400* (Santiago de Compostela: Seminario de Estudios Gallegos, 1996).

Theoretical Production phases

Having described the four authorial subjects of the thesis, it is now worth discussing which parts of the HC those authors were responsible for writing and when they wrote. Here the HC and its complexity present something of a problem. Its inconsistency of form and vision, and the unevenness with which earlier conceptions of the HC were incorporated into later ones, lend it a palimpsestic quality, which both hints at a hidden structure (beyond that of its three books) while also making it something of a puzzle to unpick. As one might expect, much scholarly time has been devoted to overcoming this problem and several theories of production have been developed, the fullest and most convincing of which was laid out by López Alsina in 1988.¹⁵⁰ As his theory of composition is used in this thesis, an exposition of its key points, as well as notes on issues of contention, will be necessary.¹⁵¹

López Alsina conceived the HC as being compiled in three separate phases over a forty-year period, by three primary authors, at least two secondary authors, and with gaps of time between each phase of production. These phases of production do not, however, correspond to the HC's three books which were organisational impositions of its latter two authors/compiler.¹⁵² The first of these phases, which constitutes HC I.1-45, was written between 1109-1110 and covers

¹⁵⁰ Fernando López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), 46-93.

¹⁵¹ Given the long and convoluted history of the work, and the apparent occlusion of its final author, any theory of production will be flawed and forever open to additional revision. Nevertheless, an historiographical study such as that conducted in this thesis requires a working theory to operate and López Alsina's is the most convincing we have. It is also worth saying that the theories of composition devised before López Alsina's own were generally uncertain and couched in doubt. Reilly for example supported a two-author theory but acknowledged problems with it, criticising his own theory for failing to account for the palpable change in form and focus from the latter part of Book II onwards, a difference that López Alsina would later attribute to a change of authorship. Falque, who provided a good overview of the various theories in her critical edition, noted also that dating and authorship was difficult from HC I.45 onwards given the cacophony of the various sources. In her translation, which was written six years after her critical edition and after López Alsina had proposed his theory, she updated her previous position and took López Alsina's theory to be the most plausible option: Bernard Reilly, 'The Historia Compostellana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Gesta', *Speculum* 44, no. 1 (1969): 85; Falque, *Historia Compostellana*, xiii-xxv; Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 17.

¹⁵² The development of the three-part structure through the conceptions of Gerald and later Pedro Marcio will be discussed in chapters three and four of the thesis.

the early years of Diego's rule up until Alfonso VI's death.¹⁵³ Since Ludwig Vones's 1977 book on the Galician church, this section has been termed Registrum I, a name that shall be retained for the thesis.¹⁵⁴

While Registrum I was primarily the work of Munio Alfonso, it does contain contributions from other members of Compostela's cathedral chapter. The first of these came from Hugh, the second of this thesis's subject authors.¹⁵⁵ He names himself as the author of HC I.15, a long *translatio* and *furtum sacrum* narrative whose incongruity with respect to the rest of Registrum I suggests that it was originally an independent composition, later incorporated by Munio as he compiled his work.¹⁵⁶

The second minor contribution to Munio's *registrum* comes from Pedro, the individual who named himself in HC I.27. He has been variously identified as Pedro Gundesindez, a cardinal at Compostela; Pedro Anaya, a scarcely mentioned canon; and Pedro Díaz, a notary and chaplain at the cathedral.¹⁵⁷ As none of the attributions are definitively convincing, this study will remain agnostic on the subject of his identity and will refer to him simply as 'Pedro'. Pedro's contribution was slight, amounting to a single charter recording a property donation to Santiago de Compostela.¹⁵⁸ López Alsina thinks it likely that, as in the case of Hugh's contribution, Pedro did not write for the HC *per se* but that something he had previously

¹⁵³ See 'Primera parte' in López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, 48-64.

¹⁵⁴ Ludwig Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' und die Kirchenpolitik des Nordwestspanischen Raumes. 1070-1130. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und dem Papsttum zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Köln-Wien, 1980), 45.

¹⁵⁵ Fletcher is the exception in this regard, thinking it possible that Hugues was a native of Compostela and childhood friend of Diego Gelmírez, Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 90.

¹⁵⁶ Reilly, 'The Historia Compostellana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Gesta', 80.

¹⁵⁷ For a summary of this debate see the section 'La pseudo-autoría del capellán Pedro en HC I, 27' in López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, 55-58.

¹⁵⁸ HC I.27.

composed was copied verbatim into the *registrum*.¹⁵⁹ It is entirely plausible that many other of the HC's integrated documents were originally penned by other hands only to be later appropriated by Munio Alfonso, Gerald, and Pedro Marcio. Nevertheless, given that authorship in the present study is defined synonymously with compilatory and editorial agency, this fact is not too much of a problem as the HC's compilers as creators of a new whole still retain their status as primary authors.

One point of contention among scholars is the authorship of HC I.1-3, an introductory run of chapters concerning Iria-Compostela's pre-Gelmírez history. Starting with L. Sala Balust and his 1943 article, the prevailing view among scholars has been that HC I.1-3 was written by Gerald rather than Munio Alfonso, thus designating these first chapters a later addition absent from the original *Registrum I*. The basis for this position being the repetition of certain events from HC I.1-3 in Book II, and a judgement that that they wouldn't have been repeated midway through the work had they already existed.¹⁶⁰ Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz and López Alsina have held a dissenting position, noting orthographic similarities between HC I.1-3 and the rest of *Registrum I*, and by arguing that the Latin of the former has a distinctly Galician timbre, thus excluding the Frenchman Gerald.¹⁶¹ This study finds Munio's authorship for HC I.1-3 more convincing and so holds that HC I.1-45 represents a single literary conception known as *Registrum I*.

¹⁵⁹ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, 58.

¹⁶⁰ Scholars' works taking this position include: L. Sala Balust, 'Los autores de la Historia Compostelana', *Hispania*, 3 (1943), 16-60; A. G. Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez. First Archbishop of Compostela* (Washington DC, 1949); Bernard F. Reilly, 'The Historia Compostelana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish Gesta' *Speculum* 44, no. 1 (1969), 82; Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' und die Kirchenpolitik des Nordwestspanischen Raumes*, 57.

¹⁶¹ Among other things, this involves the use of phrases such as *nostro uocabulo uocitatur*, HC I.3; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Reflexiones sobre la "Historia Compostelana"', *El Museo de Pontevedra (In memoriam Alfredo García Alén)* 37 (1983), 67-74; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, 51-55.

The second phase of production, covering events between 1109-1124, was written by Gerald between 1121-1124.¹⁶² Estimates of Gerard's contribution vary, with some assigning him HC I.1-3 and everything from HC I.46 onwards, whereas others curtail his *registrum* by attributing the final few chapters of the work to an unnamed author.¹⁶³ Prior to López Alsina, most scholars considered Gerard the work's primary author and the individual responsible for organising it into three books, writing its three prologues, and adding Hugh and Pedro's contributions to Registrum I. López Alsina's conception of Gerard's *registrum* is radically different however, designating to him only the HC's first two prologues and the middle third of the work.¹⁶⁴ He instead attributes the final ninety-six chapters, as well as several interpolations in Gerald's *registrum*, to the pen of Pedro Marcio.¹⁶⁵ This reduced contribution from Gerald will be termed Registrum II in the thesis. The designation 'Registrum II' has not been used before but, given that it follows on logically from Registrum I, and given the production phases numbered as Registra I-III offer a useful analytical parallel to the explicit structure of Books I-III, it is a useful one.

While the earliest scholars of the HC did not countenance the idea of a fifth (or third primary) hidden author, the idea has been explored since López Ferreiro, who proposed that the final few chapters (HC III.46 onwards) be assigned to one Rainerio, a clergyman from Pistoia.¹⁶⁶ Rainerio's authorship was also taken up by Eugenio Fernández Almuzara, who thought he could identify the hands of three other anonymous authors, and Anselm Gordon Biggs, who

¹⁶² His contribution spans: I.P, 46-99, 101-117, II.P, I-56, 59-63; For the full exposition, see: 'segunda parte' in López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, 64-78.

¹⁶³ For an overview of the debate on Gerard's authorship, see the introduction to Emma Falque's Spanish translation of the HC: *Historia Compostelana*, trans. Emma Falque (Madrid, 1994), 13-14.

¹⁶⁴ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 68.

¹⁶⁵ HC I.100, HC II.57-58

¹⁶⁶ Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A.M Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela* IV (Santiago de Compostela, 1901), 172.

noted the change in language towards the end of Book III.¹⁶⁷ Ludwig Vones and Bernard Reilly have agreed that this section was written by Gerard.¹⁶⁸ López Alsina, who of course identified this last author as Pedro Marcio, assigned him authorship of the work's introductory *monitus*, all of HC II.64 onwards, and several interpolations into Gerald's work.¹⁶⁹ Building on López Ferreiro's observation that there was a narrative break after 1124, López Alsina proposed that all subsequent chapters should be considered a separate phase of production, one written during the archiepiscopacy of Pedro Elías between 1145-1149.¹⁷⁰ Noting considerable linguistic and stylistic commonalities, as well as a distinctly 'sterile' rhetorical tone, he argues that this *registrum* was written in a considerably different socio-political context, and by an author who, in contrast to his predecessors, wished to remain anonymous. This portion of the HC will be termed Registrum III.¹⁷¹

It is also important to draw a distinction between the three *registra* as context-specific additions to the HC, compiled by different authors at different times, and the differing conceptions that each author had for the HC as a whole. This distinction is important because the HC's two latter compilers were not just producers of original material but integrators (and to some extent editors) of their predecessors' work. Therefore, in order to evaluate how a particular compiler approached prior conceptions when creating his own, a distinction between *registra* and the HC as an evolving whole will be maintained.

¹⁶⁷ Eugenio Fernández Almuzara, 'En torno la "Crónica Compostelana"', Escorial 6, 17 (1942), 341-374, 356. Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez. First Archbishop of Compostela*, cit. XXIV; For a full discussion, see: Falque, *Historia Compostelana* (1994), 16.

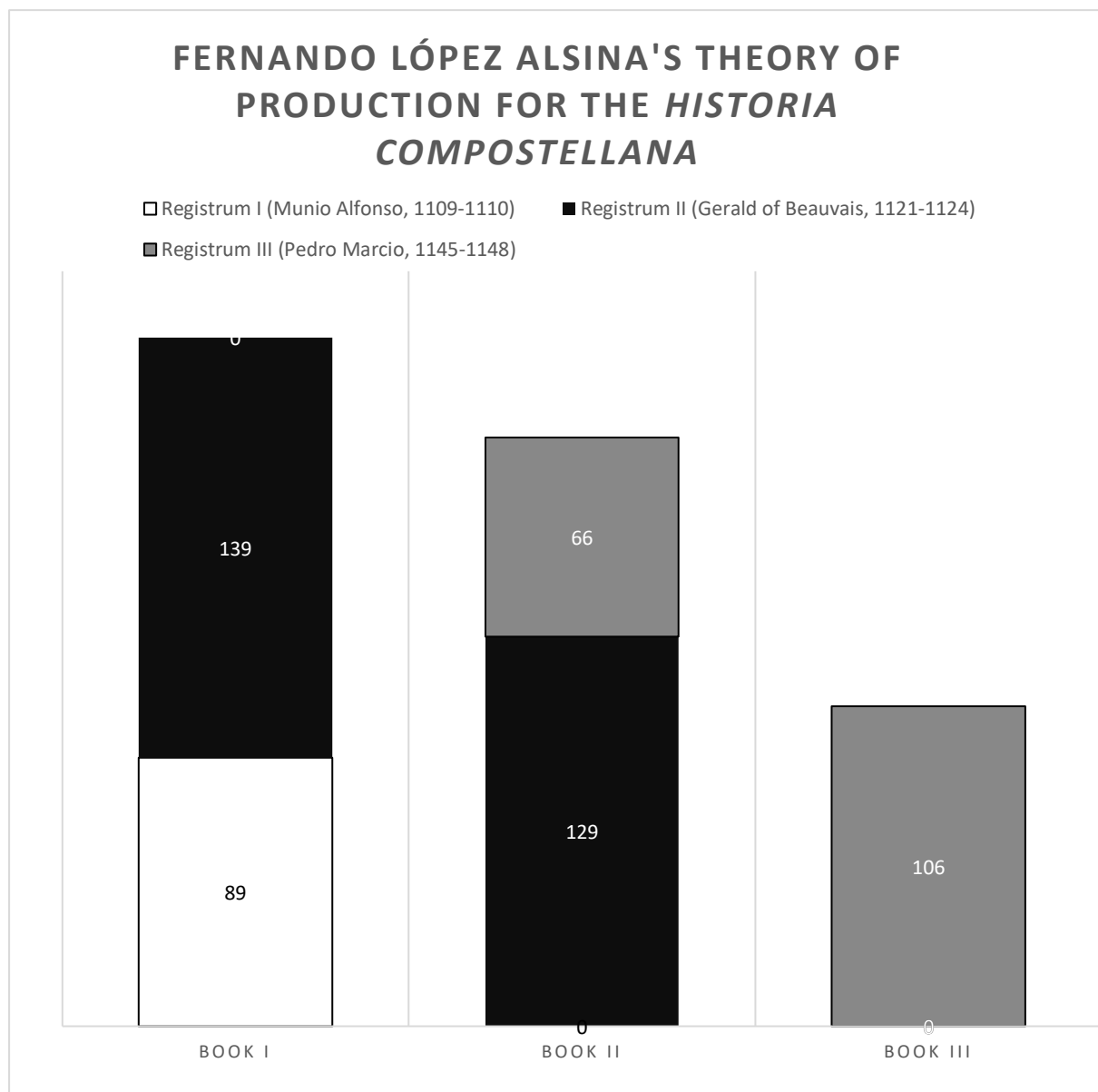
¹⁶⁸ Reilly, 'The Historia Compostellana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Gesta', 75; Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' Und Die Kirchenpolitik Des Nordwestspanischen Raumes. 1070-1130. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien Und Dem Papsttum Ze Beginn Des 12. Jahrhunderts.*, 63.

¹⁶⁹ The interpolations include HC I.100, II.57-58.

¹⁷⁰ See 'Tercera Parte' in López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, 78-93.

¹⁷¹ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, 80.

To summarise the theory of production, the HC was produced by three primary authors, Munio Alfonso, Gerard, and Pedro Marcio, with minor contributions from Hugh and Pedro. It was compiled over a forty-year period, during three phases of production (1109-1110, 1121-1124, 1145-1149), and according to three distinct organisational visions. These phases of production correspond to the HC's three *registra*, not to be confused with its three books.



The Structure of the Thesis

The main objectives of the thesis, as outlined at the start of this introduction, are to provide a comprehensive understanding of the HC as a piece of historical writing, to evaluate each of its

three conceptions as literary units, to uncover the various perspectives that lay under it (and which motivated the production of its various parts over its forty-year production span), and to elucidate something of the socio-political world in which it was produced. This will be realised through the application of the various narratological and literary methods (described above) and will be applied to the contributions of four of the HC's authors in turn. As three of these contributions (Munio Alfonso, Gerald, and Pedro Marcio) also represent three distinct phases of production, the analyses allow for time-specific as well as author-specific contextualisations. The chapters are as follows.

Chapter 1 looks at Munio Alfonso's Registrum I, the original conception of the HC which was composed between 1109-1110 and which spans Compostela's deep past up until 1109. This chapter argues that Registrum I, which leaned more towards the document-heavy *registrum* than the narrative-driven *gesta*, was composed to provide Compostela with a literary refoundation, something which complemented and consolidated Diego's real-world reforms. A particular focus of the chapter is on the ways in which Munio sought to convince the reader of Diego's merit, working variously to assure his episcopal legitimacy, practical competence, and reforming credentials.

Chapter 2 is something of an outlier in that it looks not at the author of a *registrum* but at Hugh's single contribution to Munio's Registrum I, specifically the *furta sacra* narrative which constitutes chapter 15 of book I. Chapter 2 is mostly concerned with the ways in which the genre of the *furta sacra* was employed to devastating apologetic effect, and what Hugh's utilisation of this genre reveals about the ruthlessness of Diego's administrations, and about the ways in which churchmen thought about translated saints' agency.

Chapter 3 looks at Gerald's *Registrum II*, the section of the HC composed between 1120-1124 which covers the years 1109-1124. This chapter looks at how Gerald both expanded and developed Munio's original conception of the HC, tilting it more towards narrative and maintaining a more oppositional tone. It considers in turn: the characterisation of their various factions and their leaders, the presentation of Diego's various reforms, his advertising of Diego's victories, and his polemical uses of miracle narratives. It argues that *Registrum II* represents a more confident and triumphalist conception, one which reflects an archiepiscopacy in its pomp.

Finally, Chapter 4 looks at Pedro Marcio's *Registrum III*, the part of the HC written between 1145-1148 (and after Diego's death) and which detail the years 1124-1140. This chapter considers the rather confused way in which Pedro Marcio sought to refashion the work of his predecessors into a new whole that both fulfilled the masterplot of the HC (the promotion of Diego and his life) while also addressing the needs of a different archiepiscopacy. It argues that *Registrum III* is a narrative and structural muddle precisely because it is a product of a divided cathedral chapter and was subject to divergent aims.

The thesis's emphasis on authorship highlights the role of the personal in the creation of literature and helps move beyond a traditional 'text as source' understanding of the HC. By analysing the HC with respect to its three production phases, rather than its explicit three-book structure, this study promotes and expands upon a more culturally and historically coherent scheme of division, which allows for a better understanding of its various production phases (and how they differ between themselves) while also emphasising its relative lack of unity. By insisting on a culturally situated, socio-political reading, one that largely eschews modern categories, the thesis provides a basis for understanding the text that is closer to its authors'

own understandings while also providing an insight into the thought-worlds they operated within. Ultimately, it provides another tool with which future students and historians should exploit this most unusual text.

Chapter One: Constructing Compostela in Munio Alfonso's

Registrum I

The first nine years of Bishop Diego Gelmírez's rule had been good for Munio Alfonso. As his young master had racked up successive diplomatic achievements and initiated vast construction and renovation projects, Munio, an early ally of Diego's, had been one of his most trusted aides, twice being sent to Rome to advocate in his stead. In 1109, however, King Alfonso VI died after a reign of over forty years, shattering León-Castile's fragile political balance, and ending the political order that had sustained Diego and Munio's success. The potential chaos wrought by the king's death was made even more potent by the fact it came only a year after that of his son and heir, the Infante Sancho Alfónsez, and two years after that of Count Raymond, his son in law and *de facto* viceroy of Galicia, meaning there was a power vacuum in the kingdom and no obvious male candidate for the crown. Consequently, the succession fell to the twenty-nine-year-old Infanta Urraca who was, conforming to the wishes of her late father, dutifully, if unhappily, due to wed the crusader-king Alfonso I of Aragon, a marriage arranged with a view to help stabilise León-Castile.¹ However, lacking a truly unifying royal figure, the aristocracies of the kingdom split into factions, with some resenting Aragonese influence on the crown, others fearing the ambitions of Count Henry of Portugal, while others still were refusing to accept the overlordship of a female monarch. In the subsequent years, large swathes of León-Castile would descend into a sort of anarchy in which no single lay authority was unanimously recognised and in which knights and lords fought among themselves for factional and personal

¹ For an overview of what Reilly called 'the ultimate crisis', see: Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 345–64.

gain.² Bishop Diego was one of those who saw the chaos as an opportunity and would spend the next few years expanding the lineaments of his power and the extent and wealth of Compostela's holdings.³ Munio had a role in this campaign: he was to return full time to the scriptorium and write a history that would frame Diego's episcopacy as being a new start for the city and would lay out the case for Diego's greatness. His was to be an official history of Diego's first nine years as bishop and the foundation narrative of Diego's episcopate. His task was to provide a literary rear-guard to the bishop's contemporary manoeuvrings, helping secure Compostela's past while Diego secured its present and future.

This chapter argues that Munio wrote *Registrum I* with the intention of creating a new and useful deep-past for Compostela, defending Diego against contemporary charges of episcopal illegitimacy, and of promoting Diego's early successes as bishop in a way that emphasised his reforming credentials. In doing this the chapter looks at Munio's appropriation (and transformation) of two pre-existing Galician foundation narratives, his relating of Diego's troubled ascent to the episcopacy, and his coverage and documenting of Diego's first nine years as bishop. Munio's choices as *Registrum I*'s compiler, both with respect to his narrative strategy and the content he selected for inclusion/exclusion, also leads the discussion to broader historical phenomena with which Compostela was grappling, such as an increasingly assertive papacy, developing reform ideals, investiture controversies, episcopal competition in Iberia, proprietary churches, and the increased intraconnectivity of Latin Christendom. First, however, the chapter turns to define and delineate *Registrum I* so that one may understand what it was that Munio had produced.

² Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 45–86; María Pallares Méndez and Ermelindo Portela, *La Reina Urraca* (San Sebastián: Nerea, 2006), 65–78.

³ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 129–62; Ermelindo Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2016), 163–85.

The *Historia Compostellana* in its Original Form

Registrum I consists of the first forty-five chapters of the HC, of which Munio was directly responsible for forty three and, as the *registrum*'s compiler, was indirectly responsible for the other two.⁴ Collectively his contribution accounts for less than a quarter of the final text.⁵ As described in the introduction to this thesis, it was produced between 1109-1110.⁶ Structurally, Registrum I can be divided into two distinct sections; a brief account of the see's pre-Gelmirian history, and a much larger second section which spans Diego's initial involvement with the see as its administrator in 1093, through the first eight years of his rule, and up until October 1108.⁷ The two sections are bridged by the *Verba Auctoris*, a short passage in which Munio addresses his audience directly.⁸ Registrum I has a strong focus on ecclesiastical issues looking primarily at Church politics and reform. Unlike in Registra II and III, issues of war, the royal court, and urban life do not feature prominently in Munio's work.

It is in the *Verba Auctoris*, the bridging-text between Registrum I's two sections, that one finds Munio's aspirations for writing.⁹ In it, Munio reported that he was ordered by Bishop Diego to record the acts of his episcopal predecessors, to memorialise Diego's own achievements, and to detail the adversities he suffered in defence of his church.¹⁰ The structure of Registrum I

⁴ The two incorporated chapters (HC I.15, 27) represent documents written by other authors that were transcribed into Registrum I by Munio Alfonso, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 55.

⁵ Which is, for the purposes of this study, Emma Falque's critical edition, *Historia Compostellana*.

⁶ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 52–53.

⁷ The first part of Registrum I includes HC I.1–3, and the second HC I.4–45. Until the transference of the see to the supposed site of St James' tomb, the bishopric had been *de jure* located thirty kilometres away at Iria (modern-day Padrón), a seat whose origins dated to the 572 Second Council of Braga and the Suebic Kingdom of Gallaecia, Purificación Ubric, 'The Church in the Suevic Kingdom (411–585 AD)', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 224. Diego was appointed secular administrator by Count Raymond of Burgundy, the quasi-viceroy of Galicia, to govern the see while it awaited the election of a new bishop, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 80.

⁸ HC I.3.2.

⁹ Falque, 'Los Prólogos En La Historiografía Latina Medieval: La Historia Compostelana y El Liber Eliensis'.

¹⁰ HC I.3.2.

bears out these emphases with a division into pre- and post-Gelmirian phases. These two aspects of Registrum I are not evenly represented however, with Munio dedicating much less textual space to Compostela's earlier history, which makes up not much more than a quarter of Registrum I. Of the remaining three-quarters-or-so of the text, most was dedicated to narrating the first eight years of his episcopacy, rather than his seven years of pre-episcopacy.¹¹ From this, one can deduce that Munio's literary emphasis is on the post-1100 episcopate and that the earlier narratives (of Compostela's deeper past and of Diego's pre-episcopal career) are of secondary importance.

The contents of the first two chapters of Registrum I concern the earlier history of Compostela, starting with a *translatio* narrative, continuing with an *inventio* narrative, before providing a series of short episcopal biographies that summarise and evaluate the rules of each of Diego's predecessors from Ataulf I (c.847-851) to Pedro II (c.1088-1090).¹² Significantly, the first two of the section's chapters are borrowed from pre-existing textual traditions, the only instances of this occurring in the whole of the HC.

For the first of these, Munio drew on texts from the Jacobean *translationes*, a tradition which emerged with the *Epistola Leonis* around the turn of the tenth century (a short confected letter apparently sent from a 'Bishop Leo' to an implausible cast of late-antique rulers) before

¹¹ Of Registrum I's 1459 lines, the first two chapters on pre-Gelmirian Compostela constitute 399, meaning that the first part of Registrum I accounts for 27,3% of the whole while the second part accounts for 72.7%. Of the second part only 151 lines were dedicated to Diego's career pre-consecration (from 1092-1101), making up only 10.3% of Registrum I. This means that around 62.4% of Registrum I relates the early years of Diego's episcopacy. Statistics taken from: López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 301.

¹² The detail in these lives is very scant and even now very little is known about them. For the fullest biographies, see: López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1899, II:61–70, 147–252, 276–555; López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1900, III:151–68; García Álvarez, *El Cronicon Iriense*, 172–220. All bishops prior to Teodomiro (who is shown discovering St James's tomb in the *inventio*) are only named without any further backstory being given, HC I.1.3. See also for the early history of the Irian see, Manuel Díaz y Díaz, 'La Diócesis de Iria-Compostela Hasta 1100', in *Historia de Las Diócesis Españolas. 14: Iglesias de Santiago de Compostela y Tuy-Vigo*, ed. José García Oro (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002), 9–40.

developing through the tenth and eleventh centuries, gaining mythological accretions, diversifying in form and, in some instances, dropping the epistolary format altogether.¹³ It is to this non-epistolary group that Munio Alfonso's redaction belongs.¹⁴ Munio's recension, which is shorter than many others in the tradition, does include the same essential structure and story elements of its predecessors.¹⁵

The second tradition, that of the *inventio*, is much less convoluted, consisting only of four known texts with oldest dated to 1077, twenty years prior to Munio's version.¹⁶ While the four texts do contain substantial variations in emphasis, detail, and even character, they do all hold the same basic story elements, namely a reference to translation, an overview of the years between translation and discovery, the miraculous discovery of the tomb, the informing of the

¹³ The *Epistola Leonis* was itself built upon vague historical associations between James and 'the west' first made in the sixth-century *Brevarium Apostolorum*, Thomas F. Coffey and Maryjane Dunn, eds., *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi* (Bristol: Indica Press, 2019), xxviii; Carlos Baliñas Pérez, 'The Origins of the Inventio Sancti Iacobi and the Making of a Kingdom: A Historical Framework, 700-850', in *Translating the Relics of St James from Jerusalem to Compostela*, ed. Antón Pazos (London: Routledge, 2017), 80-88. For an excellent study on the development of the Galician Jacobean translation myth see, consult: 'La *Epistola Leonis Pape de Translatione Sancti Iacobi in Galleciam*' in Díaz y Díaz, *Escritos Jacobeos*, 133-82. Originally published in: Díaz y Díaz, 517-68; For analysis of the earliest *Epistola Leonis* see also: López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 129-132; 'In Deri nomine. Leo episcopus regibus Francorum et Vandalorum, Gotorum et Romanorum. Notescimus uobis de translacione beatissimi Iacobi apostoli...', *Codex Parisinus Lat. 2036* in López Alsina, 129. It is also worth mentioning that there were other, non-Galician Jacobean burial stories that contradict the Galician narratives, see: Denys Pringle, 'Traditions Relating to St James the Great in the Accounts of Medieval Latin Pilgrims to the Holy Land', in *Translating the Relics of St James: From Jerusalem to Compostela*, ed. Antón Pazos (London: Routledge, 2017), 124-39. Narrative similarities include: St James dying in Jerusalem, his transportation overseas by his disciples, his arrival in Galicia, and his burial; Díaz y Díaz, 'La *Epistola Leonis Pape de Translatione Sancti Iacobi Galleciam*', 144-52, 166-72.

¹⁴ Although he does explicitly reference the pseudo letter in his text, HC I.1.

¹⁵ The HC's version was not however the final stage in the tradition's development, nor was it even the Gelmírez administration's last foray into using it, which came during the compilation of the *Codex Calixtinus* towards the end of Diego's archiepiscopacy. Those five Jacobean translation stories found in the LSJ are: *Veneranda Dies* (Book I's sermon), and the *prologue*, *chapter 1*, *chapter 2*, and *chapter 3* of Book III's *translatio magna*, see: Fernando López Alsina, 'Diego Gelmírez, Las Raíces Del Liber Sancti Jacobi y El Codice Calixtino', in *O Século de Xelmírez*, ed. Fernando López Alsina et al. (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2013), 301-386; Coffey and Dunn, *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, xxxvii-lxvi; Javier García Turza, 'The Formulation, Development and Expansion of the Translatio of St James', in *Translating the Relics of St James from Jerusalem to Compostela* (London: Routledge, 2017), 110-120;

¹⁶ The tradition includes examples from: the CA, the CI, Munio's HC redaction, and an abridged version from a 1129 charter to the Abbey of San Martín Pinario, subscribed by then Archbishop Diego, López Alsina, 'La Invención Del Sepulcro de Santiago y La Difusión Del Culto Jacobeo'.

king of the tomb's existence, and the institution of the cult and the building of churches at the place of burial.¹⁷ The HC marks the first example of both these foundational narratives appearing in the same text.

Regarding the episcopal biographies of chapter 3, one of the most likely historiographical influences on the HC is the *Liber Pontificalis*, an immense serial record and series of papal biographies that began in the fourth century and continued intermittently throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁸ As Emma Falque notes it is entirely plausible that the *Liber Pontificalis*, which was widely copied and extensively read, served as a literary template for Munio when making Registrum I, itself a serial record and ecclesiastical biography.¹⁹

The second and much larger part of Registrum I covers Diego's early career as Compostela's administrator, his election and consecration as its bishop, and the first eight years of his rule. As Munio suggests in the *Verba Auctoris*, Registrum I focuses on victories won and challenges faced by Diego. Much of its content is rendered in narrative accounts, such as the bishop's 1105 trip to Rome via Cluny, a mission on which Munio was present.²⁰ More still is structured around the legal documents themselves, with groups of charters and privileges often being grouped thematically rather than strictly chronologically, and usually contextualised with some narrative or commentary from Munio. Outside the opening three chapters, López Alsina identified seven distinct narrative sections, into which legal documentation was unevenly distributed.²¹ The close of Registrum I is dominated by a ream of such documentation, each of

¹⁷ López Alsina.

¹⁸ Falque, 'La Historia Compostelana En El Panorama de La Historiografía Latina Medieval', 18.

¹⁹ Falque, 18–19.

²⁰ HC I.16.

²¹ They include: the campaign for Diego's election and consecration (HC I.4-10), Diego's earliest ecclesiastical victories (HC I.11-17), His reorganisation of the chapter (HC I.18-20), assorted construction works and renovations (HC I.21-22, 30, 33), various rights, privileges, and donations (HC I. 23-31), more construction and restorations (HC I.32-33), a diocesan dispute (HC I.34-36), and various papal correspondences (HC I.37-45).

which are only weakly connected by narrative.²² One gets the impression here that Munio ‘dumped’ a semi-connected set of documents he thought important to Diego’s biography without taking the care to weave them into a story. Furthermore, one gets the impression from Registrum I’s rather abrupt ending that it was not a self-contained piece of work (with a defined endpoint) but a more open document that could have been continuously updated as new things were produced. As discussed above, work was likely stopped on Registrum I when Munio became bishop of Mondoñedo. As several scholars have noted, this second part of Registrum I appears to have been shaped by Munio’s position as cathedral treasurer in that it more concerned with documenting events than narrating them.²³

Formally then, Registrum I is a text of two halves, combining literary narratives of a miraculous past with bureaucratic reporting, with the former contextualising the latter so framing Diego’s episcopacy according to what came before. Precisely how this deeper past was used by Munio in relation to his present, is the focus of the following section.

Compostela: A City Founded in Writing

As outlined in the introduction, the eleventh and twelfth centuries were a golden age for narrative reconfigurations; a time when monks and canons across the continent scrabbled about their libraries and treasuries, searching for raw materials with which they might write new histories and anchor themselves in a rapidly changing world.²⁴ Often, these men would start at the beginning, amending their foundational histories in such a way that transformed their

²² HC I.35-45.

²³ Reilly, ‘The Historia Compostellana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Gesta’, 85; Falque, *Historia Compostellana*, xxiv; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 54–55.

²⁴ Be that through compiling older works or through falsifying new ones, see: Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance, Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, 134–57; Levi Roach, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021), 53–92. See also the above discussion on the twelfth century as a time of change, 8-11.

institution's whole past and present identities.²⁵ This section looks at how Munio did precisely that in the first three chapters of his *Registrum* I, those laying the foundations for his story of Diego's life. It begins by looking at how he adapted the contents of pre-existing *translatio* and *inventio* traditions to the new Romanising diplomatic and ideological realities of the age. Then it considers a change in toponymical language within the texts, in which there was a move away from older cultic names and an embracing of the word *Compostella*. Next, it looks at early moves to connect the see's history with the figure of Charlemagne before finally looking at some of the older Jacobean cultic material that was discarded by Munio.

Romanising St James

In Munio's opening chapter there are a couple of seemingly unremarkable sentences which, on closer inspection, mark a radical departure from the Jacobean *translatio* tradition and signal a shift in worldview from that which those older texts represented. The change is evident from the beginning of the narrative, where Munio referenced, for the first time in the tradition, Christ's Great Commissioning of his apostles, in which a newly-resurrected Jesus designated his followers regions of the world to evangelise, pointedly assigning Jerusalem to St James.²⁶ It continues to describe how, after being martyred by 'the Jews', St James's body and head were gathered together by his disciples and translated overseas for burial in Galicia.²⁷ This

²⁵ For a brief discussion of the tendency in Iberia, see: Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 177–79.

²⁶ It specifies 'James son of Zebedee' to avoid confusion with the other Apostle St James, HC I.1.1; For the biblical accounts, see: Matt. 28:16–20, Mark 16: 14–18, Luke 24:44–49, John 20:19–23, and Acts 1:4–8.

²⁷ HC I.1.1; Munio's insistence that the head of St James was translated along with his body is an interesting feature which is both a departure from older accounts and the subject of a contradiction with the HC's second author Gerald. In *Registrum* II (HC I.112) Gerald tells us how in 1108 the bishop of Coimbra, and later Antipope Gregory VIII, returned from a five-year journey to Jerusalem with what he claimed was the head of St James. After staying for several years at the monastery of St Zolius in Carrión and the church of St Isidore in León, it was presented to Bishop Diego by Queen Urraca, as a goodwill gesture after they settled a dispute, and was received with a procession from Mount Gozo to the cathedral church, where it was interred along with the body. Gerald depicts the occasion as being something of a carnival atmosphere, mentioning how he and Diego wept with joy as the head of St James arrived to meet them. As López Alsina has noted, it is highly likely that Munio knew about this rival head but, with it being outside of the cathedral's possession, decided to delegitimize it by insisting that the real head had been translated to Compostela back in antiquity. By Gerald's time, the other head

account is subtly but significantly different from the earliest *Epistola Leonis* redaction (the *Limoges* text) in which the Great Commissioning is not mentioned and where the evangelisation is delegated to other figures.²⁸ The earlier redaction makes reference to three other evangelists from the Spanish liturgical tradition, Torquatus, Tysefus, and Anastasius, who were said to have remained with St James in Galicia after his translation.²⁹ These figures, known originally as characters from the *Torquatus et Comitum* legend, were, despite their relative obscurity to modern eyes, well-known saints, popularised by their presence in the *Pasionario Hispanico* in the Visigothic liturgy.³⁰

The presence of these very Iberian saints in the *Epistola Leonis* narrative, and St James's subsequent involvement with them, explicitly connected the apostle with Torquatus and his allies' historically accepted evangelisation of the peninsula. This was a link that was only to strengthen over the course of the eleventh century as the *Epistola Leonis* textual tradition developed into a fuller story where the detailed acts of St James's companion evangelists become longer and more elaborate.³¹

These later accretions were however abandoned by Munio who, when compiling his redaction of the *translatio*, excised not only the *Torquatus et Comitum* content, but also the names of all

was no longer a threat, indeed it was an asset, and so Munio's literary confection did not need to be maintained, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 58–59.

²⁸ Compared with the Limoges manuscript (ELI) for example (the oldest extant *Epistola Leonis* manuscript) the narration of St James's translation contains many of the same elements but is somewhat plainer, stating simply that St James was killed in Jerusalem, translated by boat, and buried not far from the city of Iria. For the Latin texts of the various *Epistola Leonis* redactions, see: Díaz y Díaz, *Escritos Jacobeos*, 173–81. The Limoges text is dated roughly to the turn of the tenth century, Díaz y Díaz, 152–53.

²⁹ ELI.

³⁰ Coffey and Dunn, *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, xxxv.

³¹ By the eleventh century the textual relationship between St James, Torquatus, and his allies had become even closer, as can be seen in the early eleventh-century Gembloux redaction (ELg), which fully integrated the text of the *translatio* with that of *Torquatus et Comitum*, creating a hybrid legend that would form the basis of many future Jacobean translation narratives, Díaz y Díaz, *Escritos Jacobeos*, 165–66.

St James's disciples; his account is the first in the Jacobean translation tradition in which all the disciples were anonymous. The practical effect of this was to break the literary link between St James and *Torquatus et Comitum* that had developed over the past century, so alienating St James from the Christianisation of Iberia. Moreover, and given that Registrum I's redaction mentions novel material explicitly assigning St James the evangelisation of Jerusalem, one cannot help but conclude that this break was intentional and that Munio did not want to make these claims about St James's preaching.³²

So why did Munio want to do this? The answer is not immediately clear. The key to understanding this rather arcane change lies elsewhere in the HC, in a papal privilege, which appears relatively early in Registrum I and whose importance for the HC and Diego's administration is as foundational as the foundation narratives themselves. Equally important for understanding the change is the context of the privilege's acquisition, which reveals a political and ideological reorientation that was to essentially re-found the see.³³ Both need to be explained before the discussion can return to the *translatio*.

The privilege exists within the fifth chapter of Registrum I and is prefaced by a short contextualising paragraph informing the reader of its significance, stating that in 1094 the Cluniac monk Dalmacio was appointed to the vacant see of Iria-Compostela, replacing Diego

³² Interestingly, some later HC manuscripts assign St James *Hispania* as well as Jerusalem, Emma Falque, ed., *Historia Compostelana*, trans. Emma Falque (Madrid: Akal, 1994), 66–67. There is also the possibility that Munio was working from a version of the translation that had already had the Torquatus material removed and that he simply was not aware of it. This is unlikely however, considering that Torquatus and his companions appears in the translation of the LSJ, the Gelmirian production some twenty years later, Coffey and Dunn, *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, lix–lxvi.

³³ A papal privilege is defined here as a legal ruling which grants 'new rights, distinctions, or immunities.', Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 185.

Gelmírez after his first stint as secular administrator.³⁴ The document itself, titled ‘The Freedom of the Church of Compostela’, is a transcribed version of an agreement obtained by Dalmacio at the 1095 Council of Clermont.³⁵ Signed by Pope Urban II (1088-1099) and addressed to Dalmacio and all his successors at Compostela, this papal privilege granted the see an exemption from normal rules of ecclesiastical suffrage, meaning that it would thenceforth be independent from all episcopal and archiepiscopal authorities, aside from Rome, to whom it would be directly subordinate, and subject to within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.³⁶

While once unusual, tenth-century Cluny being an early exception, this ‘Roman freedom’, ‘episcopal exemption’ or ‘protection’ as it is variously called, became increasingly more common so that, by the twelfth century, dioceses across Italy, France, and Iberia were pockmarked by sees and monastic houses, independent of normal episcopal jurisdictions and subject only to Rome.³⁷ This was to have radical implications for the sees and houses involved, creating distance between them and their regional archbishoprics, while also bringing them closer to Rome in such a way that disrupted the ecclesiological hierarchy and handed more power and influence to the papacy.

³⁴ ‘...*monachum Cluniacensis religionis nomine Dalmacio...*’, HC I.5.1. Dalmacio was a Cluniac monk who at the time of his appointment had been responsible for governing the Cluniac monasteries in Hispania, Fletcher, *Saint James’s Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 106.

³⁵ HC I 5.1-2.

³⁶ HC I 5.1-2.

³⁷ Francesco Renzi, ‘The Bone of the Contention: Cistercians, Bishops and Papal Exemption. The Case of the Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela (1150-1250)’, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5, no. 1 (2013): 47. Since its 909 foundation, Cluny had through the will of its founder William Duke of Aquitaine, an almost identical privilege that allowed the monastery to exist and function outside of any episcopal or seigneurial authority, being subject only to Rome, for whose protection it was to send a census of ten *solidi* every five years. Free from interference and plundering from local authorities, the see grew profoundly rich and powerful— so much so that its became a model for success and other monastic houses and episcopal sees sought to replicate its constitution, Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, trans. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 11–19, 64–70; Ian Stuart Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 304–5.

Given Compostela's previously poor relations with Rome lots of concessions had to be made, including its claims to apostolicity and the tradition associating St James with the peninsula's evangelisation. Previous generations of Iria-Compostelan bishops had asserted that through St James theirs was an apostolic see itself, something which upset Rome's claim (through the double foundation of SS. Peter and Paul) to universal primacy over the Christian Church.³⁸ While long quiescent on these claims, Rome became more assertive from the reforming papacy of Leo IX (r.1049-1054) onwards, as a confluence of factors empowered and enriched the Roman see, making it more ideologically assertive, and more able to have its voice heard from afar.³⁹ From here Iria-Compostela's position was frequently challenged by Rome, first by Pope Leo IX himself (who excommunicated Bishop Cresconius of Iria-Compostela at the 1049 Council of Rheims), and later by Gregory VII who wrote to King Alfonso VI outlining the

³⁸ Prior to 1095 the see of Iria-Compostela was not well regarded in Rome on account of the Galician see having a sense of its own history and importance that contradicted the papacy's worldview. Compostela's sense of pre-eminence derived in part from their royal connections and their historical role as the *de facto* holder of the Iberian primacy. Such pretensions did not bother Rome, rather, they objected to Compostela's other claim that it was, like Rome, an apostolic see. Iria-Compostela's claims to apostolicity rested on St James's founding of the see and the stories told that he and his disciples had evangelised the peninsula – stories perpetuated by texts such as the late ninth-century martyrologies of Usuard and Notker Balbulus, the *O Uerbum Dei* of the Visigothic liturgy, and the older *Epistola Leonis* tradition. These claims directly challenged Rome's concept of universal primacy, and as such the source of its authority. In this way, the Iria-Compostelan contention that James established an alternative apostolic lineage in Hispania undermined the theoretical basis of universal Roman authority, Thomas Deswarte, 'St. James in Galicia (c.500-1300), Rivalries in Heaven and on Earth', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D'Emilio (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 487. *O Uerbum Dei* is an eighth-century hymn, falsely attributed to Beatus of Liébana, that formed part of the Visigothic liturgy. Its partial focus on St James has led some to conclude that there was a burgeoning Jacobean cult in Iberia at that time. The first allusions to a Jacobean translation in Galicia appear in the ninth-century martyrologies of Usuard (d. 877) and Notker Balbulus (c.840-912). Both writers provided a skeleton of the same story: the apostle preaches in Iberia, he returns to Jerusalem where he is martyred, and is then translated posthumously to the farthest end of Hispania, Coffey and Dunn, *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, xxxi–xxxv. The theory of Roman primacy is historically based on its apparent double apostolic foundation by SS. Peter and Paul, and the belief that all subsequent Latin churches were established by, and subject to, men from the Roman succession. For a brief summary of the theory and historical development of papal primacy, see: Paul McPartlan, *A Service of Love: Papal Primacy, the Eucharist, and Church Unity* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), 1–14. See also: Keith Sisson, 'Popes Over Princes: Hierocratic Theory', in *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, ed. Keith Sisson and Atria A. Larson, vol. 70, Brill's Companions to the Christian Traditions (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 121–32.

³⁹ This powerlessness/ ignorance on the part of Rome was exacerbated by the fact that the Leonese-Castilian kingdom, and by extension its churches, remained relatively isolated from much of continental Europe until at least the reign of Fernando I (r.1037-1065), meaning that the papacy had little recourse to affect change in north-west Iberia, even had it wanted to, Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 181–83. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 64-78; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 181–84.

flaws in the theory of Jacobean evangelisation, citing Romans 15:24 and the original, James-less *Torquatus et Comitum* as evidence to support his arguments.⁴⁰ For the remainder of the eleventh century, a re-invigorated Rome continued to prosecute its case while Iria-Compostela stood firm, maintaining its recalcitrance well into the episcopate of Bishop Diego Peláez.⁴¹ The dispute only formally ended with Dalmacio when he, newly in office, abruptly changed their long-held position so as to acquire the aforementioned Roman freedom from Urban II at Clermont. Wanting the exemption, Dalmacio abandoned Iria-Compostela's claims and accepted an indirect Petrine foundation, receiving in return an acknowledgement of St James's Galician burial.⁴² It is this diplomatic fudge which accounts for the differences between Munio's redaction of the *translatio* and those which came before.

Significantly for one's reading of the HC, the timeline of the Roman-Compostelan dispute, its resolution, and Iria-Compostela's abandonment of its claims, are all reflected in the chronology of the Jacobean *translatio* tradition in that the principle of Jacobean evangelisation is present

⁴⁰ This event is reported by Anselm of Rheims who was present at the council, Deswarte, 'St. James in Galicia (c.500-1300), Rivalries in Heaven and on Earth', 487. At around the same time there occurred another incident, in which the bishop of Iria-Compostela (probably the same Cresconius), angry at Rome for refusing to admit one of his representatives, retaliated by refusing to speak with a visiting papal emissary, an affront that was not quickly forgotten. Indeed, the insult was felt so keenly by Rome that it was raised with Bishop Diego Gelmírez upon his visit to the city, despite half a century having passed. The event is related twice in the HC, first by Munio and then by Gerald, HC I.16.6, II.1-3. López Alsina thinks that the persons involved in the incident were the former bishop Cresconius and Hugh of Remiremont (dc. 1099), a Benedictine monk and papal legate of Alexander II, López Alsina, 'Diego Gelmírez, Las Raíces Del Liber Sancti Jacobi y El Codice Calixtino', 307. In the *Epistle to the Romans*, Paul states his intention to evangelise Hispania. See, the letter of Gregory VII dated 7 March 1074: Erich Caspar, ed., *Das Register Gregors VII*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920); Deswarte, 'St. James in Galicia (c.500-1300), Rivalries in Heaven and on Earth', 490. It is also worth noting that Gregory's intervention was part of a broader attempt to assert Rome's ultimate jurisdiction over the lands of newly-expanded Christian kingdoms of Iberia conquered from Al-Andalus, as well as Iberian lands more broadly. As with Compostela, the papacy's assertions were as ideological as they were legal, representing in Alfonso's case a clash between the Neo-Visigothic visions of the Leonese-Castilian king and the Romansing tendency that came later, William Purkis, 'Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Perspectives on State Building in the Iberian Peninsula', *Reading Medieval Studies: Annual Proceedings of the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies*, XXXVI (2010): 61–63.

⁴¹ Javier García Turza, 'The Formulation, Development and Expansion of the Translatio of St James', in *Translating the Relics of St James from Jerusalem to Compostela* (London: Routledge, 2017), 104.

⁴² HC I.5.2; Dalmacio was fortunate in his timing as Urban II was looking for allies in his struggle against Guibert of Ravenna (Antipope Clement III, d.1100) and was keen to make agreements that might bolster his legitimacy as pontiff, Clement III was especially strong in Rome which encouraged Urban to look beyond the Alps for episcopal support, Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 7, 125–27.

in all relevant literature before the 1095 agreement and absent from all thereafter.⁴³ Consequently, both the 1095 privilege acquired by Dalmacio and the revised evangelisation account of Munio's *translatio* a decade later, indicate a rapprochement between the sees of SS. Peter and James and the solution to a disagreement that had long marred relations between the two churches. In this way, the privilege reflects a new diplomatic reality, in which Iria-Compostela had accepted formal subordination in exchange for the Roman freedom, whereas the adaptation of the translation narrative represented an ideological accommodation of that fact, and an amendment of the cultic literature to support it. However, while this explains the connection between the two texts and what they represent, it does not explain Iria-Compostela's motivations for abandoning their position so readily, after stubbornly resisting for so long.

Behind Munio's redaction and Iria-Compostela's policy change there was, quite simply, a geopolitical calculation. At the approach of the twelfth century, circumstances conspired to push Iria-Compostela into a position that would change its politics and ultimately its cultic literature. From the episcopacy of Dalmacio onwards there was a signal shift in Iria-Compostela's policies, as the Galician see's pre-eminence in the peninsula was challenged by a rapidly changing ecclesiastical map and the emergence of archepiscopal rivals. During the reign of King Alfonso VI, the Christian kingdoms of northern Iberia expanded into Muslim lands, gaining cities which had previously been centres of ecclesiastical power during the Visigothic kingdom, prior to the Jacobean cult's establishment in Galicia.⁴⁴ The see of Toledo,

⁴³ Deswarte, 'St. James in Galicia (c.500-1300), Rivalries in Heaven and on Earth', 486–90.

⁴⁴ As Christian kingdoms conquered Muslim Iberian cities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, new sees were established and ancient sees were re-established, a process that had the effect of transforming the peninsula's ecclesiastical geography. It was a process that was caught between a conservative imperative to restore ancient Visigothic sees and a more pragmatic wish to have an ecclesiastical structure that better reflected the contemporary importance of newer cities. For a detailed study of this process, see: Carlos Manuel Reglero de la Fuente, 'Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos', in *La Reforma Gregoriana y Su Proyección En La Cristiandad*

which had sat in the old kingdom's capital and had held the primacy of Hispania, was restored in 1085, while Braga, which had been a former Suevic capital and metropolitan see was restored in 1099 after a decade of diplomatic wrangling.⁴⁵ With deeper histories and longer ecclesiastical lineages, both these sees outranked Iria-Compostela on the peninsula and so would exercise archdiocesan and primatial jurisdiction over the Galician see.

The ecclesiological logic of the situation was such that Iria-Compostela would need to come up with a creative solution if it were to escape regional subordination. Fortuitously for Iria-Compostela, they had in Dalmacio, a former Cluniac, an individual who knew of an arrangement that would solve that very problem. Moreover, as a former colleague of the incumbent pope, he could negotiate for that arrangement (the Roman freedom) on friendly terms.⁴⁶ From here, the amended cult of St James could be approved by the papacy and, with its new papal endorsement, reach a wider audience, marking what Thomas Deswarte believes was the effective Romanisation of the Jacobean cult.⁴⁷

Indeed, this Romanisation of the cult and the newly pro-Roman stance of Iria-Compostela became a central part of the see's identity, visible in much of its cultural output. In the HC itself, there are innumerable texts and phrases which reflect this new reality. For example, appended to the translation narrative proper are two short chapters, neither of which have precedence in the Jacobean literary tradition, and both of which serve to bridge the temporal

Occidental. Siglos XI-XII: XXXII Semana de Estudios Medievales Estella, 18 a 22 de Julio de 2005 (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra. Departamento de Cultura y Turismo., 2006), 198–207.

⁴⁵ For the ancient Suevi Church and its relationships with the later Galician episcopate, see: Purificación Ubric, 'The Church in the Suevic Kingdom (411-585 AD)', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Baliñas Pérez, 'The Origins of the Inventio Sancti Iacobi and the Making of a Kingdom: A Historical Framework, 700-850'.

⁴⁶ Urban II had been a prior at Cluny and Dalmacio had been a monk there. Urban's positive disposition towards Dalmacio can be inferred the pope's sanction of his appointment in 1094.

⁴⁷ Deswarte, 'St. James in Galicia (c.500-1300), Rivalries in Heaven and on Earth', 490.

gap between the events described in the *translatio* and the *inventio*.⁴⁸ In them, Munio described how the Catholic faith was, after flourishing in Antiquity, nearly extinguished by ‘paganism’ and Islam, meaning that the ecclesiastical infrastructure laid down by the Suevic King Miro was almost destroyed.⁴⁹ Establishing this troubled backdrop, Munio notes how post-translation, St James’s body lay hidden for centuries up until its eventual rediscovery, as described in the *inventio*. In addition to Munio’s earlier adaption of the evangelisation narrative, where he has Christ assign St James to Jerusalem rather than Galicia, the purpose of this would appear to be downplay claims that Compostela had an apostolic foundation, thereby highlighting the fact that Christianity had almost died after St James’s translation.

This ideological shift is present not only in Registrum I but throughout the whole of the HC, meaning that Munio’s new direction was to have a long-term influence on the see’s cultic literature and historiography. The opening chapters of book II, which re-tread Archbishop Diego’s life and key achievements, mention specifically prior administrations’ antagonistic relations with Rome, and note Diego’s change in that regard as one of his wins.⁵⁰ Pedro Marcio held a similar attitude towards Rome and this deference and recognition of papal supremacy is evident in his work.⁵¹ Beyond these direct examples, the inclusion of Compostela’s papal correspondence, much of which involved the granting of papal privileges or papal adjudication of parochial disputes, represent in themselves a maintenance of the practical and ideological submission to Rome first conceded by Dalmacio in 1095. Beyond the HC, and in some of the other Gelmirian texts, one can also observe this tendency, perhaps most evidently in the *Codex*

⁴⁸ HC I.1-2.

⁴⁹ HC I.1.2-3; while the precise length and intensity of Umayyad involvement in Galicia is unknown, one can say that the 711 Arab invasion disrupted the area’s political and religious infrastructure to the extent that it did not recover for several centuries, see chapter 2 of: Roger Collins, *Caliphs and King: Spain, 796-1031* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 50–82.

⁵⁰ HC II.1-2.

⁵¹ HC III.10.1.

Calixtinus, specifically its *Venerenda Dies* sermon from Book I and the four chapters of Book III, or the *Translatio Magna*, all of which tell a different version of the Jacobean translation story but with slight variations in content and emphases.⁵² This collection, which likely dates from the last decade of Diego Gelmírez's archiepiscopacy (1130-1140) was, as Thomas Coffey and Maryjane Dunn have observed, conceived of in much the same way as the four gospels of the New Testament in that they both contained variant, yet officially authorized, accounts of a single story, written by different people, for slightly different purposes.⁵³ As a unit, the *translatio magna* was meant to be the final, definitive account of St James's translation to Galicia.⁵⁴ Using an approach that diverges from Munio's own, in practice if not in spirit, some of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* translation narratives contain references and allusions to St James's preaching in Iberia; they are however, rather weak, much weaker than in the tenth and eleventh century narratives, and are seemingly qualified to fit with the idea of Roman primacy.⁵⁵

From Iria to Compostela: Creating a Pretext for Episcopal Transfer

Munio's Romanising of Compostela's foundation narratives was not a positive change made to improve Compostela's past for its own sake, but part of the diplomatic and ideological compromise meant to allow such an improvement to be made. Those more beneficial changes to the Jacobean foundation narratives relate to the cultic geography rather than the

⁵² William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 142.

⁵³ Coffey and Dunn, *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, lxii.

⁵⁴ Thomas Deswarte has noted that this aspect of the Jacobean myth did indeed become stable, laying the foundations for the subsequent *Santiago Matamoros* legend: Thomas Deswarte, 'St. James in Galicia (c.500-1300), Rivalries in Heaven and on Earth', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D'Emilio (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 493.

⁵⁵ For example, while the *prologue* does place St James and several of his disciples in the peninsula prior to his martyrdom, it is careful to stress that in this narrative the church in Galicia was founded independently (as St James lay hidden) and by apostolic descendants of SS Peter and Paul in Rome. After his 'discovery', St James was connected with and contextualised within a Galician church with a Roman foundation. To this end see also Munio's assertion that Galicia was 'long-sterile ground', something that suggests St James's initial activity there was successful in the long term, Deswarte, 491.

evangelisation. The most obvious of Munio's adaptations was perhaps made in his account of St James's post-mortem journey to its resting place in Galicia. Describing the physical journey of St James's body after execution, Munio wrote that:

...his disciples, whom in life he [St James] had ordered to translate to Hispania his body for burial...arrived at the seashore... and found a boat for the journey to Hispania...it sailed first to the port of Iria and later the venerable body arrived at the place that was then called Liberum Donum, where they buried him according to church custom, under marble arches...⁵⁶

...it remained covered for a very long time by the thickness of the trees and the forest and was not revealed nor known by anyone until the era of Teodomiro, Bishop of Iria... After discovering it... he [Teodomiro] went immediately to the presence of Alfonso the Chaste [Alfonso II] ...[who]... in honour of the great Apostle, transferred the see of Iria... to the place called Compostela... this happened in the time of Charlemagne...⁵⁷

This rendering of the body's journey, first in the *translatio* and then in the *inventio*, contains substantial innovations compared with previous redactions, particularly with respect to place. They include textual novelties, changes in emphasis, and the elision of certain words. A discussion of each of these changes, and an analysis of how they have evolved from their antecedents, should provide an insight into the rationale behind Munio's reconfigurations.

To begin with, it is worth remarking that Compostela as a place, name, and cultic centre is central to both of the HC's narratives, being the physical terminus of the translation, the final

⁵⁶ HC I 1.1.

⁵⁷ HC I 2.1; Alfonso II 'the chaste' (r.761-842), Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 70.

development of the place's name, and the new episcopal seat of the diocese. While these features might seem rather prosaic to anyone familiar with the Jacobean cult and its literature, they are different to what came before, reflecting a substantially revised imagined cultic geography. In the Limoges redaction of the *Epistola Leonis* for example, the translated body is described as, when reaching Hispania, 'arriving at a place called Bisria, between two rivers' before being carried twelve miles ahead of burial under marble arches.⁵⁸ In the integrated *Torquatus et Comitum* material, St James's disciples later visit a location called Holy Mountain ('*Montem Sagro*') before returning to Rome.⁵⁹ The Gembloux redaction follows a similar, though more detailed path, having the ship from Jerusalem land 'at the sea's shore between [the rivers] Ulla and Sar, in a place called Iria, at the confluence of rivers called Bisria', from where St James was carried for twelve miles and buried under marble arches.⁶⁰ In the Gembloux redaction, the *Torquatus* content is also richer, with the disciples travelling to the 'extreme reaches of Galicia' to a place near the Tambre ('*Zare*') called Negreira ('*Marariae*') before also heading to Holy Mountain ('*Mons Sacer*').⁶¹ Both earlier examples differ significantly in their usage and diversity of toponyms and, most importantly, neither mention the name Compostela at all.

The discovery narratives are similarly variant. The *Concordat Antealtares*, for example, neither uses the word Compostela nor mentions King Alfonso II's transference of the episcopal seat to the location of the newly discovered tomb.⁶² The *Chronicon Iriense*, probably written around 1093-1096, at the chronological midpoint between the *Concordat Antealtares* and the HC,

⁵⁸ CII.

⁵⁹ CII.

⁶⁰ CIg.

⁶¹ CIg; translations for Tambre and Negreira given on Díaz y Díaz, *Escritos Jacobeos*, 147; The *montem sacrum* is now known as Pico Sacro, Coffey and Dunn, *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 79, 81.

⁶² CA.

represents also an intermediate stage in the development of the myth in that, while it does mention the name Compostela, does not make reference to the transference of the see either.⁶³ The above comparison reveals two distinct if complementary processes: the emergence of *Compostella* as the dominant placename and the materialisation of a novel claim that Compostela, rather than Iria, was in fact the true episcopal seat of the diocese. In Munio's rendering of the *translatio* and *inventio* narratives much of the earlier toponymy had been removed: Bisria, the rivers Sar and Ulla, and the place names from the Torquatus myth are all gone. Moreover, the emphasis of Compostela as the prime place and name in the narrative is further highlighted by Munio's claim that Alfonso II transferred the Irian seat to the place of Compostela when St James's tomb was apparently discovered in the ninth century. Munio's favoured choice of Compostela as the preferred name of the city and cultic site is especially notable as, aside from its introduction in the *Chronicon Iriense* where it appeared as one name among several in use for the area, Registrum I is the first time the name was used definitively in a narrative text. Furthermore, while the name Compostela was not exactly new, it first being used by Bishop Sisnando II (r.952-968) in 955, it had never been the preferred term for the area, that had been *Locus Sanctus*.⁶⁴

The moment of this nominative transition, in which Compostela became the favoured toponym, is captured in a scene from the *Chronicon Iriense*'s *inventio*, in which several clerics discuss names for the holy site, choosing both *Liberum Donum* (corresponding to the modern-day Libredón and meaning 'free gift' in Latin) and *Compositum Tellus*, the apparent precursor to Compostela.⁶⁵ Munio's redaction should be understood as a step further along in the

⁶³ López Alsina, 'Diego Gelmírez, Las Raíces Del Liber Sancti Jacobi y El Codice Calixtino', 321.

⁶⁴ *Tumbos del Monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes: Tumbo Segundo e Indices*, ed. Pilar Loscertales de Valdeavellano (Madrid, Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico: 1976), I no. 2, 22-226; footnote 97 of López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 141.

⁶⁵ López Alsina, 'Urbano II y El Traslado de La Sede Episcopal de Iria a Compostela', 124.

‘rebranding’ of the city, in that he pushes the change even further, altering the story of the name’s genesis, offering only Compostela as the present name for the location, describing *Liberum Donum* as its former toponym, and eliding the site’s original name *Locus Sanctus* altogether.

The rebranding of the city to Compostela also had ecclesiological implications in that, as older names were replaced by the new, the ecclesiological hierarchy was reconfigured. Munio’s key innovation in this regard was his transference of the ancient see of Iria to Compostela, the cultic site and name that he was working so hard to promote. This had the effect of retroactively giving the place of Compostela the status of a bishopric and placing it above Iria in the ecclesiological hierarchy.

Significantly, when Munio engaged in the retroactive episcopal transfer he was using a strategy borrowed from the *Chronicon Iriense* where the anonymous chronicler had tried to enhance Iria’s antiquity fifteen years earlier, in the years immediately prior to the official transference.⁶⁶ The earlier chronicler’s central thesis was that Iria, an originally Suevic see, one which was only later incorporated into Visigothic Hispania, was never, and so never ought to be, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Toledo.⁶⁷ Moreover, the chronicler (of the *Chronicon*?) claimed that Iria, as the apparent successor to Lugo, itself a former metropolitan see and one of two royal cities of the old Suevic kingdom, ought also to be independent of Braga, insisting too that Iria, as the apparent first Catholic see in Hispania, should be metropolitan in its own right.⁶⁸ While these claims are tendentious, they are interesting in that they reflect an

⁶⁶ For a discussion of the official transfer, see: López Alsina, ‘Urbano II y El Traslado de La Sede Episcopal de Iria a Compostela’.

⁶⁷ López Alsina, 113.

⁶⁸ López Alsina, 114–15.

institutional desire on the part of the Iria-Compostelan establishment to escape the authority of their peninsular rivals; they also provide a ready-made historiographical strategy for doing so. Munio's assertion that Alfonso II transferred the see to Compostela in the ninth century should be read in the same way; it is likely that Munio, writing after the seat had been formally transferred to Compostela, wanted to graft past historiographical gains onto his own history, deciding to do this by linking the two sees historically, and making the transfer more credible by placing it in the past.

In creatively adapting history this way, Munio was not only following his predecessor at Compostela's scriptorium but was also engaging in an historiographical practice that had been brought over the Pyrenees and which was becoming increasingly common in Iberia.⁶⁹ One such example can be found at Palencia which had been manipulating history to help support its claim for archiepiscopal status since the 1080s.⁷⁰ During a thirteenth century dispute with Toledo, a century during which the Castilian sees were often at blows, Palencia's cathedral authorities produced a privilege, ostensibly from 1034/1035 during Fernando I's reign which asserted that in the deep past, when Toledo had been the only archiepiscopal see, that Palencia had been its second. As Linehan has explained this claim is implausible on two counts, firstly as Palencia never had such an exalted status, and secondly because the diplomas claiming to be from that period were written in a later, non-Visigothic hand, which likely places them between 1080 and 1150.⁷¹ In her survey of Iberian capitular writings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Adeline Rucquoi has shown that such convenient re-imaginings of the past were not restricted to serial records but were prevalent in many cathedral scriptoria, including those of León,

⁶⁹ An earlier, tenth-century instance of this occurred in Passau where the see textually appropriated Lorch's ancient metropolitanate), see: Roach, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium*, 61–122.

⁷⁰ Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 177.

⁷¹ Teresa Abajo Martín, *Documentación de La Catedral de Palencia, 1035-1247*, Fuentes Medievales Castellano-Leonesas 103 (Burgos: J.M. Garrido Garrido, 1986), no. 13; Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 177–78.

Braga, Toledo, and Coimbra.⁷² Munio was not the only of his contemporaries refashioning his institution's past.

As with Munio's adaptation of the Jacobean evangelisation narrative, the changes to the cultic geography present in Registrum I also reflect contemporary socio-political developments, changes which can be best understood by returning to Urban II's 1095 privilege to Dalmacio and his church.⁷³ If one does so, one can see that, as well as gifting the church the Roman freedom, the privilege also formally transferred 'the cathedra of the episcopate of Iria... forever to the city called Compostela, whose church has within it...the body of Saint James', decreeing also that 'all the properties of the diocese and the city of Iria belong to you [Dalmacio] and your successors forever'.⁷⁴ The above concession shows the second key aspect of the settlement between Compostela that, like the Romanisation of St James, and also helped reforge Iria-Compostela's institutional identity: in this instance, along with conferring direct suffragan status, the pope also formalised a *de facto* reality by authorising the transfer of the diocesan headquarters from the cathedral church in Iria to the half-constructed Romanesque church in Compostela.⁷⁵ Marking the end of an awkward ecclesiological ambiguity, as well as the point at which the see of Iria-Compostela became confidently Compostelan, this aspect of the papal privilege represented another diplomatic triumph for Dalmacio and his nascent reform agenda.⁷⁶ The see could now, after previously being tied to the history of Iria, connect itself

⁷² Rucquoi, 'La Invención de Una Memoria: Los Cabildos Peninsulares Del Siglo XII'.

⁷³ López Alsina, 'Diego Gelmírez, Las Raíces Del Liber Sancti Jacobi y El Codice Calixtino', 339.

⁷⁴ HC I 5.2.

⁷⁵ For an overview of the cathedral church's history, see: John Williams, 'The Basilica in Compostela and the Way of Pilgrimage', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 110–21; John Williams, 'The Tomb of St James, Coming to Terms with History and Tradition', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 543–72. For a visual reconstruction of the Romanesque cathedral, see: *A Full-Scale 3D Computer Reconstruction of the Medieval Cathedral and Town of Santiago de Compostela* (New York City, 2010), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmVJSmLA7BU&t=231s>.

⁷⁶ For a good overview of the diocese of Iria-Compostela prior to this transformation, see: Díaz y Díaz, 'La Diócesis de Iria-Compostela Hasta 1100'.

formally to its diocese's biggest asset, the tomb of St James, and so be better placed to nurture the burgeoning pilgrimage route and exploit the opportunities for trade that it brought.⁷⁷

The 1095 date of the see's translation, coming shortly after the *Chronicon Iriense* was produced, explains why the story of Alfonso II's transfer from Iria to Compostela did not appear in discovery narratives until the HC. As López Alsina has observed, the *inventio* narrative of the HC is an updated version of that of the *Chronicon Iriense*, one embedded within the HC's wider history of Compostela rather than the *Chronicon Iriense*'s history of Iria; this change in focus, which had likely long been an ambition of the see, could now be realised because of the pope's legal confirmation of Compostela's supremacy.⁷⁸ Noting this, and discharging his duty to write a history true to the ideals of Bishop Diego, Munio was then able to exploit the space that this ruling had provided him to put forward his revised history of the see, placing the 'true', if not *de jure* transfer of the see, back in the ninth century so further justifying the recent change. This had significant implications for the institutional identity of the see.⁷⁹

Such historiographical techniques, those which aimed at convenient reconstructions and reinterpretations of history were, as discussed above, common to many of late-eleventh-early-twelfth-century texts both within and without Compostela's scriptorium.

⁷⁷ John Seasholtz recently described how it became in the interests of the crowns of León-Castile and Aragon, particularly after the loss of *parias* (a tribute levied from Muslim Taifa states), to invest in the *Camino de Santiago*'s infrastructure so as to raise more money from pilgrimage, see 'Stimulus and Early Development' in: Seasholtz, 'Money and Morality on the Pilgrim Roads to Santiago de Compostela, 1078-1211', 37-46.

⁷⁸ López Alsina, 'Diego Gelmírez, Las Raíces Del Liber Sancti Jacobi y El Codice Calixtino', 339-40.

⁷⁹ And these were changes that would last. Four decades later Pedro Marcio would go on to assert the idea of a ninth-century translation, stating that 'It is known and understood by all, without a shadow of a doubt, that prior to the discovery of the body of St James that the seat of Compostela had been founded and established in Iria', HC III.36.3.

Borrowing Charlemagne

Having satisfied papal demands by Romanising St James, and having rebranded the Jacobean see as Compostella, Munio sought to boost his see's prestige by associating its foundation with the most famous of European emperors— Charlemagne. The following section briefly outlines how and why Munio did this.

While the link was not Munio's own (it first appeared in the *Chronicon Iriense*) he was responsible for propagating the myth that would eventually become a central part of the Jacobean cultic canon.⁸⁰ The oldest of the *inventiones*, the *Concordat Antealtares*, did not make any such link, neglecting to mention the Emperor and dating the discovery to Teodomiro's episcopacy and Alfonso II's reign.⁸¹ The other three *inventiones* (the *Chronicon Iriense*, Munio's *inventio*, and Diego Gelmírez's 1115 charter to San Martin of Pinario) dated the discovery to within Charlemagne's time too, as well as those of Teodomiro and Alfonso II.⁸² But it could not be both. As a ninth-century Galician charter indicates, Charlemagne died during the episcopacy of Bishop Quendulfo of Iria, Teodomiro's immediate predecessor, meaning that the offices of Teodomiro and Charlemagne could not have overlapped.⁸³ The date of death given in contemporary Frankish histories also supports this judgement, in that they date his death to around 814, years before the range of 820-830 to which modern scholars ascribe St James's 'discovery'.⁸⁴ It seems, then, that the association with Charlemagne was not

⁸⁰ CI 4.

⁸¹ CA.

⁸² For the aforementioned charter see appendix 33 of: López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1900.

⁸³ According to an 818 Galician charter, which records the foundation of a church in Oviedo, Charlemagne died during the episcopate of Bishop Quendulfo, several years before Teodomiro assumed the episcopacy of Iria. López Alsina, 'Urbano II y El Traslado de La Sede Episcopal de Iria a Compostela', 59–60. ; For a justification for the dating, see Fernando López Alsina, 'El Nacimiento de La Población de Santiago de Compostela En El Siglo IX', in *Il Pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e La Letterature Jacopea* (Perugia: Università degli studi di Perugia, 1985).

⁸⁴ *Vita Karoli Magni*, 33.

historical but was a later accretion. The purpose of this later association between emperor and St James must be considered.

It is likely that Munio (and his predecessor, the anonymous chronicler) brought Charlemagne into Iria-Compostelan history, not to correct a perceived historical inaccuracy, but to embellish Compostela's foundation story by bringing in the legendary Frankish Emperor, however slight that association might be. This narrative strategy, which is almost as old as historiography itself, is common in origin stories from all eras.⁸⁵ As Amy Remensnyder has outlined in her excellent *Remembering Kings Past*, Charlemagne was an especially popular source of borrowed historical authority, being retroactively assigned founder-status by dozens of French Benedictine houses between 1000-1200.⁸⁶ More recently, Matthew Gabriele and Anne Latowsky have conducted in-depth studies of these *post hoc* appropriations of Charlemagne, demonstrating how the Carolingian Empire of historical memory grew (by the later eleventh century) to be much larger than its actual historical area, supposedly touching (and founding houses) in places well beyond the Pyrenees and even in the Holy Land.⁸⁷ So great had Charlemagne's legend become by the turn of the twelfth century that kings and popes were variously claiming his mantle, often to divergent and contradictory ends.⁸⁸ The most famous literary product of this phenomenon was the *Historia Turpini*, an early-twelfth century chronicle that was falsely attributed Archbishop Turpin of Rheims (d.c.794), a contemporary

⁸⁵ The chapter 'Imagining Peoples in Antiquity' includes several examples of figures from antiquity being appropriated in various nations' foundation myths, Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2003), 41–62.

⁸⁶ See especially Part 2: Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past, Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 89–211.

⁸⁷ Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory, The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Anne A. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority* (London: Cornell University Press, 2013).

⁸⁸ See: Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Pseudo-Turpin, the Crisis of Aristocracy, and the Beginnings of Vernacular Historiography in France', *Journal of Medieval History* 12, no. 3 (1986): 207–23.

of Charlemagne, and which would be later integrated into the Compostelan literary canon as Book IV of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*.⁸⁹

The late-eleventh century appropriation of Charlemagne by the Compostelan chapter (and its continuation by Munio) has two broad implications for one's reading of the HC. In the first instance it identifies the Charlemagne myth as another nexus of cultural contact between Compostela and the ultra-Pyrenean intellectual world. Although ultimately unprovable, López Alsina has argued for a precise link between the Compostelan Charlemagne myth and that of France and beyond, suggesting that the *Chronicon Iriense*'s original innovation, made during the episcopacy of French Cluniac Dalmacio, was the product of a chapter that was being newly exposed to French cultural influences.⁹⁰ It certainly is the case that since Count Raymond of Burgundy's c.1088 advent in Galicia, French and Cluniac influences grew significantly in the kingdom.⁹¹

The second implication relates to the Charlemagne myth in the specifically Compostelan context and its relationship with the *Historia Turpini* as found in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. Although not fully developed in any of the *inventiones*, it is embryonic in detail compared with the crusade narrative of the *Historia Turpini*, these earlier references to Charlemagne show

⁸⁹ Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past, Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France*, 151.

⁹⁰ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 117.

⁹¹ This series of events, López Alsina argues, marked the beginning of a period of profound French influence in the kingdom, as well as the appointment of many Cluniac churchmen to senior ecclesiastical positions, having the effect of forging strong institutional links between the Leonese church and the Burgundian house, links that manifested themselves in the see's contemporary literature. While expanding on these growing influences in detail, Reilly does caution against an overly-facile reading of Cluniac influence which holds that it was a sort of orchestrated takeover by the Burgundian house, See 'The Search for a Successor and the Devolution of Power (1092-1099)' in: Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 231–59; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 30; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 117. For a recent study detailing the relative contributions of the Cluniacs and the Cistercians to the development of the Leonese church, see: José Miguel Andrade, 'Faint Black, Brilliant White: From the Weakness of Cluny to the Strength of the Cistercians (Galicia and Portugal, Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9, no. 2 (2017): 1–21.

that, like their colleagues across the continent, the scribes in Compostela's scriptorium were experimenting with such connections decades before the *Historia Turpini* was likely written. The connection made explicit in the *Historia Turpini*, that St James appeared to Charlemagne in a vision and that he encouraged the Emperor to fight through northern Iberia in order to discover his tomb, would eventually become a key part of Compostela's cultic identity.⁹² The story also established itself outside of Galicia, with the *Historia Turpini*, contained within the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, spreading across Latin Christendom and establishing itself as part of the historical memory of the wider culture of the Church.⁹³ In this way, one could argue that the anonymous chronicler's association of the 'discovery' with Charlemagne's reign, an association continued by Munio, reflects an early stage in the development of what would become an historically significant myth, both within and without Compostela.⁹⁴

Things Best Left Forgotten

As new material is added to a tradition, so some material must be excised. Patrick Geary has observed that the revolutionary archivists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries formed their new histories not only through the active creation of new narratives, but also through the deliberate forgetting of old ones, so leaving certain parts of historical memory to die.⁹⁵ This stands for Munio too. When putting together his *registrum*, Munio would have poured over the treasury's old vellum, evaluating which scraps to copy into the HC and which to set aside. Much of that rejected material would, unless copied, decay or be consumed by pests, forever

⁹² HT 1.

⁹³ For the *Historia Turpini*'s later medieval life: Kevin Poole, ed., *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* (New York City: Italica Press, 2014), xl–xliii.

⁹⁴ See: 'Historia Turpini as a Foundational Legend for Crusading in Iberia' in: Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187*, 150–65.

⁹⁵ Geary, 'Medieval Archivists as Authors; Social Memory and Archival Memory'.

being lost to posterity.⁹⁶ And while one shall never know the full extent of this rejected material (information that has fallen into oblivion is by definition unreachable), it is possible to get an idea of the sort of things that were rejected by looking at information which survives in other forms, and which one can infer was rejected by Munio. The chapter has already discussed some examples of deliberate forgetting, namely the erasure of Torquatus, Tisephon, and Anastasius, and the reasons for their exclusion. There are however also other visible omissions that might shed light on Munio's editing process as well as the contemporary priorities that shaped it.

First, and regarding an issue related to the omission of *Torquatus et Comitum* material, is the relative paucity of miraculous narrative content present in Munio's *translatio* when compared with previous redactions of the story. While some fantastical material is retained, most notably in the references to the sea monsters Scylla and Charybdis of Classical Greek myth, most such content, like St James's levitation from Bisria to his final resting place, as well as the *Torquatus et Comitum* story of the disciples fighting the dragon on Holy Mountain, was excised.⁹⁷ One can only speculate as to the motivation behind these elisions but, given that many of them appear again in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, a different (if still Gelmirian) text with different apparent aims; it can perhaps be best understood with respect to Registrum I's broader aims. Whereas the translation narratives of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* were gathered to form a canon of authorised Jacobean stories, Registrum I's *translatio* was used to provide an origin story for Diego Gelmírez's Santiago de Compostela. It is possible then that Munio thought the

⁹⁶ Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance, Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, 82. The word 'treasury' (*thesaurum*) rather than 'library' (*bibliotheca*) is used advisedly here on two counts. First, because it was the word used by the authors themselves (such as by Pedro Marcio in his *monitus*, HC.M) and second because it seems that in twelfth-century Compostela books were still held together with other valuables in a treasury. Indeed, Eduardo Carrero Santamaría has observed that this practice continued into the fifteenth century until a dedicated library was instituted in 1454, Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, 'La Capilla de Los Arzobispos, El Tesoro y La Torre de Don Gómez Manrique En La Catedral de Santiago de Compostela.', *Anuario Del Departamento De Historia Y Teoría Del Arte* 10 (1998): 54.

⁹⁷ It could be argued that it was excised as part of Munio's drive to divorce St James from the Torquatus tradition although it would have been possible to retain the stories while anonymising the saints as Munio did for much of his translation narrative.

fantastical content to be unhelpful or distracting from the work's central focus of supporting Diego and his reforms.

The second of Munio's omissions pertains to the place of local monastic orders with respect to the Jacobean cult and its discovery narratives. Munio's *inventio* can be separated into two broad sections: the discovery of the tomb and the establishment of the cult. In both instances, the story differs substantially from that of the *Concordat Antealtares* with all instances of monastic involvement being excised. Significantly the *Concordat Antealtares* itself was not just an *inventio* but crucially an *inventio* within a signed agreement between Bishop Diego Peláez of Iria-Compostela and Abbot Fagildo of Antealtares, in which the abbot ceded the right to church space around the altars (*ante altares*) at the site of St James's burial.⁹⁸ This earliest account describes how, during the time of King Alfonso II of Asturias, the location of the hidden tomb was revealed to a hermit called Pelayo who would often spend time in the area close to where the body lay. According to the agreement, there one day appeared 'many heavenly lights' above the location of the crypt, revealing it to the anchorite, who then informed Bishop Teodomiro of Iria. After fasting for three days, Teodomiro himself discovered the tomb, before going to inform the king. The text then goes on to describe Alfonso II's subsequent church-building activity and the foundation of the Jacobean cult in Galicia, noting the complicated church and altar building programme discussed above.⁹⁹ The text implies that all these buildings were situated on the site of the tomb. To the latter church, the king apparently appointed Abbot Ildefredo and twelve other Benedictine monks to maintain the cult, dedicating themselves to the divine offices and to perform masses in honour of St James. The document also states that

⁹⁸ CA; Jesús Carro García, 'La Escritura de Concordia Entre Don Diego Peláez, Obispo de Santiago, y San Fagildo, Abad Del Monasterio de Antealtares', *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 4, no. 12 (1949): 111–22; López Alsina, 'La Invención Del Sepulcro de Santiago y La Difusión Del Culto Jacobeo'.

⁹⁹ See above: 67

this community was to remain in residence, discharging its duties in perpetuity. Little of any of this was retained for the HC's version, in which Munio credits the discovery of the tomb to 'certain worthy men' who had seen shining lights and angels appearing over the grove where the apostle lay. In this account, Bishop Teodomiro went to the area himself, having heard rumours of these events, where he saw the lights and discovered the tomb. The HC continues to say that King Alfonso II responded by building a basilica to the apostle on the site of the burial.

Perhaps the most significant changes between the narratives of Munio and Diego Peláez were the simplification of the story and the removal of the coenobitic and eremitic monastic characters. The anchorite Pelayo is removed completely and is replaced with a set of unnamed men, the community of Antealtares are also removed, while Bishop Teodomiro is promoted to assume a more central role in the tomb's discovery. Additionally, the convoluted descriptions of churches and altars built on the holy site are elided and replaced by an alternative story in which the king builds a single basilica to St James. The other major *inventio*, that of the 1094/1095's *Chronicon Iriense*, which was written around fifteen years after the *Concordat Antealtares*, also elides the role of the monks, making no mention of the Benedictine community or the churches.¹⁰⁰

The reasons for these changes are apparent if we consider the relative purposes of each of these texts and the times in which they were written. First, the *Concordat Antealtares* was, as its name suggests, an agreement made between the community of Antealtares and the bishop. The details of the agreement, recorded in the text itself, tell us that Abbot Fagildo ceded control of

¹⁰⁰ López Alsina, 'Diego Gelmírez, Las Raíces Del Liber Sancti Jacobi y El Codice Calixtino', 321; Isla Frez, *Memoria, Culto, Moarquía Hispánica Entre Los Siglos X y XII*, 189–90.

the church in exchange for an increased share of the shrine's revenue and the retention of residual responsibilities over the observance of offices and masses therein. The laudatory tone of the text and the centrality of the monks to its version of the *inventio* can be explained by Bishop Diego Peláez's desire to win the community over and secure the rights which they held.¹⁰¹ Bishop Peláez wanted to control the land so that he could build a Romanesque cathedral on its site as a means to glorifying the saint and nurturing his cult.¹⁰² As both the HC and *Chronicon Iriense* were written after these rights were secured, and after they had successfully taken over liturgical duties from the community of Antealtares, neither were obliged to flatter the Benedictine community as Peláez had and so declined to give them such a prominent role in their versions of the tomb's discovery. Rather, the *Chronicon Iriense* prioritised the creation of a useful history for the see of Iria, one which enhanced its position within the Iberian ecclesiastical hierarchy. As such, the involvement of the community of Antealtares was dropped from its *inventio* altogether. In fact, the anonymous chronicler went further, implying that episcopal governance of the shrine began with the discovery of the tomb, essentially writing the community's role out of history. Gelmírez, who through Munio would continue with this narrative and take it further, formally ended the community of Antealtares's actual involvement with the shrine when he replaced them with seven cardinals in 1110.¹⁰³ When Bernard, Munio's successor as cathedral treasurer, compiled *Tumbo A*, a cartulary of royal donations to the see in 1129, the community of Antealtares was completely absent, with the cartulary emphasising the long-standing relationship between the Leonese-Castilian monarchy and the cult of St James, mediated through the episcopal seat of Compostela.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ The community had indeed held residence at the shrine for a long time, as a series of charters attests, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 413–34.

¹⁰² For an illustrated overview of the Romanesque cathedral's genesis, including Diego Peláez's original intentions, see: Williams, 'The Basilica in Compostela and the Way of Pilgrimage'.

¹⁰³ López Alsina, 'La Invención Del Sepulcro de Santiago y La Difusión Del Culto Jacobeo', 67.

¹⁰⁴ See: Manuel Castiñeiras González, 'Poder, Memoria y Olvido: La Galería de Retratos Regios En El Tumbo A de La Catedral de Santiago (1129-1134)', *Quintana: Revista de Estudios Do Departamento de Historia Da Arte* 1, no. 1 (2002): 187–96.

The above examples of deliberate forgetting are especially valuable in that they reveal something about a process that is usually lost to time. Through them one can see how, as the institution's identity and the stories it told about itself changed, many of its old narratives and narrative elements had to be abandoned. This had to happen for the sake of narrative and ideological coherence and is a natural part of a tradition's evolution over time. One cannot keep adding to texts without taking other things away, lest they become bloated and unfocussed. The above examples also reveal something about Munio's reasons for choosing to forget, namely political sensitivities (for the *Torquatus et Comitum* content), restrictions of function (for much of the miraculous content), and contemporary irrelevance (in the case of Antealtares).¹⁰⁵

Documenting Diego: Building a Case for a Young Episcopacy

As the chapter has so far demonstrated, Munio's work on Compostela's foundation narrative was deliberately crafted, and its textual changes were designed to respond to specific needs. As an accomplished writer and the man with the keys to the treasury, Munio would have been granted a degree of stylistic and creative freedom when putting together his *registrum*, although it is probably the case that he would have been in regular consultation with Bishop Diego. Issues of ideology and politics would have been among their main talking points and the bishop would have checked that the new history was progressing along satisfactory lines. One can imagine that he would have been happy with what he saw. Munio's reformulation of the translation and discovery narratives provided a suitable foundation on which a new Compostela could be built and against which Diego's life could be judged. Munio had set the stage for the

¹⁰⁵ Despite having lost their historic roles as the cult's custodians, the community at Antealtares was not completely forgotten by the cathedral authorities although the relationship remained tumultuous. Antealtares was rewarded twice in 1110s, first for unspecified faithful behaviour (to Diego) and second for helping Diego quell the 1116/1117 insurrection, for which the community were given privileges and a new church at their site in the city. However, twelve years later that same Abbot Pedro was deposed for unspecified immoral behaviour— Pedro Marcio notes specifically how the abbot had fallen from a position of high moral rectitude, AHRG, Documentales Particulares, Monasterio de San Payo de Antealtares (Santiago de Compostela), no.27; HC II.55; HC III.20.

HC proper, his biography of his master. This section looks at how Munio approached this task and what sort of priorities his approaches reveal. First, it looks at Munio's cultivation of episcopal legitimacy, specifically the sections of text written: to praise Diego's character, to contend his predecessor Diego Peláez's claims to the episcopacy, and to smooth over certain questionable aspects of his episcopal election and consecration. It then discusses Munio's attempts to legitimate Diego with respect to the Investiture Controversy, an ongoing dispute between the Church and secular powers which affected the relations between episcopates and crowns across Latin Christendom. This final section then considers how Munio sought to record and memorialise Diego's early achievements, looking particularly at *Registrum I*'s coverage of capitular reforms, Diego's acquisition of the pallium, Compostela's construction projects, Compostela's boundary settlement with Mondoñedo, proprietary churches, and other small issues of seignorial business. All this touches on contemporary issues of Church reform and Compostela's attempts at navigating it.

Cultivating Episcopal Legitimacy

Between Diego's introduction to the narrative and his eventual election in 1100, Munio was careful to develop Diego's profile, showing him to be a competent, moral, and popular individual, and the ideal candidate for the Compostelan episcopacy.¹⁰⁶ This was an essential step if Munio were to produce a laudatory image of Diego that convinced his audience, especially given the questions of legitimacy that had surrounded him at the time of his election. Munio began Diego's story by narrating the circumstances which led to the first period of his master's rule. He described how Count Raymond of Burgundy (the Infanta Urraca's husband and King Alfonso VI's surrogate in Galicia) addressed a group of Galician bishops in the city

¹⁰⁶ HC I.4-7.3.

of Compostela, urging them to decide on the candidature of a new administrator.¹⁰⁷ The see of Iria-Compostela had been unhappily vacant since Alfonso VI's 1088 deposition of its former Bishop Diego Peláez and was likely to remain so for as long as Urban II contested his defenestration.¹⁰⁸ With pope and king unable to agree this issue, the see had, in the absence of a permanent executive, endured several years of unstable governance and corrupt mismanagement, first under the brief rule of Bishop Pedro, former abbot of Cardeña (deposed by the pope in 1092) and then Pedro Vimara, the administrator appointed to replace him shortly after.¹⁰⁹ The latter's rule was (according to Munio) so depraved and extractive that the previously wealthy see was left impoverished and demoralised.¹¹⁰ In relating this to his reader, Munio was positing Compostela's need for a saviour, just as he introduced Diego Gelmírez into the narrative. According to the HC, Diego (whom Munio described as disciplined and morally upright) was subsequently nominated by all in attendance, being given the role of secular administrator in lieu of a permanent replacement.¹¹¹ Munio reported that those assembled remembered Diego's father, who had competently governed an area near Iria, presumably to the benefit of Diego's own administrative credentials.¹¹² Moving quickly, and detailing nothing from Diego's first term (which was only one year) the narrative jumps to Diego's second stint as Compostela's administrator (after the two-year break of Dalmacio's episcopacy) where he is shown to rescue Compostela again after the death of its most recent incumbent.¹¹³ According to Munio, Diego was unanimously returned by a group (including the

¹⁰⁷ The bishops included Pedro of Lugo (c.1098-1113), Gonzalo of Mondoñedo (c.1071-1108?), Auderico of Tuy (pre-1097?), and Pedro of Orense (pre-1097?), HC I.4; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 48–65.

¹⁰⁸ HC I.2.12.

¹⁰⁹ HC I.3.1-2; López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1900, III:151–68. the appointment of royal vicars to administer sees was a longstanding prerogative of Leonese-Castilian monarchs, although it was one that often caused resentment, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 216.

¹¹⁰ HC I.4.

¹¹¹ HC I.4.

¹¹² HC I.4.

¹¹³ HC I.5.1, I.6.

King Alfonso, Count Raymond, the Infanta Urraca, and the city's clergy) for a second time who, remembering his prior service, wanted him back in office.¹¹⁴

In these introductory chapters Munio created an image of Diego as a virtuous and competent individual who brought stability to a see in crisis. However, lacking any concrete achievements to draw on (one can assume Munio would have used them if they existed) Munio had to resort to simple description in his early characterisation of Diego. He described Diego as being popular, moral, and competent, indicating to the reader that these qualities had been recognised by the king, count, local bishops, the clergy, and the people.¹¹⁵ These positive attributes, which were described but not demonstrated, were given a little more definition through their contrast with those of Diego Peláez and Pedro Vimara, both of whom were shown to be venal and earthly.¹¹⁶

Munio also tried to mobilise Bishop Dalmacio's legacy to Diego's benefit. Having achieved so much in his short rule, Dalmacio received highly respectful if notably brief coverage from Munio.¹¹⁷ Considering the tale Munio was trying to tell (this was Diego's life not Dalmacio's), the elder bishop's success was slightly awkward as it overshadowed anything from Diego's pre-episcopal administration and arguably from the whole of *Registrum I*.¹¹⁸ This is even more the case if we consider that it is upon Dalmacio's 1095 victories, namely the Roman freedom, papal sanction of the Jacobean cult, and the transfer of the cathedra from Iria to Compostela, that all Diego's later achievements would be built. Nevertheless, Munio was still able to make use of these achievements by co-opting them, styling Diego as his worthy successor, and

¹¹⁴ HC I.6.

¹¹⁵ Who exactly it was that constituted 'the people' is ambiguous.

¹¹⁶ HC I.2.12, 3.2.

¹¹⁷ HC I.5-6.

¹¹⁸ Indeed, Munio relates nothing at all about the achievements of Diego's two stewardships.

situating Dalmacio's administration as a precursor to Diego's own. Just as Dalmacio's 1095 privileges physically prefaced much of Registrum I proper (that portion concerning Diego's episcopate) so too they anticipated the priorities and ambitions of Diego's rule.¹¹⁹ In this way, Dalmacio's episcopacy is subordinated to Diego's within the narrative and is cast as a precursor figure, foreshadowing what is to come.¹²⁰

Beyond his character there was another, more formal, obstacle to the legitimacy of Diego Gelmírez's episcopate— the fact that in the minds of many his predecessor Diego Peláez was the see's lawful incumbent. For Diego Gelmírez's candidature to be viable, it would have to be understood that there was a vacancy in the first place and that Diego Peláez's own claims were illegitimate. This was quite a challenge for Munio considering that Peláez had been popular in Rome (receiving Urban's if not Paschal's backing) and had retained support in Galicia and Compostela well into Diego Gelmírez's rule. One can imagine the younger Diego speaking with Munio when writing these sections, emphasising the need to neutralise his predecessor's claims.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Appearing in HC I.5, there is only one narrative chapter prior to this (excluding the foundational narratives and episcopal biographies) and that concerns Diego's first election as administrator.

¹²⁰ Throughout the rest of the HC, and across all its production phases, Dalmacio is described when mentioned at all, as the only praiseworthy of Diego's close predecessors. Later mentions of Dalmacio include: HC I.9, 11, 12, 16, II.1, 2, 3, 34.

¹²¹ Appointed by King García II of Galicia (r.1065-1071) when Galicia, León, and Castile had been distinct kingdoms, Peláez rose to power during a period of political instability, following Bishop Gudesteo who had been assassinated by one Count Froilan. In the plans for his succession, Fernando I partitioned his kingdom among his three sons, Sancho, García, and the future Alfonso VI. For an account of the partition, the ensuing fratricidal war, and Alfonso's eventual victory, see: Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 3-67; For an account of García II's reign, see: Ermelindo Portela, *García II de Galicia El Rey y El Reino (1065-1090)* (Burgos: Editorial La Olmeda, 2001), 107. The murder is recorded by Munio in his short biography of Gudusteo, HC I.2.11. Diego I's episcopacy began sometime after the murder yet a little before Sancho II's conquest of his brother's kingdom of Galicia in 1071. Munio misdates his appointment to the brief reign of Sancho. His achievements were very substantial, being responsible for both the historical 1080 introduction of the Roman rite in Galicia and the beginning of construction of the Romanesque cathedral in Compostela. He was, in the opinion of Ermelindo Portela, the most prominent Galician figure of the late eleventh century. He was quite a man for an upstart to contend with. For the adoption of the Roman liturgy, see the collection: Reilly, *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*; Williams, 'The Basilica in Compostela and the Way of Pilgrimage', 114–16. Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140)*, *El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 134.

To neutralise Peláez, Munio had to both discredit the former bishop while also explaining away the various exigencies which kept Peláez from being soundly dispatched. First, and given the fact that Peláez had retained papal support for as long as he had, the various machinations of the years between the deposition and Diego Gelmírez's eventual accession (1088-1100) had to be explained away and incorporated helpfully into Munio's narrative. Then, Peláez's suitability for office had to be undermined through attacks on his character.

The former began with his write-up of the scene of Peláez's removal at the 1088 council at Husillos, in which papal legate Cardinal Ricardo and Alfonso VI together deposed the bishop, stripping of his ring and sceptre, the symbols of episcopal office.¹²² According to Munio, Legate Ricardo's defenestration of Peláez was then followed by the authorisation and appointment of his successor, Abbot Pedro of Cardeña.¹²³ Munio then informs his audience that the events at Husillos were refuted and formally overturned by the new pope Urban II who, according to Munio, overruled Richard, declared Diego Peláez the legitimate bishop of Iria, and invalidated Pedro's episcopacy.¹²⁴ The narrative then proceeds to detail the fallout from this decision, including the ill-fated episcopate of Pedro of Cardeña, the corrupt vicarate of Pedro Vimara, and the brief term of Dalmacio (which temporarily resolved the investiture dispute).¹²⁵ After Dalmacio's death, Munio tells his reader of Peláez's last significant attempt at regaining office, describing how the deposed bishop visited Rome and stated his case to Urban, ultimately

¹²² HC I.3.1; The legate in question was Abbot Richard of Saint-Victor of Marseilles, who had been appointed legate of Hispania during the pontificate of Gregory VII, absent from the peninsula for seven years, and whose term as legate ought really to have lapsed in 1085 on the death of Pope Gregory, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 206. For modern histories of the deposition, see: Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140)*, *El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 126–35; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 195–97, 206–9; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 102–4.

¹²³ HC I.3.1

¹²⁴ HC I.3.1; In a 1088 letter to King Alfonso, Pope Urban rejected both the process and the results of Peláez's deposition, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 208.

¹²⁵ HC I.3.6; Like Diego Gelmírez did and would do again, Pedro Vimara assumed a non-clerical administration or vicarate. Appointing such a vicar to manage the temporalities of a see during an episcopal vacancy was regular royal practice and such stewards could be known to abuse their positions, Reilly, 216.

winning support.¹²⁶ However, so Munio narrates, circumstances changed again as Urban II died and one Ranierus, a former papal legate to Iberian churches and a friend of the Compostelan Church, was elected in his place.¹²⁷ This new pope, hearing the merits of the case again, decided to reverse his predecessor's position, so legitimating Alfonso's actions twelve years earlier and allowing for the replacement, Diego Gelmírez, to be elected.¹²⁸ After this dramatic reversal of fortunes, Peláez was said to have relocated to Aragon from where he plotted his return; the threat he posed was apparently so significant that the younger Diego Gelmírez refused to travel through Aragonese lands.¹²⁹

In his narration, Munio described the technical reasons as to why the episcopacy had been left vacant and why Compostela had fallen onto hard times. He narrated a series of events which suggested that the normal and just mechanisms for removing and replacing an unsuitable bishop were disrupted and to devastating effect. The responsibility for the situation was explicitly attributed to Diego Peláez and implicitly to Urban, although Munio was careful not to criticise the pope directly.

While explaining (and taming) the story of Diego Peláez's contested deposition, Munio also moved to disparage his character. This effort began as soon as Peláez appeared in the narrative (in his entry among the episcopal biographies) in which Munio asserted that Peláez was deposed for failing to live up to the high moral standards of ecclesiastical office.¹³⁰ At his formal deposition in Husillos, he is said to have 'despoiled the pontifical dignity' and is accused

¹²⁶ HC I.7.1.

¹²⁷ HC I.7.1; Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 147.

¹²⁸ HC I.7.1-3.

¹²⁹ HC I.7.1.

¹³⁰ *Sed adeo curis exrterioribus implicitus extitit, quod ecclesiastici habitus norme internam intentionem, ut debuit, non submisit*, HC I.3.12.

of debasing the Church when haranguing pope Urban into supporting him.¹³¹ After Dalmacio's death, when Peláez tries again to reclaim his office, he is again accused of degrading the Church, apparently pressuring the pope and of conveying his petitions with 'unseemly shrieks'.¹³² Here, one can see how Munio characterised Peláez as a childish figure who was eminently unfit for office yet who had a worldly ambition to hold it. As shall be seen a little below, this was more than mere name-calling, it was a targeted package of accusations which touched contemporary controversies on clerical standards.

Although the clergy had always meant to be an order apart, the second half of the eleventh century had seen a renewed focus on spiritual and moral standards within the Latin Church that sought to purge and protect the clergy from corrupting influences in order to preserve the distinctions between the laity and the clerical class.¹³³ In this way, Munio's depiction of Peláez invokes another current of reform thought, one with origins dating to the mid-eleventh century and which would fully develop in the late twelfth. Beginning in the papacy of Leo IX, and argued for in the writings of Peter Damian, there started a concerted effort to eradicate simony, the selling of spiritual offices, and Nicolaism, the practice of clerical marriage, from the Latin priesthood.¹³⁴ Gradually, and most notably during Gregory VII's reign, these ideas developed, with clerical prohibitions expanding to cover not only the narrowly defined charges of simony and Nicolaism, but all avoidable profane activities that were thought to defile a cleric's office and all the practices that would submit him to lay authority on issues of Church and faith.¹³⁵

¹³¹ ...*uidelicet ut eum a pontificali dignitate deiceret*. HC I.3.1.

¹³² He is said to have gone to Rome swiftly after Dalmacio's death where he made his petitions 'with inopportune screams' (*importunes clamoribus*), HC I.7.1.

¹³³ See below (177-179) for a fuller discussion on the contemporary concerns of the Church reformers.

¹³⁴ Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, 142-84. For a recent study and bibliography on Peter Damian and his thought, see: Christopher D. Fletcher, 'Rhetoric, Reform, and Christian Eloquence: The Letter Form and Religious Thought of Peter Damian', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 46, no. 1 (2015): 61-91.

¹³⁵ Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 90-91.

Consequently, and certainly by the time Munio was writing in 1108-1110, any hint or perception of undue temporal preoccupation was to the reform-minded cleric, morally crass and an indication of a person's unsuitability for ecclesiastical office.¹³⁶ This ideological tendency became more pronounced in the mid-to-late twelfth century, particularly after Callixtus II's pontificate.¹³⁷ The strengthening of this taboo is evident in the HC itself, with worldliness become even less acceptable by the time Gerald and Pedro Marcio would write their *registra*.¹³⁸

As with the foundational narratives which opened Registrum I, the influence of reform ideas on this section of the text is evident. When considered alongside contemporary ideas about clerical purity, Munio's allegations that Peláez was preoccupied with the temporal world and that he was unable to adapt to ecclesiastical life, now appear less like a general slandering of the former bishop's character, and more like an ideologically targeted attack meant to make him appear unfit for the office that Alfonso had taken from him.

Munio's navigation of the investiture dispute was similarly deft and important for the ideological thrust of his *registrum*. Significantly, and despite his opposition to the Munio's own position, Urban II was not blamed for backing Peláez nor for repudiating the royal replacement Pedro of Cardeña, rather he was shown to be a victim of Peláez's deceptions who

¹³⁶ For a study on the gradual 'monasticisation' of the secular Church in the twelfth century and its culmination in the 1215 Fourth Lateran Council, see: Henrietta Leyser, 'Clerical Purity and the Re-Ordered World', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 9–21.

¹³⁷ Robinson notes the stridency of younger cardinals after the 1122 Concordat of Worms, Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 67.

¹³⁸ Giles Constable's periodization of reform is a useful way of understanding how the reform ideology developed over time and how the priorities of the reformers developed too. There were four key phases: the moral reform of the clergy (1040-1070), the freeing of the Church from lay power and the asserting of papal supremacy (1070-1100), the final phase of the investiture crisis (1100-1130), and concern with the nature of religious life and personal spiritual reform (1130-1160). Constable acknowledges this scheme is crude but insists it is a useful way of conceiving the movement's trajectory, Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 4–5.

was misled into making an innocent, if incorrect, judgement on the case. In the pre-Clermont era of Iria-Compostela, prior to Dalmacio's settlement with Rome in 1095, its historians would likely have asserted the Leonese-Castilian king's right to depose the see's bishops, as they had previously deposed Ataulf II and Sisnando II; as things were, such a stance was no longer politically desirable or ideologically viable, and the maintenance of good relations with Rome was now of paramount importance.¹³⁹ Similarly, the change in Roman policy between Paschal and Urban is not portrayed as an important shift in Roman-Leonese-Castilian relations, but rather as the triumph of justice, as a man more knowledgeable of Iberian affairs, and so more able to see through Peláez's lies, ascended to the throne of St Peter.¹⁴⁰ Again, Munio was executing his case against Peláez in a manner fully congruent with reform ideas.

However, and as Portela has noted, this particular line of attack is somewhat compromised by the dual assertion (they appear in the same short paragraph) that Peláez was responsible for the introduction of the Roman rite, a favoured policy of reformers, while also being insufficiently pious and incompatible with the clerical quotidian.¹⁴¹ Yet while this is not necessarily a contradiction in absolute terms, flawed political leaders could conceivably achieve positive ends – it does implant in the reader's mind doubt as to the veracity of Munio's claim, so making the charge of worldliness against Peláez less plausible than it might otherwise have been.

Looking back ten years later, Gerald's revised account of Peláez's fall and of Diego Gelmírez's rise, which is substantially different to Munio's, provides added information that might help explain the above contradiction. In Gerald's account (HC II.2), the reader is told that Peláez

¹³⁹ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 25; Munio describes the depositions himself in his episcopal biographies, HC I.2.2, 2.6.

¹⁴⁰ HC I.7.1.

¹⁴¹ HC I.2.12; Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 133-134; Significantly, this is the only mention of liturgical reform in Registrum I, which suggests that the issue was not settled enough for Munio to discuss Diego's relationship with it.

was deposed, not for spiritual deficiencies but for betraying Alfonso VI and Galicia to King William I of England.¹⁴² Gerald's claim appears to be historically baseless and is, in the opinion of Reilly, a contrivance based on little more than the fact that García (Alfonso's imprisoned brother) had (probably) been betrothed to one of William I's daughters prior to his 1073 incarceration.¹⁴³ Regardless of their veracity, one is immediately struck by the novelty of this attack when compared with that of Munio and his adoption of a different polemical approach. Significantly perhaps, historians generally agree that Gerald's account was closer to the truth, although not entirely so, with the Norman connection considered tendentious. It is true however that in 1087 there was an uprising of nobles in Galicia, likely in response to Count Raymond's new viceregal role in the region, and possibly with the aim of freeing and restoring the former King Garcia from his captivity and to the throne.¹⁴⁴ Both Reilly and Portela argued that Peláez was implicated in the rebellion and that his deposition was a response to such treason; the fact that Garcia was killed after his long incarceration at about the same time Peláez was imprisoned, makes this theory entirely plausible.¹⁴⁵ William I's involvement in the plot is, on the other hand, rather less likely. In 1087 the conqueror was busy on campaign against the French king in Normandy, where he failed to survive the year, dying in Rouen on 9 September.¹⁴⁶ Given this rather busy schedule, it is unlikely that he had designs on Galicia. The association between Galicia and the English crown is not entirely fanciful however, as in 1070 Garcia, then king, considered courting William's daughter Alberta for marriage.¹⁴⁷ Beyond this

¹⁴² HC II.2.

¹⁴³ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 196.

¹⁴⁴ Portela, *García II de Galicia El Rey y El Reino (1065-1090)*, 139.

¹⁴⁵ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 134; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 195.

¹⁴⁶ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 134; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 194; David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), 202–5.

¹⁴⁷ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 196.

there is no evidence for a planned Norman invasion and the link must be judged spurious, more a reflection of Gerald's polemical historiographical method than any historical events.¹⁴⁸

If, though, one accepts that Gerald included this half-truth in his account with the intention of strengthening his case against Peláez, the question arises why did Munio not? As an educated member of Compostela's chapter, whose own term of office preceded Gelmírez's episcopacy, it is inconceivable that he would not be aware of such a major political event.¹⁴⁹ There are two points here that may shed some light on the situation. First, as Portela has commented, it is likely that Peláez's motivation for taking part in the rebellion was to evade the authority of Toledo whose archiepiscopal see had only been restored a year earlier and who was in the process of acquiring the pallium and the primacy of Hispania.¹⁵⁰ Were this the case, Peláez's rebellion would have been seen to be in the interests of the see of Iria-Compostela, with his aims, if not his means, aligning with those of Dalmacio and Gelmírez, the two great reforming figures of *Registrum I*. Furthermore, considering that many of Peláez's former colleagues, and perhaps co-conspirators, would have still been in office at the cathedral chapter when Diego began his episcopacy and when Munio began to write, it was perhaps judged prudent to omit the event (an event many would have supported) and to prosecute the case against Peláez on different grounds. By the time Gerald was writing *Registrum II*, however, Diego was far more powerful, having secured the archiepiscopacy and having vanquished many of his enemies. Any partisans of Peláez would almost certainly have gone by that time, meaning that the story would have been easier to distort.

¹⁴⁸ Gerald's polemicism is a central concern of Chapter Three of the thesis.

¹⁴⁹ The presence of Munio at Diego's election as bishop indicates that he assumed his office prior to his master assuming his, HC I.8.1.

¹⁵⁰ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140)*, *El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 134.

The second point pertains to Gelmírez and his relationship with Peláez; Gerald informs his readers that Gelmírez studied under Peláez as a youth and that the former's father Gelmirio worked under Peláez's authority as an administrator in the far west of Galicia.¹⁵¹ As such, we can assume that the two Diegos would have had some sort of relationship with each other, even if the degree of closeness is hard to ascertain. It is interesting that Munio makes no mention of the two men's relationship. As Fletcher has remarked, the HC offers no details of Gelmírez's life between 1085-1090 and, when he does finally appear, he does so as notary of Raymond, the most prominent figure of post-Peláez Galicia.¹⁵² It is hard to prove but, as Fletcher has also said, the sense that Gelmírez had betrayed Peláez somehow is palpable, considering their early relationship, the suspicious lacunae in the HC, and Gelmírez's unwillingness to travel through Aragon for consecration, even though it meant delaying the prize that he had been pursuing for so long. Although one cannot be sure exactly why the two Diegos' relationship was underplayed by Munio, one can be reasonably sure that they had one, and can then infer that something was being concealed, perhaps an uncomfortable truth that his detractors held against him.

Having pressed the negative case against Peláez, Munio then had to make the positive case for Gelmírez's legitimacy by affirming the canonicity of his patron's accession, a task made more difficult by the apparently unorthodox way he came to power.

After relating Urban's death, Registrum I moves quickly to describe how Pope Paschal II (1099-1118) reversed his predecessor's position, accepted the deposition's legitimacy, and assented to a replacement, a policy change related by a couple of narrative chapters from Munio

¹⁵¹ HC II.2.

¹⁵² Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 104.

and a letter from Paschal to Alfonso, confirming Rome's new position.¹⁵³ There then follows a fast moving sequence of events, in which Diego's election immediately succeeds the papal concession with no information given on the events of the intervening period, aside from a small paragraph relating Diego's journey to Rome, which he undertook in order to be ordained subdeacon by the pope.¹⁵⁴ After Diego's return to Compostela the election proceeds; in it, Munio describes how Diego was elected bishop 'against his will' by a group of the 'most noble of all Galicia' and with the consent of King Alfonso and Count Raymond.¹⁵⁵ Shortly after assuming office Diego apparently went to Toledo to see the king, where the archbishop of Toledo who met him with a large procession.¹⁵⁶ However, Munio notes that, owing to Compostela's recently acquired Roman freedom, Diego could not simply be consecrated by any other archbishop and so had to be consecrated either by the pope himself or, failing that, a bishop who had been consecrated by the pope.¹⁵⁷ Meeting this requirement was not especially simple because, as Munio notes, Diego was unwilling to travel to Rome, fearing attacks from partisans of Diego Peláez in Aragon.¹⁵⁸ As such, the papacy had to try and secure a directly subordinate bishop to consecrate Diego in Iberia; from there ensued something of a farce as a frustrated exchange of letters reveal that the intermediaries between Rome and Compostela fell ill on the road.¹⁵⁹ Eventually, the issue was resolved and Munio relates that Diego was consecrated the following Easter, 21/22 April 1101.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ HC I.7.1-3.

¹⁵⁴ HC I.8.1-2.

¹⁵⁵ HC I.8.1. The trope of an unwilling electee is an ancient one, appearing famously in Gregory of Tours's (d.594) account of Pope Gregory I's election (r.590-604), and near contemporaneously in Pietro Diacono's account of the 1086 papal election in which an aged Desidario of Montecassino (r.1086-1087) accepted the pontificate with extreme reluctance.

¹⁵⁶ HC I.9.1.

¹⁵⁷ HC I.9.1.

¹⁵⁸ HC I.9.1. King Pedro of Aragon had permitted Peláez to live on lands in newly conquered Huesca for as long as he should live, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 292; This also marks the last contemporary mention of him in the HC although he is later referred to as an historical figure by Gerald and Pedro Marcio – the date of his death is unknown, HC II.2, III.36.

¹⁵⁹ HC I.9.1-10.3.

¹⁶⁰ HC I.9.1.

The narration of these events manages to be both unusually detailed yet curiously incomplete. Certain aspects that one might expect to see in such an account are extensively narrated and evidenced while others are either partially or completely elided. The deviousness of this source has been noted by several scholars, with Reilly inferring an attempt to ‘smooth over’ awkward details, Ludwig Vones suspecting some sort of cover up, and Fletcher noting that the source had several ‘dark corners’.¹⁶¹ Here, Fletcher’s observation is particularly astute: while there is a lot of light in the text, in that there is a lot of narrative information, it is, like the set of a theatre stage, lit purposefully to highlight certain aspects of the drama at the expense of others, foregrounding certain elements, backgrounding others, and using the light as a means of guiding the story along. It appears to be an attempt to shape the story by privileging, and inversely neglecting, select parts of the whole. In order to see the full scene then, it will be necessary to identify the parameters of the things obscured and omitted, and to make informed inferences about what is being hidden.

First is the issue of Diego’s ordination as subdeacon. Much of the detail of the formal process is recorded in the narrative, as is the documentation confirming Diego’s holy orders and Paschal’s quasi-recommendation of his candidature for the vacant seat. Omitted or ‘shaded’ aspects of the account include the true purpose of the trip: Munio’s claim that Diego was on pilgrimage (*orationis gratia*) is not credible while the related circumstances around Diego’s acquisition of the subdeaconate seem incomplete. As Fletcher has said, Diego was probably sent by the king (or by Raymond with the king’s permission) to Rome so that he might attain the holy orders required to be a viable candidate for the episcopacy.¹⁶² It is possible that there

¹⁶¹ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 270; Vones, *Die ‘Historia Compostellana’ Und Die Kirchenpolitik Des Nordwestspanischen Raumes. 1070-1130. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien Und Dem Papsttum Ze Beginn Des 12. Jahrhunderts.*, 100–144; Fletcher, *Saint James’s Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 108.

¹⁶² Fletcher, *Saint James’s Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 112.

was some sort of dispute around his un-ordained status, perhaps coming from another faction's candidate looking to attack Diego's eligibility.¹⁶³ As Robert L. Benson has observed, the rank of subdeacon was, at that time, the lowest possible rank of holy orders that an individual must have attained in order to be eligible for election, although this was not always followed.¹⁶⁴ Regardless, it is certainly true that Diego's ordination supported his candidature by neutralising a potentially disqualifying issue.¹⁶⁵

Regarding the means by which Diego was ordained there remains a question: how did this young administrator manage to get a recommendation and ordination from the pope? It is likely that he got help from an influential ally. At the time that Diego was in Rome, so was Archbishop Guy of Vienne, Count Raymond's brother, the Infanta Urraca's second cousin, and the future pope Callixtus II.¹⁶⁶ Diego and Guy were closely linked and, as their future cooperation would demonstrate, Guy was more than willing to help Compostela achieve its ends. It is entirely likely, therefore, that Guy assisted Diego and his brother Raymond in helping him receive ordination. The overall impression of Munio's account of Diego's ordination is that Diego, as the royal and comital pick for the see, was sent to Rome where Raymond's brother helped him secure holy orders, while the episcopal election in Compostela was delayed, likely the result of some invisible politicking, until he could return to be elected, newly ordained.

The second aspect of the narrative for consideration, a part even more confusing than the ordination, is the event and circumstances around the election itself. What is made clear here

¹⁶³ Fletcher for example, thinks it possible that Munio was hiding the existence of rival candidates, perhaps even a Peláez loyalist candidate, Fletcher, 112.

¹⁶⁴ Robert L. Benson, *The Bishop Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 64–65.

¹⁶⁵ Reglero de la Fuente, 'Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos', 225.

¹⁶⁶ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 109; Mary Stroll, *Callixtus II (1119-1124): A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 235.

is the attendance of Alfonso, Raymond, and by implication the chapter (Munio indicates that he and his colleagues were present and participating by, rather unusually, narrating the election in the first person plural (*cognoueramus...elegimus*).¹⁶⁷ The persons described by Munio as the ‘most noble of all Galicia’ cannot easily be identified.¹⁶⁸ This coyness is especially notable considering the (relative) detail with which he described the previous two elections of Diego as administrator in the prior decade.¹⁶⁹ Much is missing from the account, however, including the date of the election, an issue that is further compounded by the jumbled chronology of the account’s narrative and documents, and Pedro Marcio’s unhelpful chapter titles.¹⁷⁰ The account is also vague on the precise roles of those attending the election, with the source seeming to imply that the chapter did the electing, having first received consent from Alfonso and Raymond.¹⁷¹ Fortunately for the historian trying to understand Munio’s account of the election, there exists a second history of the event written by his colleague and successor Gerald. In Registrum II’s account, Gerald tells the reader that Alfonso and Raymond identified Diego as an ‘astute young man’ and appointed him to the role of steward, years after which he was elected bishop by ‘the people and clergy of the church of St James’ with the express approval of Alfonso and Raymond.¹⁷² The language is key here: in Munio’s version, King Alfonso and Count Raymond offer their *assensum* (agreement) to Diego’s candidature, whereas Gerald says they only provide *consilium* (counsel). This change, which subtly reduces the influence of the

¹⁶⁷ HC I.8.1.

¹⁶⁸ HC I.8.1.

¹⁶⁹ HC I.4, 6.

¹⁷⁰ The chapter named ‘the postponement of the election’ (HC I.8.1-2) by Pedro Marcio some forty years later begins with Munio’s only account of the election (HC I.8.1) and is followed by the document confirming the ordination which preceded it (HC I.8.2). The following chapter is titled ‘His Election and Consecration’ (HC I.9.1) yet only mentions the date of the election, with the main thrust of the narrative describing Diego’s post-election trip to Toledo.

¹⁷¹ HC I.7.1; Fletcher, *Saint James’s Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 110.

¹⁷² HC II.2.

lay powers in the election process, makes sense if we consider the currents of church reform and the ongoing investiture controversy which was preoccupying the papacy at that time.¹⁷³

Ever since the 599 Council of Barcelona, which stipulated royal or episcopal designation and capitular and popular approval, ‘the people’ and the clergy of a particular city were supposed to be given the prime responsibility for the election of their bishop.¹⁷⁴ Practically speaking, however, this scarcely happened as lay powers tended to take the lead role in the appointing of bishops.¹⁷⁵ This practice started to come under scrutiny as another front of reform opened up, however; alongside Rome’s muscular assertion of its primacy and its campaign to increase its influence on Christendom’s fringes, there came another priority, that of securing the Church’s exclusive right to episcopal investiture. In the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages, investiture – the investing of a bishop with the ring and crozier, the symbols of spiritual office – could be undertaken by any superior authority whether lay or clerical and was in many places the sole preserve of kings and emperors.¹⁷⁶ Prior to the mid-eleventh century, when the line between Church and state was generally more blurred and when the anointed monarch retained a quasi-priestly status, lay investiture was an institutionalised and broadly unproblematic aspect of church life.¹⁷⁷ However, the definition of simony expanded in the late eleventh century to include not just the sale of spiritual offices, a crime thought to pollute the sacred with the profane, but also any instances of clerical subordination to laypersons in matters of the church.¹⁷⁸ This theological development, which came to be reflected in a Roman diplomatic

¹⁷³ Fletcher was the first to note this change in language between the two election narratives: Fletcher, *Saint James’s Catapult*, 111.

¹⁷⁴ Practically, the king would tend to have a much greater say and there is evidence of electors submitting their choices for royal approval well into the twelfth century, Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 77. Although who ‘the people’ were technically meant to be was technically vague, Reglero de la Fuente, ‘Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos’, 220;

¹⁷⁵ Reglero de la Fuente, ‘Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos’, 220–23.

¹⁷⁶ The key study on this long and complicated dispute is, Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*.

¹⁷⁷ Blumenthal, 28–58.

¹⁷⁸ Blumenthal, HC I.8.1.64–79.

policy which sought the end of lay investiture, caused inevitable rifts with rulers who did not wish to cede influence to Rome by surrendering their rights over the bishoprics.¹⁷⁹ For many lay rulers such a concession on investiture was not simply an issue of rendering unto God the things that are God's, because bishops themselves often had seigneurial rights and responsibilities over their cities.¹⁸⁰ Practically then, for a monarch to concede the right of investiture to Rome was, to some extent, to cede partial control over areas of their own territories to a foreign power. Several high profile conflicts broke out in reaction to this, most famously that between Henry IV of Germany (r.1054-1105) and Pope Gregory VII.¹⁸¹ His successors Urban II, Paschal II, and Gelasius II (1118-1119) had a similarly fraught, if slightly less dramatic, relationship with the German kings and emperors, while also engaging with other investiture stand-offs with the Capetian kings of West Frankia, the Norman kings of England and, of course, Alfonso VI of León-Castile, in the case of Bishop Peláez.¹⁸² At the time Munio was writing, investiture had still not been fully settled although momentum appeared to be with the Romanising reformers; it was not until Callixtus II's pontificate (1119-1124) and the Concordat of Worms (1122) that the issue was broadly settled in the papacy's favour.¹⁸³

This context provides two important insights: first, that lay investiture was an ideologically sensitive topic that Munio would have had to address – especially given the recent (though resolved) investiture dispute between León-Castile and Rome.¹⁸⁴ The taboo against lay

¹⁷⁹ Blumenthal, 64–99.

¹⁸⁰ For an overview of the seigneurial rights and responsibilities of Leonese-Castilian bishops, see Luis García de Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de Las Instituciones Españolas de Los Orígenes al Final de La Edad Media* (Madrid: Alianza Universidad Textos, 1982), 523–527; For a more recent and more general discussion of bishop-lords see, Angelo Silvestri, *Power, Politics and Episcopal Authority: The Bishops of Cremona and Lincoln in the Middle Ages (1066-1340)* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 14–86.

¹⁸¹ Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 106–34.

¹⁸² Blumenthal, 142–67.

¹⁸³ Blumenthal, 167–73.

¹⁸⁴ De la Fuente considers the investiture dispute over Peláez's deposition to be what changed the way Iberian monarchs and ecclesiastics approached episcopal elections, Reglero de la Fuente, 'Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos', 225–28.

investiture would have been even greater by the time Gerald wrote *Registrum II*, whose phase of production straddled the Concordat of Worms, so explaining the shift in Gerald's story. Second, it suggests that the chapter did not play its full legally prescribed role in the election, something that it would have resented. As Fletcher remarked, Munio's diplomatic ambiguity would no longer suffice by Gerald's time and so the account would have had to be made robust if it were to pass scrutiny.¹⁸⁵

As Munio made clear, King Alfonso and Count Raymond had been heavily involved in Diego's 1093 and 1096 appointments to administer the see; it is surely possible that they played an equally active part in his episcopal election.¹⁸⁶ Theirs was a relationship that went back quite far: as Gerald wrote, Diego had been at the court of Alfonso VI during his youth and had later become Raymond's notary, appearing as a witness in many of the count's charters, and accompanying him as he marched to defend Lisbon.¹⁸⁷ Given Diego's steep upwards professional trajectory and the royal and comital backing he had received throughout his early career, it seems likely that his eventual appointment was an initiative of one of his patrons. Such appointments, which minimised the role of the canons in episcopal elections – a role that they were legally meant to have – were as common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as they were resented; canons did not like having this power taken out of their hands.¹⁸⁸ Logically, then, Diego's patronage would contribute to any sentiment of capitular opposition that might have existed against the bishop.

¹⁸⁵ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 111.

¹⁸⁶ HC I.4, 6.

¹⁸⁷ HC II.2. For a detailed reconstruction of Diego's early life, see: Ermelindo Portela, 'Diego Gelmírez. Los Años de Preparación (1065-1100)', *Studia Historica* 25 (2007): ; and more recently, Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 126–36.

¹⁸⁸ Years later (1128) Archbishop Diego obtained a royal privilege that confirmed the chapter's prime role in electing their own prelate, HC II.92.

More important than wounded capitular pride, however, was the issue of lay investiture, which for a reform-minded cleric like Diego was a sensitive topic. Although it is impossible to draw falsifiable points from silence, it is plausible that the ‘dark corners’ in Munio’s account of the election were obscuring an unorthodox process of which reform-minded, lay-investiture-sensitive ideologues would have disapproved. For the sake of Diego’s reputation, Munio would therefore have had to smother them.

Next is the issue of consecration. On that, Munio provided a date and informed his reader that Diego, as the bishop-elect of a see directly subordinate to Rome, had to be consecrated by the pope or a bishop who had been consecrated by the pope.¹⁸⁹ He wrote that, because of Peláez, Diego was unwilling to go to Rome for a papal consecration and so chose to pursue the second option. The practicalities in enacting this, however, and the perils and difficulties of medieval travel and communication, meant that it was delayed by misfortune, with one messenger dying and another becoming gravely ill on the road.¹⁹⁰ Munio did not state exactly how the issue was resolved, nor who performed the eventual consecration, although his inclusion of Paschal’s letters suggesting the bishop of Maguelone hints that it might have been him.¹⁹¹ What is curious about this run of texts (HC I.9.1-10.3) is how Munio seems to have chosen to limit the narrative in order to obscure the reality of the situation, rather than, as often happens in *Registrum I*, added narrative to help clarify or justify a point raised by a particular document. This is perhaps because the actuality of the consecration, which of course was never reported, was unconventional and unflattering to Munio’s portrayal of Diego. Fletcher thinks it probable that the bishop of Maguelone performed the consecration, but this is unlikely; had that happened then Munio, who would not have missed a chance to narrate an event that conferred prestige

¹⁸⁹ HC I.9.1.

¹⁹⁰ HC I.10.1.

¹⁹¹ HC I.10.2-3.

and legitimacy on Diego, would have included it in Registrum I. The ceremony's absence from the narrative suggests that he had something to hide.

Finally, there is the issue of Diego's visit to Toledo after his consecration and what happened there. According to Munio, Diego went to Toledo only to be received by the king and archbishop of the city in what was presented as a celebration, although little beyond Diego's honourable reception is described in detail. The main purpose of this narrative tract is to confirm the consecration, which it states plainly, before introducing to the reader via the letters the protracted series of events that disrupted it. Once again, Gerald supplies an alternative perspective, relating that upon his arrival in Toledo Diego surrendered his episcopal regalia to Archbishop Bernard before immediately receiving them back.¹⁹² The purpose of this would appear to be, like the rest of Gerald's revision of Diego's election and consecration narratives, to make it appear more defensible in the face of reform-minded critics. Interestingly, Fletcher and Reilly are at odds on the veracity of Gerald's account; Fletcher argued that the exchange was probably a later confection whereas Reilly held that the embarrassing symbolism of the gesture, in which he received the episcopal regalia from the ecclesiastic whose authority his see has fought so hard to evade, suggests that it happened.¹⁹³ Of the two, Reilly's argument is more convincing although the nature of their disagreement highlights an interesting tension across the *registra*; while none of the HC's four authors would wish to appear anti-reform or subject to Toledo, it is possible that the relative weight of these two historiographical priorities changed over time with the former becoming more taboo, so changing the historian's calculation.¹⁹⁴ It is possible therefore that Munio preferred not to include this incident, judging

¹⁹² HC II.2.

¹⁹³ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 301; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 111.

¹⁹⁴ Reilly's argument is, in the opinion of the author, more convincing as it better fits with the Munio's broader narrative strategy. Here, to conceal or smooth over embarrassing incidents.

it to be more damaging than useful, whereas Gerald, writing close to the Concordat of Worms, thought it worth including for the sake of Diego's historical legitimacy. This was especially the case by the 1120s as Compostela was, while still assertive of its position within the church, more comfortable ecclesiologically having assumed both the archiepiscopacy and the legacy of the diocese of Mérida and Braga.¹⁹⁵ This meant that by the time Gerald sat down to revise the episode, he could concede such a detail without too much regret, feeling that his see's position vis-à-vis Toledo was much more secure. For Gerald, some of those things hidden within the dark corners of Munio's narrative, namely capitular resentment, the questionable circumstances around the consecration, and Diego's visit to Toledo, could be addressed a little more directly.

Demonstrating Diego's Competence as a Reformer

Through the creation of a new history for the see of Compostela and the aggressive assertion of Diego's episcopal legitimacy, Munio had laid the foundations for Registrum I and, whether he knew it or not, for the whole of Diego's *gesta*. Next, he would have to follow up on some of the promise foreshadowed in the earlier parts of his *registrum*. The final section of this chapter looks closely at how Munio sought to demonstrate Diego's competence and effectiveness as a bishop and a leader, and what his argumentative focuses might tell us about Compostela's priorities during the years of Registrum I's production.

When Diego first entered the story, as temporary administrator of the Compostelan see, he found a disordered and demoralised administration.¹⁹⁶ Seeing this, he immediately pledged to 'restore what was destroyed', 'conserve what was restored', and 'improve what was

¹⁹⁵ See below for the discussions in Chapter 3: 181-194

¹⁹⁶ HC I.4.

conserved.¹⁹⁷ This eminently reform-minded manifesto foreshadows much of Registrum I, and indicates to the reader how Munio wanted Diego to be seen. Fortunately for Munio, Diego's achievements were substantial and so the treasurer had a lot of material to work with when crafting his master's image; most of what Munio chose to include in his *registrum* was in the form of documentary evidence, narrative exposition, or clarifying commentary. As a *gesta*, the story of Registrum I is that of a young man in a hurry, desperate to will his see into greatness. As a *registrum*, Munio's work is documentary evidence of Diego's early achievements and insurance against future encroachments on Compostela's temporalities and privileges; it is Munio's relating of these achievements where the interplay of the HC's two overarching genre types (*gesta/registrum*) and functions (to memorialise/to consolidate) are most obvious.

One of the earliest reforms enacted by Diego related to his cathedral chapter, which he radically reorganised and expanded.¹⁹⁸ When Diego first came to administer the see he, according to Munio, found a disorganised and demoralised chapter that had been degraded after years of misrule and plunder.¹⁹⁹ Addressing this was one of the prime objectives of his reform. After securing the episcopacy permanently, Diego quickly came to rely on a small circle of chapter loyalists to whom he would entrust some of his most important tasks – a group that included Munio himself, Hugh (the author of HC I.15), and one Guafrido.²⁰⁰ Very early on in his rule, Diego pushed to make significant reforms to the chapter, starting construction of a new cloister for the canons to live in, establishing a fairer and more sustainable stipend for the canons, expanding the membership size of the chapter from twenty four to seventy two canons, and

¹⁹⁷ HC I.4. A very similar phrase occurs in HC I.20.

¹⁹⁸ A chapter here being defined as a cathedral community who dedicate themselves to the service of the divine office and together form a collective, Reglero de la Fuente, 'Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos', 259.

¹⁹⁹ HC I.3.2, 4.

²⁰⁰ Appearances in Registrum I include: Munio Alfonso (HC I.10, 16, 20), Hugh (HC I.9, 14, 15, 16, 20), Gaufrido (HC I.11, 16, 20, 34, 36, 37, 44).

hiring more educated members, including the master of rhetoric Gerald, the compiler of Registrum II.²⁰¹ He also forced the new chapter to swear an oath of obedience to him; the document, which includes the terms of the oath (they swore fidelity to their bishop and also to defend the chapter, their manner of life, and the possessions of the church against those who might take them) and the names of the seventy two canons swearing it, is dated to 22 April 1102.²⁰² Among the names listed are the archbishop of Braga, with whom Diego would come to blows shortly afterwards, and Pedro Elías, a future antagonist of Diego's and his eventual successor as archbishop of Santiago de Compostela.²⁰³

Typically for texts within a serial record, Munio's account of these capitular reforms was meant to explain and record for posterity, to press and memorialise Diego's rationale for affecting the reforms, while also consolidating them in legally binding terms.²⁰⁴ The ostensible reasons he gives for Diego's reforms were broadly clear if a little imprecise: he claimed the new bishop wanted to infuse the chapter with standards of rigour and discipline that they had hitherto been lacking.²⁰⁵ Gerald's later account developed this further, stating that Diego consciously transplanted 'French ecclesiastical customs' into the chapter, enforcing stricter liturgical standards, ensuring that the appropriate ecclesiastical vestments were used, improving the quality of those vestments, mandating that beards be shaven, and ruling that clerics should no longer dress as if they were 'laypersons of the knightly class', noting with particular distaste the pointed shoes that were fashionable at the time.²⁰⁶ Gerald also mentioned that Diego divided capitular income equally among the canons, making the system of distribution between the

²⁰¹ HC I.35.1-9.

²⁰² HC I.35.1-9.

²⁰³ HC I.35.9. Diego's disputes with Archbishop Gerald of Braga and the future Dean of Compostela cathedral (and Diego's successor as Archbishop of Compostela too) are central features of Chapters Two and Four of the present thesis.

²⁰⁴ Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance, Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, 83-86.

²⁰⁵ HC I.20.2.

²⁰⁶ HC II.3.

canons fairer, and allowing them to properly clothe and feed themselves.²⁰⁷ Writing a quarter of a century after Gerald, Pedro Marcio also discussed the reforms, claiming that, prior to Diego's episcopacy, the church of Iria-Compostela had 'moved away from religion', that it had diminished resources, too few canons, and employed a general calibre of canon that was below what should have been expected.²⁰⁸

Unlike with the accounts of Peláez's defrocking and Gelmírez's election, ordination and consecration, the more recent accounts of Diego's reforms do not contradict Munio's version, rather they build on the idea that the cathedral chapter of 1100 was in a moribund state. Like the other revisions, however, they do intensify the ideological dimension of the attack on the canons, stating more sharply the nature of their shortcomings, ones which, rather conveniently, broke contemporary taboos on clerical behaviour. This is not to say, however, that there is no truth in these claims and that their accounts were pure historiographical confect; as Fletcher has noted, the sense that something was wrong at Compostela in 1100 is inescapable, even if the precise cause is hard to define.²⁰⁹ Regardless, it is important to treat these claims with a healthy dose of scepticism especially when, as discussed before, they might pertain to a group whom Munio wished to disparage.

On one level it is logical to accept the truth of the HC's authors claims, as Diego appeared to be a sincere reformer who accepted Roman supremacy and was attracted to trans-Pyrenean ways; a reforming zeal alone might explain the HC's scorning of the pre-Gelmirian chapter. Diego's early commissioning of the *Polycarpus*, an up-to-date collection of canon law written

²⁰⁷ HC II.3. This desire to distinguish the laity from the clergy sartorially was a concern of the wider twelfth-century Church. See, chapter 1 of: Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c.800-1200* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2014).

²⁰⁸ HC III.36.3.

²⁰⁹ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 164.

by Gregory of San Grisogono (d.1113) and dedicated to Diego, would seem to indicate that his interest in reform ideas was not superficial and that he would have had little time for a conservative chapter.²¹⁰ In this instance, it is plausible that the authors' overstated the decrepitude of the chapter, in the interest of bolstering Diego's moves to reform. Moreover, Gerald's later claim that Diego's capitular reforms had been enacted along 'French' ecclesiastical lines was, with respect to their new economic organisation, division of temporalities, and individual stipends, certainly true.²¹¹ The same might also be said of the expansion of the chapter from twenty four to seventy two (a move that was presumably meant to reference the Lord's seventy-two disciples from Luke 10:1-24), which should be contextualised alongside the contemporary trend of expanding cathedral chapters, although Compostela's was especially big, coming to surpass in size the great and wealthy communities of Lincoln (forty two) and Rouen (fifty).²¹² In León-Castile, Compostela's chapter remained the largest for some time, with León's reaching forty in 1120 and Toledo's only managing thirty by 1138, a reminder of the relative poverty of the Castilian see and primate.²¹³ It would seem then, that Munio, Gerald, and Pedro Marcio's collective assessment of the 1100 chapter as moribund and in need of reform was, if perhaps exaggerated for rhetorical purposes, likely true from Diego's own perspective.

However, even if one accepts the author's claims about Diego's intentions as broadly true, it does not mean that the reforms were not also motivated by political factors. The speed of the

²¹⁰ Curiously, the *Polycarpus* is never mentioned in the HC nor is Diego's relationship with Gregory, although it is likely that he would have met him on one of his two visits to Rome in either 1100 or 1105, Xunta de Galicia, *Compostela and Europe, The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, 354. The *Polycarpus* has been under-represented in studies on Gelmírez and early twelfth-century Compostela. A notable exception is an article by Castiñeiras which posited its existence as more evidence of Diego's sincere embracing of reform ideology, Manuel Castiñeiras González, 'Un Adro Para Un Bispo: Modelos e Intencións Na Fachada de Praterías', *Semata* 10 (1998): 231–64.

²¹¹ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 167.

²¹² Fletcher, 167.

²¹³ Reglero de la Fuente, 'Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos', 263.

reforms is significant here, with the oath of obedience being signed 22 April 1102, less than a year after his dubious consecration (21 April 1101), and just short of two years since the official date of his election (1 July 1100). Given the wide-ranging nature of his 1102 reforms and the logistics required in recruiting an extra forty-eight canons, many of whom were from outside Galicia, and considering the busy episcopal schedule that Diego would have had, the reforms were enacted with truly remarkable speed.²¹⁴

But why was he in a rush? As discussed above, there was likely a tension between Diego and some of the chapter regarding the manner of his election and perhaps some latent resentment over the deposition of Peláez and any role that Gelmírez might have played in it.²¹⁵ Whether or not this was the case, it seems to be that many in Compostela's chapter, as it stood in 1100, were ideologically opposed to Diego's reforms. As Amancio Isla Frez has observed, the *Chronicon Iriense*, which was itself a product of Iria-Compostela's chapter from the early-to-mid 1090s, a period that predated his episcopacy if not his first vicarate, maintains a perspective which, although pro-reform on issues of clerical standards, is more assertive of capitular authority at the expense of episcopal authority and far less reliant on Rome for its ecclesiological identity, preferring instead to see its members as inheritors of an ecclesiastical tradition going back to the Suevic and Visigothic periods.²¹⁶ It is also the case that Compostela's chapter had a history of antagonism with its incumbent bishops, with Peláez himself having to chastise the archpresbyter Visclamundo for slander.²¹⁷ If one assumes, then, that the *Chronicon Iriense*'s perspective represents the ideology of the see just prior to Dalmacio's 1095 accord with Rome, around fifteen years before Munio was writing and less

²¹⁴ Beyond Gerald de Beauvais, who was obviously French, Diego recruited many of his canons from beyond Galicia, López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1900, III:250.

²¹⁵ See above: 99-100.

²¹⁶ Isla Frez, *Memoria, Culto, Monarquía Hispánica Entre Los Siglos X y XII*, 185-219.

²¹⁷ López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1900, III:9-10.

than a decade before the reforms, it would be reasonable to assume that there remained in the chapter canons who still held these views as Diego came to power; indeed, the *Chronicon Iriense*'s author might still have been among them. Furthermore, having been closely associated with Compostela since at least 1093 when his first administration began, Diego would have known who the troublemakers were and exactly what needed to be changed. With this in mind, the capitular reforms should be understood, not just as the imposition of new reform ways of doing things, but also as Diego's means of overcoming a recalcitrant chapter, by packing it with his own men and diluting the dissenters' influence within the institution.²¹⁸ Future relations between Diego and his chapter would remain tumultuous for the duration of his forty-year rule, with him enduring, among other things, two canon-led attempts on his life.²¹⁹ This suggests either that his reforms were not entirely successful in stamping out dissent or that his subsequent actions would turn newer canons against him.²²⁰

In addition to the capitular reforms of 1102, there are several other clerical and church reforms that are referenced in Registrum I, recorded in a series of papal letters. The first of them contains a privilege from Rome allowing for the installation of cardinals at Compostela for the maintenance of the cult.²²¹ The practice, this time based on Roman institutions rather than French ones, was, aside from a few German churches, quite uncommon and was further evidence of Diego's interest in ultra-Pyrenean ways. Similarly, Munio also included a ruling from Paschal judging that all marriages conducted in the Visigothic rite were valid, providing that they were conducted before the Roman rite was adopted.²²² This is significant because it both confirms Diego's adherence to the new liturgy, which is little directly discussed in

²¹⁸ That is not to say that the reforms were not also meant to address real issues facing the chapter.

²¹⁹ See below: 164, 256-265

²²⁰ Or perhaps a combination of both.

²²¹ HC I.13 45.

²²² HC I.42.

Registrum I, and in that it reveals some of the ground-level issues created by reform. Lastly, Munio also copied in an explicit prohibition on and acceptance of the old Iberian practice of mixed-sex monastic houses – more evidence, in other words, of Compostela accepting reform.²²³

The story of the acquisition of the pallium, perhaps the signal achievement of Diego's early rule, is told by Munio in two long detailed chapters of narrative which are capped by the papal documents which confirm the privilege.²²⁴ The first four parts of this narrative describe Diego's journey to Cluny, as a precursor to visiting Rome, via Burgos, Tolosa, Cahors, and Limoges, recounting the honourable receptions he received along the way.²²⁵ Munio notes that he and Hugh, the author of Book I's chapter 15, were both present on the trip.²²⁶ The narrative then goes on to cover their arrival and stay in Cluny, which Munio describes as 'the capital of all monastic religion'.²²⁷ The centrepiece of this chapter is a dramatised conversation between Diego and Abbot Hugh of Cluny, who advises the bishop that he might struggle to achieve his aims in Rome, as there are people there who wish to stymie Compostela's ambitions.²²⁸ In the speech, Abbot Hugh informs Diego that there are still many in Rome who remember Compostela's previous anti-Roman intransigence, specifically citing the incident in which the former bishop of Iria-Compostela refused to meet with Roman legates who had come to Galicia to see him.²²⁹ From Cluny, Diego is said to have gone to Rome, joyful yet mindful of what Abbot Hugh had said, with his meeting there being an apparent success as he came away with

²²³ HC I.13.

²²⁴ HC I.16.1-17.3.

²²⁵ HC I.16.1-4. Reilly thinks the structure of this may have been inspired by Hugh's chapter 15 'A Journey to Portugal' (the focus of Chapter Two of this thesis), which he considers to be older than the rest of Munio's *registrum*, Reilly, 'The Historia Compostellana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Gesta', 80.

²²⁶ HC I.16.3.

²²⁷ HC I.16.5-6.

²²⁸ Abbot Hugh of Cluny is not the same man as Hugh, the canon at Compostela cathedral, HC I.16.5.

²²⁹ HC I.17.1.

the pallium.²³⁰ The narrative account of the journey is followed by two documents, the first a papal letter granting the concession of the pallium to Compostela and stipulating its terms of use, and the second being an oath of obedience sworn to Rome by Compostela.²³¹

The primary and obvious function of this section is the recording and memorialising of Diego's acquisition of the pallium, an ecclesiastical garment whose usage is reserved for archbishoprics and bishoprics of particular importance; the status gained by this honour cannot be denied.²³² In addition to its memorialising function, the narrative description of Diego's journey to Rome also works to bolster the bishop's prestige in that it recounts, at each and every stop along the way, the honours he received from his hosts. This is especially the case with Cluny which in 1105, still being under the expert rule of Abbot Hugh (d.1109), was perhaps the most influential institution in Latin Christendom after the papacy.²³³ His inclusion in the narrative indicated both the calibre of Diego's allies at the time and Munio's wish to advertise them.²³⁴ Furthermore, the dramatised speech placed into the mouth of Abbot Hugh is perhaps the most

²³⁰ HC I.17.1.

²³¹ HC I.17.2-3.

²³² The pallium was formed with a band of white wool that encircled the shoulders and fell down in two strips on the chest forming a Y shape. It was usually embroidered with crosses and affixed with three pins. Its origins are difficult to discern and its form varied significantly over the centuries, Steven A Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 3–6; Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c.800-1200*, 178.

²³³ This is the only reference made to Abbot Hugh in the HC and it is an indirect one at that, with the abbot not being referenced by name (referred to only as the 'most holy abbot'). This is not necessarily important however as his successors Pons of Melgueil (r.1109-1122) and Peter the Venerable (r.1122-1156), who both appear more often than Hugh, are sometimes referred to by name and sometimes not – there does not seem to be any fixed reason for it. Hugh himself, although old in 1105, and would die four years later aged eighty four, was still a hugely influential figure who had been around almost since the beginning of the reform movement, being ordained a monk in 1038 and made abbot in 1048, a year before Leo IX assumed his radical papacy. He would go on to become a champion of reform, helping develop the Latin rite and spreading reform ideals throughout his vast monastic networks and alliances. He was a friend of Gregory VII and godfather to Henry IV, so becoming an intermediary during the darkest days of the investiture controversy as well as being a fixture at the big ecclesiastical councils of the age. Noted for his prosecution of reform ideals with a moderate temperament and calm diplomacy, he was lauded in his time and was canonized only eleven years after his death, Thomas Kennedy, 'St. Hugh the Great', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910).

²³⁴ This is a common feature of Diego's literary output applying to the whole of the HC (both Gerald and Pedro Marcio enjoy advertising Diego's connections) and the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, which was falsely attributed to Pope Callixtus II by the Compostelan scriptorium as a means of borrowing his authority, see: Herbers, 'Codex Calixtinus. The Book of the Church of Compostela', 130–35.

significant part of the pallium acquisition story, if only because direct speech is a rarity for Munio. However, the purpose of its inclusion, given the warning it carries to Diego, is not immediately clear. The usual reason for including such a section would be to justify or explain away a failure which, in Diego's case never happened as he managed to acquire the pallium. This begs the question why it was included at all.

Both Reilly and Fletcher argued that Munio's presentation of events is selective and that Diego did not really succeed in his ultimate aim, that being the acquisition of archiepiscopal status, and that the pallium was only a consolation prize.²³⁵ This is plausible and even likely, given Compostela's past and future commitments to finding a way to peninsular supremacy.²³⁶ Read in this context, the dramatised speech could be seen as a coded explanation as to why archiepiscopal status was not attained, meant for readers who knew what had actually happened. Fortunately for Munio, he could use Diego's success to mask what in relative terms had been a failure or, at least, at setback.

One feature of the pallium documentation worthy of remark is the revised wording of the corresponding oath Diego swore in return for acquisition. In the 1105 document, Diego promised that he and his successors would owe absolute fealty to Rome, a promise far stronger than the simple obedience sworn in 1095 after the Clermont agreement.²³⁷ This change indicated a strengthening of Compostela's subordination vis-à-vis Rome and underscored the benefit that the Petrine see gained from the arrangement. The fact of its concession also shows, as Reilly notes, that Paschal was willing to undermine his Spanish primate in Toledo (who

²³⁵ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 357; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 196.

²³⁶ Such as the see's prior claim to apostolicity (see above: 57-59) and its successful future moves for the archiepiscopacy and legacy (see below: 181-194).

²³⁷ HC I.5.2, 17.2-3; Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 46.

himself had received the pallium in 1088) by raising up another subject power on the peninsula.²³⁸ While the pallium alone did not, practically speaking, raise Compostela above Toledo or even Braga in the ecclesiological hierarchy, it did give some formal weight to the idea that Compostela was not just a ‘normal’ see. Why the pope was willing to upset the ecclesiological balance in this way cannot be definitively known, but it is possible that the pope thought that Toledo, being aligned with the king, was not independent enough to advocate for and enact Roman policy on the peninsula. Then even more firmly tied to Rome, Compostela became an almost delegated Roman authority that could act as a surrogate for Rome’s wishes and implement policies on its behalf. This act, the handing out of pallia in order to ‘deputise’ distant sees, had become part of a clear strategy for the projection and maintenance of Roman influence in peripheral parts of Latin Christendom.²³⁹ In this respect, Compostela’s co-opting was part of a broad continent-wide trend.

As Munio wrote early in *Registrum I*, an agenda of renovating, restoring, and improving Church temporalities was evidently a central pillar of Diego’s reform project and also a key aspect of Munio’s branding of Diego’s early career. In a run of five chapters, Munio recounted Diego’s early building works, including the restoration of the altar of St James in the cathedral at Compostela and the consecration of other altars within his remit (dedicated to Mary Magdalene, the Holy Saviour, St Peter, St Andrew, St Fructuosus, John the Baptist, St John, the Holy Cross, the Holy Faith, and St Michael).²⁴⁰ Diego also rebuilt the monastery of Pinario, expanded the monastery church of St Martin, rebuilt the church of the Holy Sepulchre to house the remains of St Susana, built the church of the Holy Cross on Mount Gozo, built a church in

²³⁸ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 214, 377.

²³⁹ Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages*, 279–320.

²⁴⁰ HC I.18-20.2, 21-22; the grouping of these five construction-focused chapters together is evidence of Munio’s tendency to sometimes prefer thematic organisation over chronology.

Conjo, restored churches in Padrón and Iria, renovated a villa in Salnés, built for himself and for his predecessors a new episcopal palace, and began work on a new cloister to home the newly expanded cathedral chapter.²⁴¹ The latter part of Registrum I alludes to further construction works, including the renovation of the cathedral itself, the reconstruction of the burgh of Cacabelos, and for the defence against seaborne raiders, the rebuilding of the towers of the west.²⁴² In this regard, Diego was a man of his time engaging, with his architectural ambitions mirroring those of other rich sees such as those of St Denis and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.²⁴³

Although rather dull, listing the properties as above is an instructive exercise as it recreates for the reader something of the researcher's experience when studying this part of Registrum I. It is monotonous, lacking much narrativity, and, while it supports the competence narrative of Registrum I, is not meaningfully integrated into the story. Perhaps that is because it is not supposed to be here, Diego's achievements stand without support and do not need elaborate qualification or contextualisation to demonstrate their significance. To this end, Registrum I provides early evidence of what was to become one of Diego's greatest legacies: a vast building programme that would come to transform the city and the diocese into a centre of Romanesque

²⁴¹ HC I.18-20.2, 21-22.

²⁴² HC I.28, 30, 33.

²⁴³ There is a substantial body of work on the ultra-Pyrenean influences of Compostela's twelfth century building works. For recent examples see: Henrik Karge, 'The European Architecture of Church Reform in Galicia, The Romanesque Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D'Emilio (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 573–630; Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, 'The Gregorian Reform and the Origins of Romanesque', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 204–31; Quitterie Cazes, 'The Basilica of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse and the Question of the Carved Tympani', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 232–49; José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, 'The Art of the Pilgrims' Road to Santiago and Cluny', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 250–59; Francisco Prado-Vilar, 'Notos: Ulysses, Compostela, and the Ineluctable Modality of the Visible', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 260–69; Rosa Vázquez, 'Gelmírez and the Cult of Saint James in Italy', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 270–79; Annaig Chatain Jean-Marc Hofman, 'Diego Gelmírez's Journey through the Collections of the Musée Des Monuments Français, Paris', in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Xunta de Galicia (Milan: Skiro, 2010), 280–93.

splendour, erect a cathedral church and shrine worthy of the apostle's body it housed, and create a sensory experience capable of dazzling and attracting pilgrims in their droves.²⁴⁴ In this way it also marks the beginning of the alienation of a certain section of the city's merchants and canons who felt that the city was being reshaped to their detriment and for the benefit of pilgrims and foreign merchants.²⁴⁵ This perceived injustice was the impetus behind much of the burgher–episcopal tensions and the two future uprisings against Diego.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, during the first nine years of Diego's rule, episcopal–burgher relations were relatively peaceful and the troubles were yet to come. As such, Munio could present these construction projects without any embarrassment.

Complementing Diego's prestigious construction efforts was his campaign of acquiring lands, properties, and other temporalities for his church, through lay donations or purchase and trade. As with the records of Diego's construction projects, Munio grouped the documents evidencing his acquisitions towards the end of Registrum I. Their contents include the donation of a farm, a half share of two monasteries (Piloño and Brandariz) and their contents from the king's sister Elvira, and a donation of land in central Compostela from the king's other sister, Urraca.²⁴⁷ Munio's documents also report donations of the church of St Mamed, the royal granting of the burgh of Trabadelo, the donation of several churches and villas from the wife of one Arias Savoríquez, as well as numerous other goods and properties from a list of named and unnamed

²⁴⁴ Although it was Peláez who started the cathedral in 1080 and Archbishop Pedro Suárez de Deza (d.1206) who finished it towards the end of the twelfth century. Although no Romanesque wall paintings survive at Compostela's cathedral, Registrum I informs the reader that they were expertly painted (HC I.20). Manuel Castiñeiras has hypothesised that they would resemble those at the church of San Martin de Mondoñedo, the oldest and best-preserved Romanesque mural paintings still extant in Galicia, Castiñeiras González, 'Didacus Gelmírez, Patron of the Arts. Compostela's Long Journey: From the Periphery to the Centre of Romanesque Art', 94–97.

²⁴⁵ Barbara Abou El Haj, 'Santiago de Compostela in the Time of Diego Gelmírez' 36, no. 2 (1997): 165–79.

²⁴⁶ See below: 164, 256–265.

²⁴⁷ HC 25.1. Both died in 1101 so their presence in the second half of Registrum I again highlights Munio's flexible approach to chronology, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 119.

groups and individuals, systematically catalogued in chapter 31.²⁴⁸ There is also a reference to a dispute between Pedro Froílaz, the dominant lay magnate of Galicia, and one Abbot Munio whom the former had expelled from his monastery.²⁴⁹ The account is related by three papal letters, chronologically out of sync, instructing Bishop Diego to push for the abbot's reinstatement. A similar incident was recorded by the inclusion of two more papal letters which together relate the story of Chaplain Pedro and Archdeacon Gaufrido, who were expelled from the church of St Michael in Compostela by the 'powerful bastard' Suero.²⁵⁰ The specific nature of the complaint was the 'snatching by force' by 'secular powers'.²⁵¹ The two wronged clerics apparently travelled to Rome to petition the pope personally, who then wrote to Diego to demand that the church be returned to Church control and that the clerics be allowed to return as well.²⁵²

The above documents concern two related issues: the transference of churches from lay ownership into Church hands, and the protection and assertion of clerical rights against coercive lay powers. Fundamentally, both issues are part of the same drive to remove lower clergy and local church properties from lay jurisdiction, and to assert corporate Church control. It is the reform logic of the investiture controversy, playing out at the ground level. From at least the ninth century, the practice of lay ownership of churches (or proprietary churches) was widespread in Latin Europe and had been, in many instances, necessary – especially where dioceses had been unable to afford the maintenance of their parish churches alone.²⁵³ As the eleventh century progressed, opinion began to turn against the (often extractive) practice and

²⁴⁸ HC I.27, 28, 31, 32.

²⁴⁹ HC I.43.1-3.

²⁵⁰ HC I.37.1-3.

²⁵¹ HC I.37.3.

²⁵² HC I.37.2.

²⁵³ Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2006), 584–658.

proprietary church ownership increasingly became a target for reformers like Diego.²⁵⁴ However, even though every major church council throughout Diego's adult life legislated and preached against the practice, and even though reformers across the Latin West fought hard to stamp it out, it proved difficult to eradicate and would continue to exist quietly well into the thirteenth century.²⁵⁵ This was because the practice was too well entrenched into the fabric of society to be quickly legislated away; as Fletcher notes, Diego himself likely inherited churches from his father (although the HC never says as much), as his brother Munio Gelmírez, a canon at Compostela cathedral, certainly did and as his nephew Diego Muñoz would still do in 1151.²⁵⁶ Diego's tangled relationship with the proprietary church system is, of course, absent from Registrum I, where Munio Alfonso was able to present Diego's achievements without such complications, securing both (he would have hoped) ideological cachet for his master's actions and the future legal status of the acquisitions for his Church, without exposing Diego's embarrassing hypocrisies. Despite his family's continued private ownership of church properties, Diego's campaign to acquire temporalities for his see continued, and documents and narratives recording such donations and purchases would feature prominently in latter parts of the HC, especially in Registrum III.²⁵⁷ Other achievements which relate to the material security of the Compostelan church include the acquisition of the right to mint its own coinage, tax exemptions, and a letter from Paschal threatening those that might seek to exploit the see

²⁵⁴ Wood, 851–82. For a less broad study, much closer to the Galician see: Mariel Pérez, 'Proprietary Churches, Episcopal Authority and Social Relationships in the Diocese of León (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries)', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 10, no. 2 (2018): 195–212.

²⁵⁵ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 226–27; Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, 903–20.

²⁵⁶ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 226; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 164–65.

²⁵⁷ Indeed, as well as providing documents corresponding to the storyworld of his *registrum*, Pedro Marcio interpolated several such documents into Registrum II, see below: 228–281.

materially with excommunication.²⁵⁸ These issues, which are relevant to later social reforms, will be discussed further in Chapter Three of the thesis.²⁵⁹

As well as trying to extend Compostelan temporalities at the expense of wealthy laypersons, Diego also sought to expand his see's ecclesiastical jurisdiction at the expense of his episcopal colleagues in north-west Iberia. Munio himself dedicated a fair amount of Registrum I to one such incident, namely a diocesan boundary dispute, in which Compostela fought Mondoñedo over control of the archpresbyterates of Bezoucos, Trasancos, Labacengos, and Arras.²⁶⁰ It is not necessary to describe the dispute in full, only to say that it was protracted, its circumstances murky, and the attempts at resolving it unsuccessful. The litigation involved not only Diego and Bishop Gonzalo Froílaz of Mondoñedo, but also Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, who as primate of Hispania was Gonzalo's ecclesiastical superior, and Pope Paschal II.²⁶¹ Even though Paschal sided with Diego, ordering Gonzalo (in letters dated 1 May 1103 and 25 October) to submit to his ruling and concede his claims over the archpresbyteries, there was no practical change and Diego did not get the resolution he wanted.²⁶² At the start of the following decade, Diego ostensibly got his wishes, as the clergy of the rebellious archpresbyteries signed a papal-sponsored oath of submission, dated 21 April 1110, although even this did not enact actual change on the ground.²⁶³

²⁵⁸ HC I.12,14.1-2, 28.2, 29.

²⁵⁹ See below, 171-181.

²⁶⁰ HC I.34.1-36; Archipresbyteries were rural deaneries that fell within the remit of a particular diocese, Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 229; Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 48-49; Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' Und Die Kirchenpolitik Des Nordwestspanischen Raumes. 1070-1130. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien Und Dem Papsttum Ze Beginn Des 12. Jahrhunderts.*, 170-205, 210-18.

²⁶¹ HC I.34.1-36 López Ferrero asserted that Gonzalo Froílaz was Pedro Froílaz de Traba's brother, which, while plausible (the family were the most powerful in Galicia), is difficult to prove; Fletcher himself was unable to find any corroborating evidence, López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1900, III: 265,322; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 61.

²⁶² HC I.34.4, 8.

²⁶³ HC I.35.1-36.

While Munio's inclusion of these texts was rather prosaic, in that they had no obvious purpose beyond preserving documents that might help Compostela in a future boundary dispute, they are important in that they reflect two emerging phenomena. The first of these was the reordering of diocesan boundaries in León-Castile which, like the contemporary reconfiguration at the level of the episcopates, was a result of a clash between an ancient map at odds with contemporary reality, the exigences of diocesan administration, and of opportunistic churchmen exploiting the change.²⁶⁴ In the case of these Galician archipresbyteries, several of them were ancient, appearing in the late sixth-century Suevic *Parochiole* and making little contemporary sense as administrative units.²⁶⁵ The second thing these documents indicate is the increased role of the papal curia as judge in parochial disputes, a process which helped deepen Rome's influence on the peninsula by designating it the role of supreme arbiter of Church business. The papal ruling in Compostela's favour is also, perhaps, a reward for its political realignment and an example of the sorts of benefits the see could hope to reap by staying within Rome's camp.²⁶⁶

Conclusion

When Munio went into the treasury to start work on his *registrum*, he was confronted with bundles of vellum, some of which were produced centuries before while others were less than a decade old. These were the raw materials from which he compiled his history. And while an explicitly historical production, which aimed in part at narrating events from the past, his *Registrum I* was a document-heavy work which prioritised the preservation of legal texts over the craft of storytelling. Even the *registrum*'s narrative sections appear to have been structured

²⁶⁴ Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 141–42.

²⁶⁵ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 225.

²⁶⁶ Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 143.

around the integrated documents rather than the other way around. In this way, it retains many features of cartulary-like collections and so leans closer to the pole of *registrum* on the HC's *registrum-gesta* spectrum. However, and given that this is the earliest (extant) serial record from Iberia, Munio ought to be recognised for the creativity with which applied himself to his work.

Put to task, Munio had begun by resetting the see's mythical past, editing his materials purposefully to fit with Diego's requirements, and creating a new streamlined account that aligned Compostela's foundations with its new pro-Romanism. In this way, the foundation narratives framed Diego's episcopacy as a new start and a catalyst for the dramatic changes that began from the episcopal transfer of 1095 onwards. Having done this, Munio then introduced the work's hero himself, although he had to occlude much from the reader given Diego's contemporary inexperience, lack of support within the chapter, questionable election, and poor relationship with the see's former incumbent. Last, Munio arrived at the central purpose of the *registrum*, recording and celebrating Diego's achievements in turn, making the case for Diego's greatness, while also consolidating Compostela's recent gains, so protecting the see somewhat from future adversaries who might wish to despoil it. Considering Diego's activities at the turn of the decade, one can assume that the bishop would have been happy with Munio's output – he had risen to the occasion and written a history tailored for his time.

This first iteration of the HC was an attempt to reorient the see by refashioning and reconstructing its history. As a final product, Munio's work was akin to a traditional *registrum* collection of documents except that it employed narrative and dynamic editing, being selective in its inclusion of detail and deliberate in its omissions, eliding facts and events that contemporary readers, if not future ones, would have noticed. Indeed, audience is crucial to

understanding Munio's iteration. Registrum I's primary readership would have been the chapter community of the church of Compostela, a group that contained some hostile elements but that had been watered down by the capitular reforms of 1102. This new chapter, drawn from a wide geographical base, would likely have been fellow travellers of Diego and his reform project, and would have been more receptive to the ideas and achievements of the bishop's early rule. In this way Munio's HC was, like the capitular expansion itself, part of an effort to force a new start for the see, drowning out the old voices in a sea of the new.

Munio's registrum would not however be the end of the HC's story. A decade later the newly minted *Archbishop* Diego Gelmírez would mandate the work's continuation albeit in very different circumstances. By 1120 Munio's work was out of date, missing the tumultuous (if ultimately victorious) years of Compostela in the 1110s. As Munio himself had left Compostela, rewarded by Diego with the episcopacy of Mondoñedo in 1112, the task of continuing the HC fell to Gerald of Beauvais who would take the work in a different direction. However, before moving on to Gerald and his second conception of the HC, it is necessary to first turn to the work of Hugh, Munio's contemporary and fellow bishop-elect in 1112, who provided a significant if much smaller part of Registrum I.

Chapter Two: Justifying Theft in Hugh's *Furta Sacra*

Like Munio, Hugh had benefitted personally from his association with Diego Gelmírez, under whose episcopacy his career had begun to flourish.¹ As a Frenchman at the heart of Diego's team, Hugh was a symbol of the Gelmirian chapter's Francophilia and was indicative of its newly diverse composition. Moreover, Hugh was inside Diego's closest circle, being asked to advocate for him on a number of occasions and joining him on official trips away from the city. On one particular trip to Braga in December 1102, Hugh was party to a series of controversial events in which the visiting Compostelans, having been welcomed with open arms by the Bragans, furtively removed and stole several of the city's saints before secretly transporting them back to Compostela. Several years after the event, perhaps at Munio's insistence, Hugh was to write an account of that trip and the 'holy thefts' undertaken, one which would be included in Munio's *Registrum I*. Given the controversial nature of the subject matter, and Bishop Diego's desire to seize the narrative on the issue, Hugh sought to tell a positive tale that both justified the translations in the eyes of the reader while also celebrating their arrival in Compostela.

This chapter argues that Hugh wrote his *furta sacra* narrative with the intention of justifying and celebrating the controversial relic thefts he had been party to several years earlier, and that he made use of a pre-existing genre type to prosecute his arguments more effectively. The present chapter is split into four parts, with the latter three looking at the texts' legal arguments, moral arguments, and its exposition of saintly agency in the relics' translations. First however, it looks at the text and context of Hugh's *furta sacra* narrative, outlining the structure, contents,

¹ See above for a discussion on the historical Hugh: 33-35

and genre of the chapter before discussing the personages of the translated saints and the reasons why they were considered so valuable.²

The *Furta Sacra*: Text and Context

Hugh's narrative can be found mid-way through Munio Alfonso's Registrum I, constituting the majority of chapter 15 of Book I of the HC. It is, by Registrum I's standards, a large chapter, containing five parts and a hundred and eighty-three lines.³ Set in 1102, it fits near-chronologically with its surrounding texts, coming after four papal privileges (dated between 31 December and 1 May 1103) and before the narrative relating Diego's 1105 journey to Rome for the pallium.⁴ Although the chapter can be safely attributed to Hugh (he names himself in the text's fifth part '*Ugo eiusdem Compostellane sedis canonicus et archidiaconus*') it is probable that the chapter's first and smallest part, which seems meant to integrate Hugh's narrative into Registrum I, was written by Munio. Internal evidence provides the *terminus post quem*, namely St Fructuoso's 1106 translation to another chapel within Compostela, while the text's *terminus ante quem* can be determined by the fact of Hugh's removal from Compostela and his accession to the see of Porto in 1112.⁵ If one also considers that Munio's Registrum I was likely completed in 1110 (and that Hugh's integrated text cannot postdate the work it was copied into) then one arrives at a likely range of dates of 1106-1110. The fact that Gerald later mentions Hugh as one of his predecessors shows that chapter 15 was not a later addition.⁶ It is Reilly's opinion that Hugh's narrative was written a little earlier than the text around it and has plausibly suggested that it provided structural model for Munio's proceeding narrative on

² The rationale for this structure is discussed a little below, 118-119.

³ In Emma Falque's critical edition.

⁴ Although the first of the privileges is undated and so could be older, HC I.11-14.2, 16.1-17.3.

⁵ HC I.15.5, 81.1-3.

⁶ HC II.P.

Diego's journey to Rome.⁷ Whether this is true or not, it is the case that the chapter must have been written prior to its inclusion in Registrum I, a fact that has implications for the narrative's function and intended audience.

As is discussed below, *furta sacra* narratives were generally designed to explain and celebrate the circumstances around controversial translations. Such translation narratives, which were primarily aimed at domestic audiences, often became integrated into historical memory as they were co-opted into local liturgies.⁸ It is likely that Hugh's own *furta sacra*, taken in isolation and prior to its later integration into Registrum I, had a similar quasi-liturgical, community function and local audience. As part of Registrum I, Hugh's narrative formed part of Munio's argument for Diego's competence and was intended for a capitular readership.

Structurally, chapter 15 is divided into five parts, beginning with Munio's preamble, which briefly introduces the work and informs the reader that Diego's upcoming journey was 'inspired by divine grace' (*diuina prestante gratia*). The second part details Diego's arrival in Braga, the initial good feeling among his party and their Bragan hosts, Diego's tour of the churches, his decision to translate/ steal the saints' relics, and the first set of thefts (those of the SS Susana, Cucufas, and Silvestre among unnamed others). The third part details St Fructuoso's exhumation (who was the most esteemed of the saints involved) the Compostelans' surreptitious flight from the city, and their miraculous crossing of the river Miño. The fourth part describes the saints' jubilant reception at Compostela while the fifth part notes relics' new

⁷ Reilly, 'The Historia Compostellana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Gesta', 80.

⁸ Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 1990), 11–12.

resting places within the city. The chapter ends with a short statement from Hugh, where he identified himself as an eyewitness and asserted the veracity of his words.⁹

With respect to genre, the form and content of Hugh's text clearly indicates that is a *furtum sacrum* (holy theft) narrative, a particular form of *translatio* that details, celebrates, and seeks to justify the illicit theft and translation of a saint's relics from one location to another.¹⁰ Although Hugh never used the phrase *furtum sacrum* directly, he did use *pio latrocinio* which has an almost identical meaning.¹¹ As a genre, these *furta sacra* fulfil a dual celebratory and apologetic function. As such, its employment in the HC suggests both a pride at having acquired the saints and a desire to explain and justify the means of their acquisitions. This is the case for most *furta sacra*. Beginning with Einhard's *Translatio SS Marcellini et Petri* in the early ninth century, the genre spread and proliferated across Latin Europe as the thefts did themselves; this was especially the case from the eleventh century onwards as the Peace of God movement, which gave a prominent role to relics, increased saints' visibility and popularity, so leading to a rise in thefts and a subsequent need to justify them.¹²

Such thefts could be extremely controversial and justifying them difficult. Neither scripture nor canon law offered clear precedent or sanction on which relic-thieves could rely, which meant that their apologists had to look elsewhere for justification. Filling this argumentative niche, the *furta sacra* narratives came to employ five categories of justification meant to build

⁹ Fandiño Fuentes thinks that the ending of chapter 15 resembles that of an affidavit more than an historical narrative, Rafael Fandiño Fuentes, 'La Translatio de Los Santos Mártires de Braga a Compostela. Reflexiones Sobre El Capítulo I, 15 de La Historia Compostelana', *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* LXIV, no. 130 (2017): 130.

¹⁰ The most important work on *furta sacra* is Patrick Geary's monograph of the same name, Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. While excellent, Geary's study is largely limited to the Carolingian and post Carolingian world, a more recent study by Marco Pasapidero shows that the genre was also being utilized on the Italian peninsula, Marco Pasapidero, 'Il Genere Dei Furta Sacra: Aspetti Letter e Funzioni Comunicative Del Testo Agiografico', *Rivista Di Storia Della Chiesa in Italia* 2 (2017): 379–410.

¹¹ HC I.15.3.

¹² Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 21.

an argument that could convince a reader, they included: legal arguments concerning the safety of the relic, an expression of the benefit brought by the relic to its new host community, an assertion of the moral rectitude of the perpetrator, and the will of (and benefits to) the relics themselves, who were usually portrayed as being actors in these narratives.¹³ As discussed above it is these categories, which were first described by Patrick Geary in his book on the genre, which provide the organising principle for the rest of the chapter.

Before moving on, it is worth considering why saints' bodies were held in such esteem and why the thefts represented such a devastating loss for Braga. Relics themselves were objects that once formed part of, or once belonged to, or were touched by, a holy individual, be that Jesus, Mary, a martyr, or a saint.¹⁴ Such people, who through their righteousness were defined as having a special relationship with God (or in the case of Jesus, was God) were closer to Him than ordinary individuals, meaning that their prayers were more likely to receive a favourable hearing.¹⁵ Therefore, a close relationship with a saint could theoretically provide a shortcut to having one's prayers heard if the saint in question chose to intercede on the supplicant's behalf.¹⁶ The relic itself was thought of as a place where part of the saint still resided and where the barrier between the earthly world and the spiritual world was especially thin, so being a place where miracles could more likely be generated.¹⁷ Moreover, for the illiterate members of a given flock, who tended to engage with Christianity through ritual practice and the engagement with physical media, such tangible aspects of worship were of especial

¹³ Geary, 110–15.

¹⁴ The scholarship on saints, sainthood, and devotional cults is monumental. For a recent, select bibliography, see: Simon Yarrow, *The Saints: A Short History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 158–60.

¹⁵ Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 33–34.

¹⁶ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 60–63.

¹⁷ For an overview of the medieval theory of miracles, see: Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215*, 1–19.

importance.¹⁸ For them, the loss of a community saint, especially one whose identity was bound with a particular locus, would affect a diminishing of their Christian life.

It is important to note that – despite the concept of *pars pro toto* which held that part of a saint's person or possessions could metonymically represent the whole – certain relics were favoured above others, with corporeal ones being favoured over contact relics, and more intact bodies being preferred to dismembered ones.¹⁹ Similarly, prestigious saints were preferred to lesser ones and relics with a more credible provenance were preferred to those with more dubious origins.²⁰ Additionally, and significantly for Hugh's *furta sacra* narrative, some relics had a localised, context-dependent value that might depreciate significantly the farther removed they were from the centre of their existing cult.²¹ In the Bragan example, this pertained particularly to Fructuoso who, among the saints taken by Diego, was not in absolute terms any greater than the others but who, by virtue of his former episcopacy in Braga and his post-mortem career as the city's patron, was especially cherished by the community.²²

Before proceeding it is worth saying something about the translated saints' themselves. Fructuoso (d. 665) was an archbishop of Braga, a monk, an ascetic, and a prolific founder of monasteries who was considered a patron of Braga. His life and burial are well-attested and there seems little doubt at the time that the body was his.²³ Cucufas (d. 304) was a North African

¹⁸ John Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (1986): 540–45.

¹⁹ See: Kevin Trainor, 'Introduction: Pars Pro Toto: On Comparing Relic Practices', *Numen* 57, no. 3 (2010): 267–83.

²⁰ Perfecto Pereiro Lázara, 'El Pío Latrocinio' 61 (2014): 62.

²¹ Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 6–7.

²² Although he did still have a following outside the city, Braga was certainly the centre of his cult, Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 115; Manuela Domínguez, 'Gelmírez y El Furtum Sacrum', in *Santos, Obispos y Reliquias*, ed. Luis A. García Moreno et al (Acalá: Universidad de Alcalá de Publicaciones, 2003), 158–59.

²³ See the frontmatter to: Manuel Cecillio Díaz y Díaz, *La Vida de San Fructuoso de Braga: Estudio y Edición Crítica* (Braga: Empresa do Diário do Minho, 1974).

nobleman who was martyred during the Diocletian persecution. Scholars generally agree that his body was buried at the eponymous monastery of Sant Cugat (his Catalan name) del Vallés in Catalonia. In Roman martyrologies there are several Sylvestres but none of them have links with Braga; he is possibly a monk martyred alongside the fourth century Víctor of Braga.²⁴ As with Silvestre, the name Susana appears numerous times in Roman martyrologies without any mention of Braga. It is possible that the text identifies the body with the Roman Susana (d. 295), a noblewoman, virgin, and martyr who was beheaded for refusing to marry a pagan.²⁵ For the purposes of the study the veracity of these saints' provenance is not important, what is worth comment is that all these figures were deemed worth stealing and that Fructuoso, by virtue of his strong association with the city, seemed singularly important among them.

The Legal Case

The legal case for Diego's secretive translation of the relics to Compostela was not systematically put forward but delivered piecemeal via a series of phrases made through the narrative. The various aspects of this argument involve: legal responsibility for the upkeep of the relics, the fact that Diego and his party were welcomed by the city's inhabitants, and Diego's apparently warm relationship with Archbishop Gerald of Moissac. The arguments made, while not all legal per se, are legally adjacent in that they all support the idea that Diego's actions were lawful.

At the start of the narrative section of chapter 15, Hugh described how Diego went to Braga on an annual visit to several churches owned by the see of Compostela.²⁶ Hugh also noted that it was Diego's obligation (as the custodian of these Bragan churches) to keep them well-

²⁴ Domínguez, 'Gelmírez y El Furtum Sacrum', 160.

²⁵ Domínguez, 159.

²⁶ HC I.15.2.

maintained, stating, in a phrase reminiscent of that used by Munio in Diego's first election as administrator, a moral compulsion to rearrange (*disponet*) and restore (*restauret*) anything in those properties that might need such treatment (*si quid detrimenti uel aliquid inortatum*).²⁷ Later, and after seeing the saints in his churches apparently appallingly kept conditions (of which more below), Diego informed his entourage that he intended to take the saints, invoking his right to restore (*restauraret*) and reorder (*ordinaret*) things that were broken (*destructum*) and disordered (*inordinatum*).²⁸ The logic of this argument is clear: Diego considered himself the guarantor of the saints' welfare and so, when he discovered that the saints were being held in substandard conditions, decided to invoke his right to remove them. Hugh's repetition of this claim (and his usage of near identical language) reminds the reader of Diego's apparent rights, as stated at the outset of the narrative. This rhetorical device also helps mesh Hugh's chapter with the rest of Registrum I in that it invokes the language and priorities of Diego's 'manifesto speech' from earlier in the work.

In making this argument, Hugh was asking his reader to accept two assertions; first that Diego's thefts were not premeditated (that he was in Braga on a necessary routine visit); and second that he actually did have the legal right to enact the translations.

There is a degree of truth to the first of these assertions. As with anywhere in the twelfth-century Latin West, church visitations were central to episcopal governance and the maintenance of control over distant church properties, although the duty of visitation itself, which might become overly burdensome for bishops of particularly rich or expansive dioceses

²⁷ ...episcopus secundo episcopatus sui anno ecclesias, cellas et hereditates, que in Portugalensi pago Compostellane ecclesie iuris esse cognoscuntur, ut iustum est, uisitare decreuit, ad bonum namque pertinet pastorem, ut tam exterioribus ecclesie sue bonis quam interioribus prouideat et, si quid detrimenti uel aliquid inornatum in eis inuenerit, prouidentia sua restauret et disponat. HC I.15.2. See above for the comparable phrase in HC I.4: 106.

²⁸ HC I.15.2.

(like Compostela), could be delegated to a subordinate official, often an archpriest or a dean.²⁹ In the Leonese-Castilian context, the most likely candidates for such a role would be the archdeacons and the archpriests who, being the bishop's closest administrative assistants, would have likely acted on his behalf in the diocese.³⁰ However, and as Fletcher has remarked in his chapter on diocesan government in León-Castile, the precise delineation of duties, if there even was one in 1102, is difficult to ascertain from the evidence, meaning it is also difficult to know exactly what archdeacons and archpriests actually did.³¹ Consequently, it is hard to evaluate Hugh's claim that Diego was required to visit his Bragan properties every year. It does however seem unlikely that Diego, busy as he was, would have had to visit each of his properties in person every year, especially given the breadth of his see's holdings and the often difficult geography separating them, a fact that would have made travelling slow and frustrating.³² Rather, it is more likely that, like some of his continental colleagues, Diego would have been able to delegate the responsibility to one of his many subordinates, indeed, it is possible that Diego's expansion of his chapter, which was undertaken a few months prior to his Braga visit, was partially enacted with this sort of contingency in mind.³³ This idea seems especially plausible given the rapid accumulation of temporalities that Compostela had been experiencing at the time.³⁴ Consequently, one can reach the cautious conclusion that Hugh's claim that Diego was required to visit the see was technically true and that his visit would not have been especially strange. However, it also the case that this duty could have been, and often would have been, performed by a subordinate on his behalf. Regardless, the important point here is that Hugh's statement that a visitation ought to be made was essentially right, and that

²⁹ Thomas F. X. Noble, 'The Christian Church as an Institution', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 268–69.

³⁰ Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 150–52.

³¹ Fletcher, 154.

³² For an overview of the rugged Galician geography, see: Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 1–28.

³³ See above: 106–109.

³⁴ See above: 116–120.

Diego's presence in the city was not egregious, it was a recognisable function of his stewardship of those Bragan properties.

It also appears that Hugh's claim that the translations were legal was based on solid foundations. The practice of relic translations were, while controversial, legal and had been since the 813 Council of Mainz in which it was declared that, provided the relevant authorities had been consulted, a saint's body could be legally moved, meaning that there was a technically permissible way of 'stealing' relics.³⁵ While any such translation had to be approved by the relevant bishops and princes, these rules were often loosely applied, meaning that in Diego's case he could, as bishop of Compostela, claim to have sufficient authority to act alone.³⁶ Here again, Hugh's claims appears to reflect reality.

However, as Geary has remarked, legality and morality are not the same thing; it is unlikely that the strict legality of the moves would have tempered any anger or resentment that was felt in Braga. And although Hugh never mentioned any backlash in the text, one can infer its probability from the surreptitious way the Compostelans fled Braga after they had completed their thefts. It can certainly be inferred from a letter from Archbishop Bernard, in which he petitioned Pope Paschal to intervene on his behalf.³⁷ In the correspondence on the issue between the three men Paschal was, despite Diego's sound legal footing, furious and sided with Archbishop Gerald, admonishing Diego for his act, telling him that his behaviour was unfitting for a man of episcopal office.³⁸ Furthermore, and undermining somewhat the legality of Diego's actions, Paschal drew a clear distinction between properties obtained directly through

³⁵ Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 111.

³⁶ Geary, 111.

³⁷ Avelino de Jesus da Costa, *Liber Fidei Sanctae Bracaraensis Ecclesiae* (Braga: Junta Distrital, 1965-1978), t. I, doc. 4; Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 35.

³⁸ Portela, 35.

donations and those which belonged to a specific church, the latter of which he argued, came under the ambit of the territorial archbishop who, in this instance, was Gerald of Moissac.³⁹ While the pope's word should have been final, Diego never returned the relics and was able to calm relations with Braga without having to hand them over.⁴⁰ Instead, he chose to transfer the Bragan churches from which the relics were taken, granting them to Gerald's successor (and future antipope) Archbishop Maurice in 1112 at a council in Orense.⁴¹

Significantly for the thesis's reading of the HC more broadly, the exclusion of this exchange from the narrative, or even of any mention of the pope's involvement in the dispute, further highlights the partisanship of the HC, and the critical way in which certain documents were purposefully including and excluded to best control the narrative. If one were to base one's understanding of papal-Compostelan relations in the first decade of the 1100s from *Registrum I* alone, one would conclude that the relationship was unblemished by disagreement. As the Bragan petition indicates, this was not the case, although Munio and Hugh did not want posterity to know it.⁴²

Next, the discussion turns to two related quasi-legal arguments – the ideas that the Bragans were initially happy that Diego had visited, and that Archbishop Gerald had welcomed Diego, the junior of the two, on arrival. In his account, Hugh wrote that upon arriving in Braga, Diego was met by Archbishop Gerald, a 'wise and religious man' (*uir prudens atque religiosus*), and a procession of the city's clergy who greeted Diego with hymns, crosses, and liturgical

³⁹ Portela, 35.

⁴⁰ This event marks a rare (known) instance of Compostela directly disobeying Roman orders.

⁴¹ HC I.81.2-3.

⁴² The scale of disputes between Compostela and Rome during this period is essentially unknowable but it is likely to have been greater than in the period of Callixtus II's rule (c.1119-1124), which marked the golden age of papal-Compostelan relations.

ornaments.⁴³ They asked Diego to celebrate mass, which he duly did, before eating with his hosts and being accompanied to the archiepiscopal residence that had been lent to him by Gerald.⁴⁴ The overwhelming impression here is of a happy and honourable reception, and the existence of positive formal relations between Bishop Diego and Archbishop Gerald.

Regarding Diego's rapturous welcome in the city, there seems to be little reason to doubt Hugh's account. As Fandiño Fuentes has written, Archbishop Gerald and Bishop Diego were already familiar with one another as can be seen in the oath witness list – sworn only a few months earlier – in which Archbishop Gerald was named a canon of Compostela's newly expanded chapter.⁴⁵ The fact of the archbishop's inclusion in this list, which, as discussed previously, was in part meant to cement Diego's authority, suggests the two men had a prior and mutually-respectful relationship. Ideologically, they were also like-minded on issues of Church reform. Like many of Diego's associates, Gerald was a Frenchman and Cluniac, being a former acolyte of Bernard of Toledo before acceding to Braga in 1097, around the time of its restoration as a metropolitanate.⁴⁶ As such, Archbishop Gerald was a member of the ultra-Pyrenean Francophile ecclesiastic set who was, again like Diego, prosecuting Romanising reforms in his see in the face of capitular resistance.⁴⁷ Consequently, and despite the rivalry between their two sees, there is no reason to suspect that their personal relationship was not amicable prior to the events of December 1102 and it is entirely plausible that Diego, when visiting Braga in an official capacity, would have received a benevolent welcome along the lines of Hugh's portrayal.

⁴³ HC I.15.2.

⁴⁴ HC I.15.2.

⁴⁵ Fandiño Fuentes, 'La Translatio de Los Santos Mártires de Braga a Compostela. Reflexiones Sobre El Capítulo I, 15 de La Historia Compostelana', 130; HC I.20.1-7.

⁴⁶ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 265, 275.

⁴⁷ Like Diego he was also the subject of an admiring biography by a close associate, although the *Vita Sancti Geraldi* has a more 'hagiographical' bent than the HC, Steven Lay, 'Sanctity and Social Alienation in Twelfth-Century Braga as Portrayed in the Uita Sancti Geraldi', *Portuguese Studies* 31, no. 2 (2015): 153.

It is significant that, despite his rigorous attempt to defend the *furta sacra* and despite making arguments which asserted Bragan mistreatment of the saints, Hugh never criticised Gerald nor the Bragan people explicitly. This is especially significant when one considers that it was a norm of the genre to describe the attendant grief of the people who had lost a resident saint.⁴⁸ It is difficult to ascertain exactly why Hugh did not do this. It could be that, if Gerald's biographer is to be believed, that the archbishop was a pious man whose moral reputation was greater than Diego's and so too risky to attack.⁴⁹ It could be that Archbishop Gerald, a man with connections in Compostela and across the Iberian episcopates and an honorary canon of Compostela's cathedral, was too popular to Hugh's immediate readership (the community of Compostela itself) to be convincingly represented in a negative light.⁵⁰ Regardless, it is the case that Hugh chose to hold back in this instance, preferring to direct his argumentation elsewhere instead.

Perhaps then, Gerald's characterisation, which is crucial to the story of the *furta sacra*, should be understood functionally rather than as an historic depiction. As a literary character, the figure of Gerald can be understood as a sort of antagonistic foil who, despite his sympathetic portrayal, must be overcome. As Pasapidero has noted, the figure of the antagonist in *furta sacra* narratives is not necessarily a negative one; rather, and more broadly defined, it tends to correspond to a human obstacle whose opposition must be tamed or defeated, and is not necessarily an active agent set on thwarting the protagonist.⁵¹ Examples Pasapidero gives to demonstrate this range include the figure of Vesidario in the translations of SS. Festus and

⁴⁸ Papasidero, 'Il Genere Dei Furta Sacra: Aspetti Letter e Funzioni Comunicative Del Testo Agiografico', 407.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of Archbishop's Gerald's depiction in the *Vita Sancti Geraldi*, see: Lay, 'Sanctity and Social Alienation in Twelfth-Century Braga as Portrayed in the Uita Sancti Geraldi', 153–54.

⁵⁰ HC I.20.6.

⁵¹ Papasidero, 'Il Genere Dei Furta Sacra: Aspetti Letter e Funzioni Comunicative Del Testo Agiografico', 399–400.

Desiderius, who sought to recover the saints' bodies by trying to locate their abductors, and from the translation of St Mark from Alexandria, in which the guards protecting the evangelist's tomb aid the thieves when they become convinced of the righteousness of the thieves' endeavours.⁵² Given this broad range of antagonistic archetypes, one should conclude that Gerald functions as a type of antagonist within Hugh's *furta sacra* narrative, and that, as the ultimate authority in the area and as Diego's indirect superior, he also functions as a sort of barrier to the theft.⁵³ Read in this way, Diego's warm reception in Braga can be seen as a peaceful taming of the obstacle of Gerald's authority and an implicit invitation to legally discharge his responsibilities in the city.

The Moral Case

While the legal case for the *furta sacra* was important for protecting Compostela from litigation, it was the moral case that formed the basis of Hugh's argumentation. Without an argument that could appeal to the sensibilities and emotions of the reader, Hugh risked portraying Diego as a man who exploited his powers in an unethical way. In exploring Hugh's moral case the following section will discuss: the conditions of the saints' shrines and devotional cults, Diego's character, and the saints' reception and treatment in Compostela.

The central and most important aspect of the moral case for Diego's *furta sacra* is the supposed decrepit state of the saints' shrines and relics at the time of the bishop's visit, a theme that features throughout Hugh's narrative. Having conducted his initial tour of Compostela's properties in Braga, Diego was apparently perturbed by what Hugh described as 'half-buried' saints' bodies, which in their partially-covered states were lacking the honour due to them.⁵⁴

⁵² Papasidero, 399–400.

⁵³ As archbishop Gerald outranks Diego who was only a bishop at this time. However, given Compostela's 1095 acquisition (HC I.5.2) of the Roman Freedom, Diego lay outside of his direct jurisdiction.

⁵⁴ ...*multorum corpora sanctorum, que per eas semisepulta debito carebant honore*, HC I.15.2.

Diego was said to be so distressed by this that he called a meeting of the men who had accompanied him to Braga, announced his concerns to them, and informed them of his intentions. Rendered in direct speech, Hugh has Diego deliver an oration where he invoked his aforementioned legal right to intervene on the basis that the Compostelans were obliged to rescue the saints who, he reminds them, were ‘naked’, ‘in public view’, and ‘lacking the veneration they were owed’.⁵⁵ After the speech, the narrative moves on to the exhumations of the saints, the first occurring at the church of San Víctor where the party dug up two silver reliquaries immediately after mass, prayed, and sent the relics away for safekeeping.⁵⁶ Later, at the church of St Susana (and again after celebrating mass), Diego is said to have walked into the sepulchres of SS Cucufas and Silvestre (still dressed in full liturgical garb) where he found the bodies of the saints lain in ‘inadequate sarcophagi’.⁵⁷ Hugh describes how they, along with St Susana, were swiftly removed, carefully wrapped in clean shrouds (*munda sindone inuoluta*), and then placed with the other relics for safekeeping.⁵⁸ For the final *furtum sacrum*, which took place at the church of St Fructuoso, Diego, silent and trembling at the weight of his own actions, removed the eponymous saint with an abundance of respect before placing the body with the others.⁵⁹

Hugh was making assertions about the way the saints’ relics had been treated in Braga, insisting that they had been kept in a poor state, that they had little of the devotion due to them, and that Diego, in his handling of the relics during the translation had, in contrast with the Bragans, treated them with an abundance of respect. In this regard, these moral arguments are (like the

⁵⁵ *Nunc autem uestram non latet diligentiam, que in eis inconuenientia reperiantur: plurima etenim sanctorum corpora nullo cultu uenerata sed nuda et piublico uisui patentia passim per eas iacere inspicitis, que debita ueneratione carere non ignoratis*, HC I.15.2.

⁵⁶ HC I.15.2.

⁵⁷ *Inconuentibus sarcophagis*, HC I.15.2.

⁵⁸ HC I.15.2.

⁵⁹ HC I.15.3.

legal arguments) not systematic but an ad hoc combination of explicit and implicit attempts at persuasion. On the first of Hugh's moral points, that the saints and their reliquaries were poorly kept, it should be noted that this charge was a well-worn trope of the *furta sacra* genre, with emotive descriptions of dilapidated relics, reliquaries, and cultic churches being a favourite of such apologists.⁶⁰ Additionally, Hugh's use of direct speech is also evidence of conventional writing, although in this instance the convention has classical, rather than early medieval, antecedents.⁶¹ This rhetorical device, deployed to help Hugh dramatise his main arguments, is one used by all the HC's other authors, especially Gerald, and is one which hints at the high levels of erudition shared by the contemporaries of Compostela's cathedral chapter.⁶²

In order to understand the power of Hugh's central argument, it is important to consider contemporary ideas on the care and presentation of saints' relics. As Cynthia Hahn has noted, reliquaries were not bland, utilitarian repositories for relics but were highly personalised, outward looking and communicative artworks, designed specifically to represent the relic inside and whose epigraphy, imagery, and decoration was meant to project a certain idea of the saint to the observer.⁶³ To this end also, the material quality of a reliquary was also thought to be a reflection of the worth of what was inside, with the more ornate reliquaries made of precious metals and encrusted with jewels usually being made for the most powerful and reputable of saints.⁶⁴ Conversely, the opposite was true, with less ornate and cheaper reliquaries tending to house less prestigious saints with poorer cults, and with the modesty of such a container suggesting an unimportant or even inauthentic relic.⁶⁵ The same can also be said for

⁶⁰ Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 114.

⁶¹ Falque, 'Los Discursos de La Historia Compostelana', 390.

⁶² See for example: 159.

⁶³ Cynthia Hahn, 'What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?', *Numen* 57, no. 3 (2010): 286–89.

⁶⁴ Martina Bagnoli, 'The Stuff of Heaven: Materials and Craftmanship in Medieval Reliquaries', in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martina Bagnoli et al. (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 137–38.

⁶⁵ Hahn, 'What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?', 291.

relic wrapping. Even within their reliquaries, relics tended to be wrapped in linens or silks, a practice which had the dual function of protecting the object inside, while also indicating respect and conferring prestige on the saint. As with the reliquaries, the condition of the materials and the skill of the execution were thought to reflect the esteem with which the relic was held, with more expertly and finely wrapped relics being seen more favourably.⁶⁶ And the saints deserved such treatment – as active, living, and treasured members of a community who would often be removed and engaged in liturgical performance, the saints’ relics were thought to owed such hallowed treatment.⁶⁷ These ideas, while long present in the history of Christian cultic devotion, were, from the eleventh century, becoming more prominent and the negative associations made with poor reliquaries were getting stronger.⁶⁸ These ideas were surely what Hugh was alluding to when he described the Bragan saints as being ‘naked and in public view’ and ‘badly wrapped’.⁶⁹ Evidently, Hugh wanted the reader to think that the saints were being kept in subpar conditions and that the Compostelan party were right in staging the ‘rescue’ mission of their bodies.

The second aspect of the three-pronged moral case in favour of the *furta sacra* was less an endorsement of the acts per se, but an assertion of the perpetrator’s own moral righteousness. Hugh does by portraying Diego as being well-respected and well-liked by all others in the narrative. Upon arriving in Braga, Diego is shown to have been received warmly by Archbishop Gerald, whose personal piety and benevolence is stressed.⁷⁰ Similarly, Diego is shown to be met with joy by the clergy of Braga, who greet him with singing, a procession,

⁶⁶ Martina Bagnoli, ‘Dressing the Relics: Some Thoughts on the Custom of Relic Wrapping in Medieval Christianity’, in *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, ed. Martina Bagnoli, Lloyd De Beer, and Anna Hamden (London: The British Museum Press, 2014), 102–6.

⁶⁷ See the chapter ‘Reliquaries in Action’ in Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400- Circa 1204* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2012), 145–60.

⁶⁸ Bagnoli, ‘The Stuff of Heaven: Materials and Craftmanship in Medieval Reliquaries’, 138.

⁶⁹ HC I.15.2.

⁷⁰ HC I.15.2.

and an exhortation to celebrate mass with them.⁷¹ He is also shown to command a similar level of respect from his entourage, who appear to unanimously support his plans despite their controversial nature.⁷² These literary features collectively work as a sort of character testimony and seek to convince the reader that the story's protagonist would not steal relics without justification.

Hugh also demonstrated Diego's benevolence through his deployment of pious emotions. After having first visited Compostela's holdings in the area, Diego, seeing the state of the shrines, apparently 'wept with pious sentiment' that 'struck his heart', and felt anxious about doing what he felt he had to do.⁷³ Similarly, Diego is shown to tremble when approaching the mausolea of SS Cucufas and Silvestre and is said to have wept and sobbed while removing Susana.⁷⁴ With Fructuoso's removal, Diego is shown to proceed silently and with fear, knowing the exalted status of the saint in the city.⁷⁵ In these instances, Hugh was working hard to show that Diego was a moral person, emotionally moved by the gravity of his task, and respectful of the saints. Hugh was depicting Diego as the sort of person you would trust to make difficult ethical judgements because his decisions would come from a place of moral rectitude.

The final aspect of Hugh's moral case for the translations is his assertion that the relics would be treated better in Compostela, as demonstrated by his narration of the saints' arrival. In Hugh's telling the Compostelan party, having fled north with the relics across the river Miño, took the saints to a town named Gogilde. From there they sent messengers ahead to Compostela, announced the saints' imminent arrival in the city, and instructed the relevant

⁷¹ HC I.15.2.

⁷² HC I.15.2.

⁷³ *...Intuens pio gemebat affectu et pietatis studio pio uersabat pectore...* HC I.15.2.

⁷⁴ *...ad mausolea sancti Cucufati et Siluestri martyrum... trepidante animo accessit... Ad sepulcrum quoque sancta Susanne uirginis cum peruenisset, eius uenerabile corpus cum gemitu et lacrimis suspirando accepit...* HC I.15.2.

⁷⁵ HC I.15.3.

authorities to make appropriate preparations.⁷⁶ According to Hugh, the city's clergy became overjoyed at then saints' impending arrival, understanding that, with the help of St James, these new saints would be able to facilitate intercessionary prayers for the city, allowing its people to be freed of illness and disease.⁷⁷ To celebrate and to demonstrate respect, the city's clergy walked barefoot in a procession and walked around the city before welcoming the saints' bodies into Compostela.⁷⁸ Together, the procession, having been met by the relics and the party returning from Braga chanting and singing hymns all the way, walked into the cathedral of Santiago.⁷⁹ This aspect of the chapter, again a convention common to *furta sacra* narratives, was designed to act as a counterpoint to the Bragans in that it contrasted the respect and reverence shown to the saints in their new home with the neglect they suffered in their old one.⁸⁰ In this way, the reception of the relics was a clear and direct method for communicating that the relics were now in a better place and that the translations that brought them there were consequently justified.

Having discussed Hugh's apologetic methods and his usage of the *furta sacra* genre to morally justify Diego's acts, it is worthwhile considering some of the other motivations behind the text (and behind the thefts themselves) that are not immediately evident. In doing this, the discussion will follow the argument that the translations themselves were premeditated and that the *furta sacra* narrative that recorded it was a cynically conceived justification. It looks first at the likely conditions of the Bragan shrines and saints' cults before considering the potential influence of the Braga and Compostella's episcopal rivalry on Diego's decision making. The

⁷⁶ HC I.15.4.

⁷⁷ ...*Brachara in Compostellanum transferrentur ciuitatem ualde gauisi sunt; intelligebant siquidem, quod tam eorum meritis et intercessionibus qual piissimo beati Iacobi patronicino, cuius sanctissimi corporis prasentia Compostellana ciuitas illustrator, ab omni peste seu languorum debilitate liberandi essent.* HC I.15.4.

⁷⁸ HC I.15.4.

⁷⁹ HC I.15.4.

⁸⁰ Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 114–15.

chapter will then consider a more sympathetic reading of the document and attempt to reconcile Hugh's argumentation with the somewhat damning contextual information.

While Hugh asserted repeatedly that the shrines and reliquaries in Braga were both in poor condition and underserved by devotees, contextual evidence suggests that this might not have been the full story. First, there is the evidence from chapter 15 itself where, during the initial thefts at the church of San Víctor, the Compostelans were said to have dug up the relics of unnamed saints contained within 'two silver boxes' (*duas capsulas argenteas*), a fact that somewhat contradicts Hugh's claim that they were inappropriately presented.⁸¹ While this is hardly conclusive, for it is conceivable that the Compostelans deemed these particular silver containers inadequate, their material value undermines Hugh's claim that the relics' conditions were dire.

There is also evidence external to the HC which points to contemporary moves in Braga to improve the city materially that do not fit with Hugh's characterisation. As Stephen Lay has outlined, for the two decades prior to Diego's visit in 1102 Braga had been getting considerably richer, pilgrim numbers had increased, a new cathedral had been completed in 1089, and a new sarcophagus for Martin of Braga had recently been commissioned.⁸² Moreover, since Gerald of Moissac's accession to the see of Braga in 1097, the city had, like Compostela, initiated a large-scale building programme that had the partial aim of helping the city gain an edge in its ecclesiological jostling with its Iberian rivals.⁸³ Given Braga's ecclesiological ambition, its

⁸¹ HC I.15.2.

⁸² Steven Lay, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal: Political and Cultural Reorientation on the Medieval Frontier* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 160; see also: Alberto Ferreiro, 'The Cult of Saints and Divine Patronage in Gallaecia before Santiago', in *The Pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Maryjane Dunn and Linda Kay Davidson (London: Garland, 1996), 3–22.

⁸³ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 265; Lay, 'Sanctity and Social Alienation in Twelfth-Century Braga as Portrayed in the Uita Sancti Geraldi', 153.

Romanising tendency, and its recent track record in renovating a saint's shrine, it seems unlikely that the situation was as dire as Hugh described. He seems to have been especially wrong in the case of Fructuoso, who had a considerable following inside and out of Braga, with devotees being reported as far away as Catalonia.⁸⁴ Lastly, and even if one takes Hugh's claims about the shrines at face value, one could argue that (given Hugh's assertion of Compostelan responsibility for the saints' welfare) it was Compostela's duty to maintain the relics *in situ*, and that any dilapidation that did exist was the result of neglect on the part of Diego and his subordinates and not the Bragan church authorities.⁸⁵ This suggests that Hugh's claims about the shrines and their cults were exaggerated (if not invented) and that by implication Compostela's motives differed from those that Hugh put forward. While not explicitly made, such motivations can be inferred from other parts of the HC.

Munio's placement of Hugh's *furta sacra* narrative within Registrum I says something about how Munio understood Hugh's text and reveals in turn the unspoken motivations behind its production. Although coherent and self-contained, Hugh's chapter 15 should also be understood as being part of a larger textual unit. Being placed within the narrative element of chapters 12-17, those which detail privileges conceded to Compostela, and the narrative and documentation surrounding the acquisition of the pallium, chapter 15 belongs to a run of documents which record and celebrate some of Diego's earliest victories.⁸⁶ In this way, chapter 15 could be understood, like its surrounding texts, as a record of acquisitions, a celebration, and as evidence of Diego's competence as bishop.

⁸⁴ Fandiño Fuentes, 'La Translatio de Los Santos Mártires de Braga a Compostela. Reflexiones Sobre El Capítulo I, 15 de La Historia Compostelana', 131–32.

⁸⁵ Although as the letter from Paschal II indicates, it is difficult to determine who was responsible for this. There are other points in the HC where Diego is seemingly under fire for materially neglecting some of the see's more remote properties, see below: 255-264.

⁸⁶ HC I.16.1-17.3.

The benefits of such acquisitions were not solely about the saints nor about Compostela – some were about Braga and the fact that the translations resulted in the financial, reputational, and cultic degradation of the Portuguese city. Several modern historians have judged this to be part of Compostela's intentions when enacting the thefts. Fletcher, for example, believed that the thefts were motivated by a desire to lift Compostela's morale (in the wake of the capitular reforms of the same year) and of typifying Diego's personal 'lack of scruple'.⁸⁷ Rafael Fandiño Fuentes made a similar point, arguing that the thefts were in fact premeditated, that the relics were appropriated for Compostela's extensive building programme, and that Compostela was also motivated by weakening Braga, a key peninsular rival by depriving it of its cultic prestige and the revenues of pilgrimage.⁸⁸ It is certainly the case that Braga was a rival and that Diego's actions weakened it. As alluded to in the previous chapter, Braga had only recently fallen under Christian control.⁸⁹ As the former capital of Suevic Galicia, and an episcopal see with a long lineage, Braga outranked Iria-Compostela and so threatened its centuries-long pre-eminence in the kingdom. This was, as previously discussed, the motivation for Compostela's pursuit of the Roman freedom; indeed, were it not for the privilege of 1095 Diego would have been Archbishop Gerald's suffragan at the time of his 1102 visit. This leads one to think that the same motivation might have been behind the translations. Considering this background and considering the moves Compostela had made to evade Braga's authority in the past, it is not unimaginable to think that one of Compostela's primary motivations had been the degradation of Braga.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 115.

⁸⁸ Fandiño Fuentes, 'La Translatio de Los Santos Mártires de Braga a Compostela. Reflexiones Sobre El Capítulo I, 15 de La Historia Compostelana', 134–36. The loss was especially acute considering that the parish of San Víctor, from which the saints were taken, was among the richest and most important in the city, Domínguez, 'Gelmírez y El Furtum Sacrum', 156.

⁸⁹ See above: 57.

⁹⁰ This is especially the case when one considers that, almost two decades later, Diego tried to take advantage of a dispute between Braga and Rome by trying to strip the former of its metropolitanate.

It would be logical to conclude, as one might from the above discussions, that Hugh had overstated the poor conditions of the saints' shrines and cults and that Compostela's primary motivations for stealing the saints was the enhancement of their own city at the expense of a rival. In this way, like Fandiño Fuentes and Fletcher, one might understand the *furta sacra* narrative as being an eminently deceptive text that cynically used religious motifs and socio-cultural modes of argumentation to justify a morally dubious series of thefts. However, and while one has to be cautious of conducting a naive reading, one also must avoid doing the reverse and disregarding all literary expressions of piety and religiosity as mere convention.

As John Van Engen has argued in his article *The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem*, a common issue with some historians' analyses is an over-reliance on explaining religious phenomena and expressions of piety in sociological terms.⁹¹ Van Engen argued that Christianity, as it existed in the Central Middle Ages, was primarily experienced through, and so conceptually shaped by, practice, liturgy, the sacraments, and cultic devotion.⁹² Such conditioning necessarily affected the way medieval people understood and communicated about their world, and so is reflected back in their writings. Consequently, and as Van Engen concluded, 'historians must take very seriously' the *christianitas* of a given medieval text, that is, the reflexively Christian thoughtworld in which such texts were produced.⁹³

If one were to apply such principles to Hugh's chapter 15, one would come away with a more sympathetic reading, significantly different to those of Fletcher and Fandiño Fuentes. Such a reading would take Hugh's moral arguments more seriously, would accept Hugh's portrait of Diego as sincerely admiring, and would consider Diego's concern for the saints to be authentic. However, as with the overly sociological or cynical reading of chapter 15, this more

⁹¹ Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', 534.

⁹² Van Engen, 540–46.

⁹³ Van Engen, 522.

sympathetic approach also seems insufficient, given the evidence that points to deceptions in Hugh's account. How to reconcile these two interpretations?

The answer lies in a distinction drawn between immediate intentions and broader motives, as described by Levi Roach in his recent book on forged charters at the turn of the first millennium. In it, Roach described how medieval forgers working in cathedral chapters and monasteries often felt justified in falsifying documents as they believed they were working to benevolent and religiously righteous ends.⁹⁴ He distinguished between intentions (immediate goals) and motives (the grounds for pursuing one's intentions) and argued that the medieval forgers felt comfortable deceiving as long as their broader motives were pure.⁹⁵ For them then, there would be no moral quandary involved in forging a privilege for their monastery if the fraud was being done to support its (for the author) implicitly benevolent activities. Much like the forger's *pia fraus*, Diego's *pio latrocinio* (as Hugh himself described it) was justified because the act of the theft was diverted to positive ends. Understood in this way, Hugh likely knew that his depiction of Diego in his narrative was a little more idealised than in the historical event, but nevertheless believed that Diego was essentially morally good and that he was justified in making the thefts. Similarly, his description of the shrines and cults as decrepit and insufficient might have been a literal exaggeration but for Hugh hyperbole was permitted because he believed the saints would be happier and more honoured in Compostela, under the guidance of his great bishop. He was both aware of his intention to deceive while being sincere in his motivations to help the saints and pursue what he thought were worthy moral ends. It is to the welfare of the saints and their active role in Hugh's narrative, that the discussion turns next.

⁹⁴ Roach, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium*, 5.

⁹⁵ Roach, 6.

The Agency of the Saints

Having left Braga and headed north, the party arrived with the saints' bodies and reliquaries in tow at the bank of the river Miño, which they would have to cross in order to reach Compostela.⁹⁶ Unfortunately, the weather was so bad and the river so rough that a safe crossing was impossible.⁹⁷ After three days of storms and waiting, the bodies of the saints were placed by the shore.⁹⁸ According to Hugh, who named himself as an eyewitness to this event, the river 'respected' the saints and as such the weather calmed, allowing the party to cross.⁹⁹

In his rendering of the saints as active agents in their own translations, Hugh was trying to further legitimate the thefts by showing that the saints involved both supported and aided the operation. Again, this feature was common to such *furta sacra* narratives and is a trope which draws on the idea that relics were living beings and active members of their communities, rather than passive objects. Because of this idea, and because of the supernatural powers which saints could command, it was held that a relic could not be moved against its own will; this sentiment is also present in the narratives.¹⁰⁰ Another example of this idea in action can be found in Einhard's portrayal of his *furta sacra* of the relics of the Roman SS Peter and Marcellinus, in which the former of the two saints, Peter the Deacon, appeared to Einhard in a vision, urging him to remove and translate both their relics.¹⁰¹ In this way, and with respect to the saints' agency, Hugh's *furta sacra* narrative again conforms to genre conventions, in that it shows the saints approving the Compostelan party's actions by aiding them across the Miño.

⁹⁶ HC I.15.3.

⁹⁷ HC I.15.3.

⁹⁸ HC I.15.3.

⁹⁹ *At postquam sanctorum corpora supra ripam fluminis imposita fuerunt, eorum reuerentiam fluius senisse uisus est...* HC I.15.3.

¹⁰⁰ Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 114.

¹⁰¹ Geary, 45–46.

The type of miracle described in the narrative (a calming of waters so as to allow for safe passage) is an old miracle archetype, that was often used in medieval hagiographical texts.¹⁰² Ultimately, and like all such water-calming narratives, it was probably derived from Jesus's 'calming the storm' of the synoptic gospels, in which Jesus commanded, and subsequently calmed, a stormy sea of Galilee.¹⁰³ More directly however, Hugh's calming miracle likely references one of Fructuoso's anonymously written *vita*, in which Fructuoso calmed a stormy river by invoking divine will.¹⁰⁴ Given that Fructuoso is invoked in both narratives, and considering that miracles involving natural bodies of water were less common in the early medieval Iberian liturgical tradition than they were elsewhere, it is highly unlikely that this was a coincidence.¹⁰⁵ Rather, it is far more likely that this was an intentional reference, that Hugh had purposefully chosen a miracle that was 'in character' for Fructuoso, and was therefore trying to connect the events of his own time with the historically recognised miracles so as to make his claims of saintly approval more plausible. He was showing the reader that Fructuoso was signalling his approval by doing what he did best.

Hugh's usage of place as well as person is also important for understanding chapter 15's miracle narrative. The place of the river Miño in Hugh's text is significant both in its function as a border demarking the transition between safe and unsafe lands, and as a reflection of a new geopolitical reality that was emerging in the west of the peninsula. As Geary has remarked, *furta sacra* narratives act as records of events that were not just thefts but also translations, and

¹⁰² Fandiño Fuentes, 'La Translatio de Los Santos Mártires de Braga a Compostela. Reflexiones Sobre El Capítulo I, 15 de La Historia Compostelana', 136.

¹⁰³ Matt. 8:23-27; Mark 4:35-41; Luke 8:22-25.

¹⁰⁴ José Ma. Andreade Cernadas, 'The Stones That Sailed across the Sea in Galician Culture', in *Translating the Relics of St James: From Jerusalem to Compostela*, ed. Antón Pazos (London: Routledge, 2017), 144.

¹⁰⁵ Andreade Cernadas, 144.

as such they record the ceremonial passage of a saint from one home to another.¹⁰⁶ This necessarily requires the crossing of some sort of liminal space, whether a soft, symbolic transitory area or a harder, geopolitical border. In the case of Hugh's narrative this border is made explicit, it is the Miño, and it is the point after which the party felt they were safe. What is of particular significance is how Hugh, himself not natively familiar with its geography, refers to the Miño as 'the river that separates Portugal from Galicia'.¹⁰⁷ This aside is revealing in that it points to a reconfiguration of Galicia's borders that was happening at that time. It is a reconfiguration whose history is worth detailing as it uncovers some of the regional socio-politics that lies beneath chapter 15.

Galicia as a geopolitical reality dated to the first century BC Roman Empire in which *Gallaecia*, named after the tribal federation of the Gallaeci people who occupied the area in the early centuries BC, was the most north-westerly of the five provinces that constituted Roman Hispania.¹⁰⁸ Even at this early time, the area was divided into two *conventi* (functionally, a region), with the southernmost *conventus* being centred on *Bracara Augusta* (Braga) and the northernmost on *Lucus Augusta* (Lugo).¹⁰⁹ At this time, the border between the two *conventi* was marked by the river Verdago, which runs roughly parallel to the Miño and about twenty kilometres to its north.¹¹⁰ After the collapse of Roman authority in the peninsula, and upon the establishment of the Suevic kingdom of Galicia, Lugo and Braga remained the most important, and occasionally rival centres of power in the area.¹¹¹ While their relative fortunes in the

¹⁰⁶ Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 125.

¹⁰⁷ HC I.15.4.

¹⁰⁸ P.C. Díaz and Luis R. Menéndez-Bueyes, 'Gallaecia in Late Antiquity: The Suevic Kingdom and the Rise of Local Powers', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D'Emilio (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 147–49.

¹⁰⁹ Díaz and Menéndez-Bueyes, 149.

¹¹⁰ For a discussion on the borders of the *conventi*, as set down during the time of Emperor Augustus, see: Pedro López Barja de Quiroga, 'La Reorganización de La Hispania Citerior Bajo Augusto', *Gerión: Revista de Historia Antigua* 35 (2017): 237–46.

¹¹¹ Ubric, 'The Church in the Suevic Kingdom (411-585 AD)', 224–26.

following centuries varied, and although much of the area was depopulated during the early years of al-Andalus, the old distinction between the northern and southern parts of *Gallaecia* was maintained.¹¹² From the ninth to the eleventh century this distinction was even sharpened, as the peoples from the two halves of this repopulated *Gallaecia* began to diverge politically.¹¹³ At this time the borders of the whole of *Gallaecia* reached down to the river Duero, the mouth of which sits around ninety kilometres south of the Miño.¹¹⁴ Already by the twelfth century, the area between the Miño and the Duero had become known as *Portucale* or *Portugale*, derived from *Portus Cale*, the name of a Roman settlement that sat within the boundaries of modern-day greater Porto.¹¹⁵ This name gave the southern part of *Gallaecia*, the part that had been roughly coterminous with the *conventus Bracarensis*, a name that came to be strongly associated with the area.

In Diego Gelmírez's youth, under Garcia I and the early years of Alfonso VI, Portugal was one part of Galicia, rather than an independent fief, and the Miño dividing the two areas was merely an internal division. By Diego's death in 1140 Portugal was *de facto* independent, having declared itself so a year earlier, and would be recognised *de jure* in the coming decades.¹¹⁶ This

¹¹² While the effect on Galicia of the post-711 Umayyad conquest of the peninsula is poorly understood, it is generally accepted that the Arabs and their subordinates did not garrison many troops north of the Duero and that much of the land around the Duero was depopulated, with the sees of both Braga and Lugo lapsing for several centuries, Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, 53. During the Christian kingdoms at that time, the north of Galicia became quickly incorporated into the post-invasion Kingdom of Asturias, during the reigns of Fruela (757-768) and Silo (774-783), the south remained separate, deprived, and perhaps depopulated, until the reign of Alfonso III (866-910), Ermelindo Portela, 'The Making of Galicia in Feudal Spain (1065-1157)', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D'Emilio (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 371.

¹¹³ Aristocrats from each half supported different sides during the deposition of King Sancho the Fat (956-958, 960-966) while the reign of Garcia I, Alfonso VI's unfortunate younger brother, marked a change in relations between the north and south of Galicia as Garcia removed the metropolitan see from Lugo and worked towards re-establishing it in Braga, with the hope of establishing a new kingdom based at the old Suevic royal city, Portela, 'The Making of Galicia in Feudal Spain (1065-1157)', 372-76.

¹¹⁴ Portela, 367.

¹¹⁵ See: Luís Magarinhos, 'Origem e Significado Dos Nomes de Portugal e Da Galiza.', *Narón*, 2011, 537-46.

¹¹⁶ For the political context from which Portugal was born, see: Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 53-89.

division, which would ultimately prove irreversible, was the end product of series of events that occurred during Diego's lifetime.¹¹⁷

Returning to the bank of the Miño in 1102, or at least the bank of Hugh's telling, the permanent division of the lands had not yet been realised, though evidence of its increasing divergence was present. Hugh's use of the Miño as a border between safe and unsafe, and, explicitly, between Portugal and Galicia, would not have made sense if a geopolitical distinction between the two had not started to appear – and while the *furta sacra* narrative was manifestly not about changing geopolitics, it was a witness to a moment at which the divergence was becoming visible.

Conclusion

When Hugh sat down to write his *furta sacra* he knew that his charge was to produce a narrative that explained the translations he had witnessed several years prior. Ultimately, he wished to tell a positive story of how the saints were willingly transported to their new homes in Compostela. However, while the Frenchman was confident that he and his colleagues had acted righteously all those years ago, and believing they had benefited from divine provenance, he knew that the text's most important function was apologetic – he needed to explain why 'stealing' the relics and dispossessing the Bragans was the right thing to do. After all, Archbishop Gerald had petitioned the pope about the issue and the pope had sided with Braga.

¹¹⁷ First, there was the 1096 decision of Alfonso VI to appoint Henry of Burgundy (d. 1112), cousin of Raymond of Burgundy and wife to Alfonso's natural daughter Teresa, to the novel role of duke of Portugal, a move likely meant to clip Raymond's wings given the power that he had begun to consolidate in Galicia. This appointment, meant to address a very context-specific exigency, effectively created a rival power centre in Galicia, one that lent legitimacy by the station of its two leaders and its Leonese appointment. Any geopolitical divisions that might have existed between Portugal and the rest of Galicia were accelerated by this change especially as, during the anarchy of Urraca's early reign, Henry and Teresa were able to consolidate power and carve out their own fief, one practically independent of Leonese-Castilian authority, Portela, 'The Making of Galicia in Feudal Spain (1065-1157)', 387; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, 251–55.

Diego was never going to hand the relics back regardless of papal intervention, but he needed to explain why.

Fortunately for Hugh there existed a form of literature meant to serve those exact ends; a genre developed precisely to provide a cover to the increasingly common practice of *furta sacra*. As Geary has shown, *furta sacra* narratives were highly conventional in form, tending to muster a near-identical range of legalistic and moral arguments to their cause, and adapting them to the particularities of the situation in question. In producing his own *furta sacra*, Hugh asserted that Diego's translations were lawful, that the bishop was a highly moral man, and that, having seen the decrepit state of the shrines and the moribund state of their cults, the bishop had been duty bound to act. Hugh also sought to emphasise that the saints had participated in their own translations, crossing the hardening frontier of the Miño, and signalling their desire to leave Braga for Compostela. These *furta sacra* narratives also served to integrate these saints into their new host community by explaining to a local readership why the saints had arrived and why their arrival was a cause for celebration. Sometime after its completion, his work was integrated into Munio's own, where it formed part of Registrum I's testimony to the early years of Diego's episcopacy and his conception of a pro-Diego apologetic.

Unlike any of the HC's other authors, Hugh's greatest contributions to history probably lie outside the text. He was both the first bishop of Porto, acceding at the same time as Munio in 1112, and was the individual responsible for finally extracting the archiepiscopate from Callixtus II, on Diego's behalf. In this way, his story is the inverse of this thesis's next author, Gerald de Beauvais who was both a terrible diplomat and a highly accomplished and highly significant writer. It is to Gerald's work, Registrum II, which is arguably the apogee of the HC, that the thesis turns next.

Chapter Three: The Good, the Bad, and the Hubristic in Gerald of

Beauvais's Registrum II

A man of letters rather than a man of action, Gerald of Beauvais had not enjoyed much of his time at Compostela.¹ Having been recruited as part of Diego's campaign to import 'French ways' into the cathedral chapter, and after having spent a relatively quiet first decade in Galicia, Gerald then went on to experience several years of successive crises, including wars, an insurrection, and widespread social strife, none of which brought the best out of Gerald who lacked the necessary skillset or temperament to flourish. Nevertheless, Gerald slowly edged his way into the bishop's inner circle and, after evidently impressing him with his literary and rhetorical abilities, was asked to support the bishop, first on two foreign legations (which he detested) and then by continuing the HC after the departures of Munio Alfonso and Hugh, a job at which he thrived. Fortunately for Gerald, and unlike his predecessors, the motivation behind the compilation of *his* HC was not to guard against the potential oblivion of war but rather a record and celebration of absolute victory. Diego had had a good war and he came out the other side with an immensely enhanced personal stature. He had helped repel Alfonso of Aragon's armies, helped safeguard against the Almoravid threat, and helped secure Alfonso Raimúndez's place in the royal succession. Add to this the enlargement of Compostela's holdings, his taming of the burgher threat, and – his crowning achievement – the acquisition of the metropolitanate, and it is clear that the nature of Gerald's job was going to be different to Munio's. As such, where Munio had begun his task, walking into the scriptorium with the aim of defending Diego with his pen, so Gerald had gone upstairs much more comfortably, and with the less urgent task of writing a history that glorified them and all they achieved.

¹ See below: 210-211.

The chapter argues that Gerald wrote Registrum II to glorify Diego, to celebrate the huge victories of his middle years, and to write a partisan account of the period's various conflicts, damning the archbishop's enemies in the process. It argues that Gerald took Munio's document-heavy *registrum* in a new direction structurally, stylistically, and tonally, becoming a more narrative-driven work that relied much more on storytelling to convey its message. This foregrounding of the *gesta* over the *registrum* elements of the HC (as is described below), means that Gerald's work is more biographical than Munio's.² This has implications for the framing of the analysis which focuses more on the various aspects of Diego's character and accomplishments. The chapter describes these aspects of Diego's biography Gerald's *gesta* elements.

In conducting its analysis, the chapter looks at the three main *gesta* elements of Registrum II, which are: the idea that Diego was an effective politician, war leader, and a force for good, working against various forces of evil; the concept of Diego as the shepherd of the patrimony of St James, over whom he had earthly authority and for whose sake he enacted reform legislation; and Diego as an international churchman who realised his see's manifest destiny by raising it to the archiepiscopacy. The chapter is split into five sections, with the first discussing Gerald's conception of the HC and how it built on Munio's. After this overview, the chapter moves onto the middle three sections which discuss Gerald's deployment of the three *gesta* elements described above (Diego the politician and war leader, Diego the shepherd of his flock, and Diego the churchman), while the fifth discusses the miracle narratives which end Registrum II, their role in finalising Gerald's various narrative threads, and what their construction reveals about Compostela's thoughtworld at the time of production.

² These *gesta* elements were identified as emergent themes during my initial narratological analysis of Registrum II.

Gerald's choices as Registrum II's compiler, both with respect to his narrative strategies and the content he selected for inclusion/exclusion, also leads the discussion to broader historical phenomena with which Compostela was grappling, such as the Leonese-Castilian succession crisis, the anarchy and multi-factional conflicts that followed, the emergence of the burghers as a social group, the social strife caused by the wars, the Peace of God movement, and the papal politics of Gelasius II and Callixtus II's reigns. Such phenomena will be discussed so as to paint a picture of socio-political the context in which Registrum II was produced. First, however, the chapter turns to define and delineate Registrum II so that one may understand what it was that Gerald had produced.

Gerald's Conception: From *Registrum* to *Gesta*

Gerald's Registrum II is the largest of the HC's three *registra*, containing a hundred and thirty-three chapters compared with Munio Alfonso's forty-five, and Pedro Marcio's ninety.³ Its relative size is even greater when line-count is considered, with Gerald's seven thousand, six hundred, and eighty-nine lines comfortably eclipsing that of Munio and Pedro Marcio's combined four thousand, five hundred, and ninety three.⁴ It includes a contiguous hundred and thirty chapters, which span the latter half of Book I and the first two thirds of Book II, a new prologue for Registrum I, which helped integrate Munio's work into his own, and a few integrated documents that would come to fall within Registrum III.⁵ This second conception of the HC was more narrative-focussed and less document-heavy than Munio's, making it a more *gesta* than *registrum*. Gerald's approach to integrating Registrum I into his HC was to recontextualise it with new additions, rather than assimilating it completely, which meant that

³ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 301, 304, 309.

⁴ Gerald (7689) > Munio (1459) + Pedro Marcio (4593) = 6052. Numbers are taken from López Alsina's study which used Florez's edition rather than Falque's, López Alsina, 301, 304, 309.

⁵ López Alsina, 304. See below for how Pedro Marcio's interpolations affected Gerald's *registrum*: 219-221.

Munio's HC remained intact within this latter conception. However, and while some of Registrum I's preoccupations were a little anachronistic ten years later, they were still broadly relevant to thrust of Gerald's conception and so did not detract from his narrative.

Given the vast amount contained within Registrum II it is likely that its composition took some time. While a broad range of dates is possible for the whole *registrum*, a more granular dating is difficult to achieve. Internal evidence suggests that the whole of Registrum II was written after Diego won the archiepiscopate in 1120 and probably after Diego's 1121 incarceration at the hands of Urraca, which López Alsina believes was the immediate cause for Registrum II's production.⁶ The *terminus ante quem* is even less clear but as Urraca's is always referred to as a living person, it can be assumed that Registrum II was produced before her death in 1126.⁷ Moreover, and although it is impossible to prove, it is possible that Registrum II ended at about the time its storyworld did, perhaps on account of Gerald's death. Despite this potentially abrupt ending Registrum II, and by extension Gerald's conception of the HC, feels more complete as a unit in that most of its narrative threads were concluded towards the end of Gerald's contribution. The manner of Registrum II's resolution discussed in more detail in the last section of this chapter.

Temporally, Registrum II's storyworld spans 1110-1124, with Gerald picking up shortly after where Munio's narrative ends and carrying it through to the last years of Urraca's reign.⁸ Its thematic focuses are very different to those of Registrum I. Written during a period of relative disorder, and writing about a period that was even worse, Registrum II necessarily had different priorities to Registrum I, which was a product of calmer world. Consequently, issues of war,

⁶ López Alsina explains the dating in more detail: López Alsina, 78–81.

⁷ López Alsina, 68.

⁸ Gerald's contribution includes, I.P, 46-99, 101-117, II.P, I-56, 59-63, López Alsina, 68.

high politics, and social strife feature more heavily than in Munio's work; indeed, they underlie everything that Gerald wrote. Registrum II is divided physically and thematically by the break between Books I and II. Prior to the break, Registrum II is chiefly concerned with war, the high politics of the kingdom of León-Castile, and the institution of reform in the episcopal dominions. The second part of Registrum II, that of Book II, is also concerned with war and high politics, although affairs of the Church and Diego's campaign for and acquisition of the archiepiscopate, take centre stage.

Registrum II also follows a much stricter chronology than Registrum I, which would, while broadly chronologically arranged, occasionally compromise that chronology when shifting focus from one narrative element to another.⁹ Registrum II does not tend to do this, although integrated documents may occasionally slip out of chronology. A strict chronology is a defining feature of Registrum II's structure. The *registrum* is, as Reilly noted, characterised by its organisation into 'narrative units with strong internal cohesion and definite beginnings and endings...' with the documentary material being placed in between separate narrative units rather than within them.¹⁰ This is significantly different from Munio's approach which used narrative to introduce and contextualise the documentary material that was the focus of the work.¹¹

Compared with Registrum I, Registrum II's ratio of narrative texts to legal documentation is balanced in the former's favour; indeed, López Alsina noted that Registrum II contains only twenty documents to Registrum I's thirty-six, an almost 500% reduction if one takes in account

⁹ Munio tried to arrange his *registrum* chronologically but his wish to gather narrative documents together often compromised this imperative, see above: 49.

¹⁰ Reilly, 'The Historia Compostellana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Gesta', 81.

¹¹ See above: 52-53.

the differences in size.¹² In contrast with Registrum I, whose form is more *registrum* than *gesta*, Registrum II is more *gesta* than *registrum*, as its story elements are foregrounded, and its legalistic function relegated (if not entirely abandoned).

Gerald was also responsible for developing Munio's *registrum* conceptually, splitting it into two distinct books, with one covering Diego's episcopacy and the other his archiepiscopacy. Munio's Registrum I was retroactively incorporated into this scheme, being made the early part of Gerald's history of Diego's episcopate (1100-1120) and being prefaced with a new prologue which foregrounds his new bifurcated conception, and so superseding Munio's primitive *registrum*.¹³ Gerald did not try to conceal the contributions of Munio and Hugh but referred to them rather graciously in his second prologue. He also integrated Registrum I whole, using his prologues to recontextualise it within his bipartite scheme. Consequently, the shift in style, approach, and content that is marked by the transitions between Registra I and II is quite apparent to the reader. The fact that Munio's conception for the HC appears to have been open-ended (and in actuality unfinished) makes the transition between *registra* even starker.

The first of Gerald's two prologues (the one prefixed to Munio's work) details his apparent rationale for compiling his HC, providing the rather conventional (if plausible) motives that he wished to save the stories of Diego's life and achievements from oblivion so that future generations may learn from them.¹⁴ He also remarked that his bishop was worthy of remembrance because of what he had endured in defence of his see.¹⁵ In this way Gerald's stated motivations for writing are similar to those proposed by Munio in Registrum I's *uerba*

¹² López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 81.

¹³ López Alsina, 74.

¹⁴ HC I.P. See also: Falque, 'Los Prólogos En La Historiografía Latina Medieval: La Historia Compostelana y El Liber Eliensis'.

¹⁵ HC I.P.

auctoris, except that whereas Munio's prose was plain and concise, Gerald's was florid and prolix.¹⁶ This difference in style and approach, as shall be seen below, is emblematic of the differences between the two authors and is borne out in the divergences of the two *registra*.

Diego the Politician and War Leader: Conflict, Characterisation, and a Battle of Good vs Evil

This section examines Gerald's depiction of Diego as his patrimony's defender and as an agent of good facing down evil. In doing this, the section examines not only the relevant characterisations of Diego but also those of his enemies and allies and of the world of war in which they lived. Specifically, it outlines Gerald's various characterisations and considers their argumentative function with respect to Registrum II's aims. So as to highlight the contingencies of Gerald's own production context, it also compares these characterisations with Munio's where possible. It argues that, broadly speaking, Gerald used emotive characterisations to conjure a morally dualistic story of good vs evil as a means of supporting Diego's actions of an of damning his enemies. The section discusses depictions of: Bishop Diego himself, the knight Arias Pérez, King Alfonso I of Aragon, the burghers of Compostela, Alfonso Raimúndez, and Queen Urraca of León-Castile. Before this however, it outlines Gerald's characterisation of the war itself.

The Anarchy of León-Castile

Much of Registrum II is about the conflict that emerged in the wake of Alfonso VI's death and the power vacuum that it created. It was a conflict whose memory Gerald sought to shape, primarily through characterisations of the period's primary actors as they navigated the

¹⁶ HC I.3.2.

vicissitudes of war, and his framing of the war itself as a conflict between good and evil. The story's four political figureheads, around which interest groups coalesced, and factions formed, were Queen Urraca, Alfonso of Aragon, Alfonso Raimúndez, and the Infanta Teresa of Portugal.¹⁷ Below the story's four primary factions there sits an array of medium-sized and petty powers, each of them trying to make sense of the chaos, with some working to exploit it, some fighting to survive, and all trying to pursue their own interests. Of the factions' four leaders Queen Urraca is perhaps the most important; she was the only surviving legitimate child of Alfonso VI and was his named successor to the kingdom of León-Castile, giving her the most obvious claim to the Leonese-Castilian throne.¹⁸ Alfonso I was the king of Aragon in the northeast of Iberia who held a claim to the throne through his marriage to Urraca.¹⁹ Although the two became estranged in 1111, with partisans of Urraca seeking annulment on grounds of consanguinity, he maintained his claim to her kingdom and fought her for her lands, winning allegiance from several influential figures and dividing the kingdom.²⁰ The third faction was that of Alfonso Raimúndez, Urraca's son by her deceased husband Raymond of Burgundy. Although he was only around three at the time of his mother's accession, Alfonso Raimúndez, became the focus of considerable support, benefitting also from his Burgundian

¹⁷ The Almoravids, the contemporary rulers of Al-Andalus do feature several times, but their presence is an ambient one and chapters on them represent a diversion from the central story, I.64, 76, 86, 90.

¹⁸ Urraca's inheritance from her father included Galicia, Asturias, Portugal (reaching at this time as far south as Coimbra), Extremadura, León, Castile, much of what would become New Castile (i.e. the lands around Toledo), and part of the Ebro valley (including the cities Nájero and Calahorra), which had been recently taken from the Kingdom of Navarre. See the plate 'Spain in 1109' in: Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*.

¹⁹ Aragon first became a distinct kingdom in the eleventh century upon the reign of Ramiro I (r.1035-63), who governed the micro-kingdom with the assent of his father Sancho the Great (r.1004-35). During the successive reigns of Sancho Ramírez (r.1063-1094) and Pedro I (r.1094-1104), the kingdom's territory grew by six times its original size. During Alfonso I's (r.1104-1134) reign, the kingdom once again doubled in size, eventually coming to include the great city of Zaragoza and for a time, much of León-Castile. At the date of his wedding to Urraca his kingdom was still dwarfed by hers, Thomas Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 11-16.

²⁰ For the relevant chapters see: HC I.48, 64-65, 68, 80, 83.1-85. During the conflict with his estranged wife, Alfonso I came to hold much of eastern and central Castile, including Toledo, Segovia, Osma, and Burgos, as well as a slither of León, most notably in Sahagún, See the plate 'Northern Spain in 1114' in Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*.

connections.²¹ His support was especially strong in Galicia, his father's former county, where he was adopted and protected by Bishop Diego and Count Pedro Froílaz.²² As Gerald reminds us, Diego was close to the young Alfonso Raimúndez, and was responsible for baptising, anointing, and crowning the young king.²³ Despite being primarily aligned with Alfonso Raimúndez, Diego would often, especially when facing off against Alfonso of Aragon, side with Urraca, maintaining a co-dependent relationship with the queen that was essential if strained.²⁴ The Raimúndez faction was often aligned with Urraca, only pushing back against the queen when Galician interests were being threatened.²⁵ Finally, there was the Portuguese faction, led by Count Henry (d.1112) and his wife Teresa, the natural daughter of Alfonso VI and mother of the future Portuguese king Alfonso Henriquez. Although this faction would sometimes jostle amongst itself for control of the new country, they successfully managed to concretise their *de facto* independence and carve out a new kingdom.²⁶

The conflicts narrated in Registrum II fall within three main phases. First, there is a part covering the civil war (and the tumultuous years approaching it), which comprises much of Gerald's Book I and covers the most chaotic period of Gerald's record (c.1110-1116).²⁷ Second, there is the 1116/1117 revolt of Compostela, during which Diego and Urraca were almost killed by angry members of Compostela's citizenry and chapter.²⁸ Finally, there is the period from

²¹ For a summary of Alfonso Raimúndez's connections beyond Galicia, via his uncle Guy, the future Callixtus II, see: Stroll, *Callixtus II (1119-1124): A Pope Born to Rule*, 230.

²² HCI. 64.1.

²³ HC I.64.1, 74.1, II.9; Gerald's successor Pedro Marcio would go on to make this association far more frequently and fully, declaring that Diego had baptised, anointed, crowned, and knighted Alfonso seven times, see: 237-238.

²⁴ The joint Galician-Castilian expedition is a case in point here, HC I.83.1-90.3.

²⁵ See: I.83.1-85.

²⁶ By 1114 Portuguese lands stretched from the south bank of the Miño in the north (just south of Tuy) to Coimbra in the south. To the east, Teresa's lands stretched as far as Salamanca and Zamora although these would be lost in the coming years. See the plate 'Northern Spain in 1114' in: Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*.

²⁷ Roughly from HC I.46-104.4.

²⁸ HC I.110-111.5, 114.1-116.6.

the revolt up until 1124, the end of Registrum II; this is a period typified by an almost continuous cycle of conflict and reconciliation between Diego and Urraca.²⁹

A Richer Depiction of Diego

Compared with Munio Alfonso and his Registrum I, Gerald's approach to characterisation in Registrum II is more exaggerated and polemical. While Munio was not above attacking Diego's enemies (he was not a reporter; his depictions of key figures were necessarily partisan and subordinate to his literary aims) his writing style was not especially emotive, even when criticising adversaries or praising Diego and his allies, Munio retained a relatively muted tenor, perhaps reflecting the tact and formality of a diplomatic sensibility.³⁰ Gerald on the other hand was more expressive in his writing and his prose often drifted into soaring praise and angry polemic. His portrayal of Diego is a case in point.

Where Munio focused on showing Diego to be popular, competent, and moral Gerald's work was more emotive and narrative-driven, with changes that also hint at variant personal preferences and new socio-political contingencies. While the competent and well-liked image of Registrum I is not abandoned (such qualities remain key to his portrayal) it is developed, with Gerald showing Diego to be trusting, powerful, wise, and loyal.³¹ Diego was also shown to be his dominion's seigneurial lord and protector, a role not much explored in Registrum I and one which the present chapter will discuss further in a later section.³² Another crucial

²⁹ HC II.29-53, 59.1-62.4.

³⁰ Like a modern-day civil servant, Munio Alfonso had had a wealth of diplomatic and administrative experience, having worked both as treasurer and legate for the church of Compostela. It is possible that his more utilitarian style was a function of these experiences. For a brief overview of Munio's life, see above: 33.

³¹ An example of Diego being trusting is when he trusted Arias Pérez ahead of his betrayal, HC I.50-51. Diego was shown to be powerful and influential when assembling the pro Alfonso Raimúndez coalition, for example, I.62.2-63, 66. He was wise when seeing through the 'lies' of the Aragonese legates I.89.2. He was loyal on several occasions, such as: II.40.

³² See below 'Communicating and Consolidating Reform in the Patrimony of St James': 180-198.

element to Diego's characterisation in *Registrum II* was his depiction as a war leader and military mobiliser, such as when Gerald celebrated the bishop's defensive naval-building efforts and his leading of armies into battle against the Aragonese.³³

As well as being more well-rounded, Diego's character is also more life-like, given Gerald's vastly expanded use of dramatised direct speech and narrative exposition.³⁴ Gerald's frequent use of direct speech in his depictions of the bishop, a device employed only once by Munio and once by Hugh, breathed life into his Diego and made his personality more real. He imbued his Diego with a broader range of personal qualities and attributes, making Munio's Diego look rather flat by comparison. These fuller depictions were not however, unlike those of Pedro Marcio, any more likely to show Diego's failings; indeed, the uncritical lens through which Diego is seen in *Registrum I* continued unabated.³⁵ Importantly, these depictions, and the ways in which they departed from Munio's, are both a function of Gerald's historiographical style and products of the issues and events covered in *Registrum II*'s storyworld. As such, some sides of Diego's character that were previously untested or dormant, or just superfluous to Munio's original conception, are revealed. In *Registrum I*, for example, Diego was never tested as a military leader, peaceful as his early episcopate was, whereas by the middle of his rule he had been called several times to function in that role. Simply put, the development of Diego as a character in *Registrum II* was the result of both actual historical developments and of the changing conception of the HC.

³³ HC I.83.1-85, 103.1-3, HC II.21; For a study of Diego's naval-building activities, see: Juan J Burgoa, 'La Armada Gallega de Diego Gelmírez', *Compostellanum* 58, no. 3-4 (2013): 499-541.

³⁴ Munio uses direct dramatized speech once whereas Gerald's usage approaches triple figures.

³⁵ 254-256.

Arias Pérez: An Image of Knightly Vice

Gerald's more emotive approach to characterisation is also present in his negative portrayals, it is probably there where it is most apparent. One recipient of Gerald's ire was Arias Pérez (fl. 1110-1128), a contemporary of Diego's and a man with whom the bishop often came to blows.³⁶ He first appears in *Registrum II*'s first chapter, as one of several Galician notables who swore an oath to help Diego protect Galicia from external predation.³⁷ This early brotherhood (*germanitas*) did not last, however, as the bishop was soon betrayed and seized by many of his sworn allies, at a banquet in 1110.³⁸ After being tricked by his ostensible allies, Diego was incarcerated and his baggage train was plundered of its riches.³⁹

Despite being only one of the traitors involved, Arias Pérez was posited by Gerald as the plot's ringleader and as personally reflecting the sins of the whole. After having described the above events, Gerald went on the attack, having Diego and Pedro Anáyaz lambast him for treachery and for acting in a low manner, apparently unbefitting of man of his noble pretensions.⁴⁰ To this, Gerald's Arias Pérez responded that he and his co-conspirators felt they needed to capture Diego and use him as a bargaining chip, fearing that, without such leverage, their adversaries may wish to take advantage of conditions in the peninsula and despoil them of their lands and properties.⁴¹ Arias Pérez appears again a little later in the narrative shortly after Diego's release,

³⁶ Like Diego, Arias Pérez's father is said to come from the knightly class which, if we are to use Isidore's definition of nobleman as being one not of lowly origins whose family is known, places him within the lower ranks of the nobility, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum siue originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1991), Lib. X, 184.

³⁷ HC I.47.

³⁸ HC I.50.

³⁹ HC I.54.

⁴⁰ '*Miror, inquit, te antehac nobilem et egregium uirum, quem loco germani fratris et quasi pro dimidio mei cordis habebam, huiusmodi huiusmodi prodicionem exocogitasse et exogitatam fecisse...*', HC I.55; '*Vos etenim, quibus nuper in sinistro latere ingenii uena salire putabatur...*', HC I.57; Pedro Anáyaz was treasurer and canon at the cathedral of Compostela. He appears as a figure in all three of the HC's *registra*: HC I.16, 20, 49, 57, 59, 60, 102, II.3, 10, 54, 56, III.17.

⁴¹ HC I.56.

where Gerald gleefully describes how the ‘infamous traitor’ was taken away in chains, after his castle was overrun by armies led by Diego and the queen.⁴²

There are two aspects of Arias Pérez’s depiction in *Registrum II* that are worth considering, the first of which is personal and the second is factional. Regarding the first, it is obvious that Gerald and Diego would have disliked Arias Pérez because of the personal nature of his betrayal – he broke a sworn oath. But it also possible that there was an element of snobbery in his portrayal too. As Barton has noted, Arias Pérez was a low-born man who rose up the social ranks by virtue of his talent as a soldier.⁴³ Eventually, he married Count Pedro Froílaz’s daughter Ildaria, so bringing him into the most significant of Galicia’s noble houses.⁴⁴ With this in mind, Gerald’s barb (placed in the mouth of Pedro Anáyaz) that the knight had, despite his treacherous actions, thought of himself a man of character and standing (*ingenii uena...putabatur*), hints at a certain snobbery and suggests that the line was a considered attack meant to ridicule and undermine his social pretensions.

Second, the antipathy towards Arias Pérez and his actions could be understood as being directed at the knightly class or lower nobility more broadly. Throughout the whole of *Registrum II*, he is consistently shown to be a figure of knightly vice, representing a group for which, as will be discussed a little below, neither Gerald nor Diego had much time.⁴⁵ One typical such portrayal occurred when Arias Pérez explained to the bishop that he had betrayed

⁴² HC I.72.

⁴³ Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50–51.

⁴⁴ Although the wedding takes place in 1122, during *Registrum II*’s production period, it is never mentioned by Gerald. It is mentioned retrospectively by Pedro Marcio in *Registrum II*, HC II.2.

⁴⁵ Indeed, in Falque’s character index of the HC she refers to Arias Pérez as ‘knight of Galicia, traitor, and conspirator’, a designation which reflects a portrayal of Pérez as one who embraced Diego’s enmity as if it were a vocation, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 605.

him out of fear of his own position.⁴⁶ In giving such an answer, Gerald's Arias Pérez must have represented the position of many knights who felt the need to make the best of the chaos of the time.⁴⁷ It also neatly represented, being counterposed with Pedro Anáyaz's speech, the Compostelan episcopate's main concern with the knightly class – their rapaciousness and threat to order. Such situations, which necessarily poisoned the relationship between the lower nobility and Compostelan church, coloured the way the authors of the HC depicted them as a class; knights continued to receive a negative portrayal throughout Registrum II.⁴⁸ In this way Gerald's attack on Arias could be understood as being metonymical, targeting, through a considered man typical of his class, the whole group and the sins they supposedly embodied, while also reflecting Compostelan opinion.

Alfonso I 'the Tyrant' of Aragon

Another target of Gerald's pen was Urraca's former husband Alfonso I of Aragon, whom he termed *Aragonensis tyrannus* – the 'Tyrant of Aragon', an indication of the polemic to come.⁴⁹ Registrum II's first major attack on Alfonso appears in the dramatised conversation between Urraca and her cousin Count Fernando. In it, Gerald's Urraca begins by acknowledging the deteriorating situation in her kingdom, referring to the live Almoravid threat and her troubled marriage, stating that she never wished to marry the Aragonese king and did so against her will.⁵⁰ She recognised the marriage's consanguinity and professed a wish to end it, remarking

⁴⁶ HC I.56.

⁴⁷ See the chapters on 'Constraint, Violence, and Disruption, and 'Troubles on the Pilgrims' Road' in: Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government*, 41–68, 243–59.

⁴⁸ Simon Barton, 'From Tyrants to Soldiers of Christ: The Nobility of Twelfth-Century León-Castile and the Struggle Against Islam', *Medieval Studies: Nottingham* 44 (2000): 33.

⁴⁹ So often is this designation used that López Alsina considers it a linguistic particularity of Gerald, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 76. For a relatively recent study of Alfonso I's reign, see: José Ángel Lema Pueyo, *Alfonso I El Batallador, Rey de Aragón y Pamplona (1104-1134)* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2008).

⁵⁰ HC I.64.1.

also on Alfonso's cruelty.⁵¹ Her description of the effects of the early civil war, which (via Gerald's pen) she blames squarely on Alfonso, is delivered eloquently and with passion:

The shame of virgins whose honour was violated, the despair of mothers, the laments of widows, the desolation of orphans; of the places that remain inhabited, they display the scars of our lamentable misery. There is no corner of Iberia that is not shaken by the shock and upheaval of this great madness.⁵²

Such passages, clearly meant to carry an affecting emotional charge, appear several times in Registrum II when describing the effects of the civil war and often when highlighting the supposed violence and disorder that Gerald associated with Alfonso of Aragon.⁵³ From Urraca's above speech to the end of Registrum II, Alfonso I and Aragon become bywords for rapine violence, presented without nuance as agents of evil.⁵⁴ The characterisation is also extended to natives of León-Castile who aligned themselves with Aragon.⁵⁵ The apogee of this polemical portrayal appears in the text of a long sermon, apparently delivered in Burgos 1113, which contains a compressed and modified telling of the *Levite's Concubine*, an Old Testament story of foreign evil, homosexuality, murder, and rape.⁵⁶ The lesson of the sermon is obvious:

⁵¹ HC I.64.2.

⁵² HC I.64.2.

⁵³ A typical example being found in HC I.64.3.

⁵⁴ See for example, HC I.73, 79, 83, 87, 89.2.

⁵⁵ HC I.74.1.

⁵⁶ Gerald has Diego recount the story of a Levite and his wife (the concubine character is replaced by a wife, perhaps to make her more sympathetic) who, while travelling through Judea, came upon the city of Gibeah and there decided to seek shelter for the night. Having found a place to stay, the man and wife were disturbed in the night by a group of men from the city who, having noticed the man's beauty, demanded that the landlord give the man over to them so that they might 'imitate the vice of sodomy'. The landlord, feeling the need to appease the crowd, instead handed over the man's wife believing her rape to be preferable to his; after this she was killed and her body discarded. In the succeeding passage, Gerald's Diego tells of how Israelites from other cities banded together to fight and punish the Gibeahites and how they, despite suffering many losses, held their nerve and maintained their faith until they achieved victory. HC I.86.3. The story is based on that from Judges 19-21.

the Aragonese were akin to some of the most despicable figures from the Bible and so must never be accommodated but only destroyed.

It is also in the above speech from Urraca, that Gerald's erudition and technical brilliance as a writer is best displayed. In that scene, in which Urraca speaks with her cousin Count Fernando, the queen's argumentation is structured according to the strictures of deliberative rhetoric, a rhetorical form traditionally used to justify the adoption of a political decision.⁵⁷ His usage of such forms, which according to Falque is reminiscent of authors of the Latin golden age (namely, Livy and Sallust), points to Gerald's advanced education and demonstrates the literary fruits of Diego's 1102 educational reforms.⁵⁸

Fundamentally though, such portrayals, which seem intended to utterly degrade the king's moral credibility, should be understood as attempts to delegitimize the king in the eyes of the reader. As Hester Schadee and Nikos Panou have remarked, such charges were antithetical to contemporary ideas of benevolent kingship:

...the legitimacy and effectiveness of monarchical rule were viewed as in large dependent on the moral rectitude of the ruler...the sovereign's failure to cement his life and governance on the exercise of virtue and eradication of vice could only result in conduct antithetical to the common good, and consequently in compromised legitimacy.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Falque, 'Los Discursos de La Historia Compostelana', 391–93.

⁵⁸ Falque, 390.

⁵⁹ Hester Schadee and Nikos Panou, 'Tyranny and Bad Rule in the Premodern West', in *Evil Lords: Theories and Representations of Tyranny from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 6.

If one were to take Gerald's attacks on good faith, then Alfonso would fall well short of the moral standards expected of a just king and so would have an impaired legitimacy.

The motivations behind Gerald's attacks, putting aside any sincere distaste for the king and the actions of his armies, relate to the interests of Compostela and its potential degradation under Aragonese rule. First, it is unlikely that Compostela would have maintained a high level royal favour with Alfonso of Aragon on the throne, especially given Alfonso's expressed preference for the sees of his own realms, particularly those of Jaca and Zaragoza.⁶⁰

It is also the case that Alfonso of Aragon's rule posed a threat to Alfonso Raimúdez's future accession, a figure behind whom Diego firmly stood. It had been agreed at the time of Alfonso I and Urraca's marriage that their kingdoms would be blended into one and that this newly united kingdom would be considered a single patrimony when being passed on to any children they might have.⁶¹ This stipulation, which threatened to dispossess Urraca's first child Alfonso Raimúdez, alarmed those allied to his cause.⁶² As Diego himself had historically been aligned with Count Raymond and his network, he naturally chose to support his son Alfonso Raimúdez and his faction.

⁶⁰ For the role of these sees in legitimating Alfonso's efforts at war, see: Pablo Dorronzoro Ramírez, 'The Aragonese Episcopate Ands the Military Campaigns of Alfonso I the Battler against Iberian Muslims', in *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, and John Ott, vol. 3, Explorations in Medieval Culture (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 233–73. For an overview of Royal patronage of Compostela, see: López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 153–60; María Pallares Méndez and Ermelindo Portela, 'Reyes, Obispos y Burgueses', in *Historia de La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela*, ed. María Pallares Méndez and Ermelindo Portela (Santiago de Compostela: Concello de Santiago de Compostela, 2003), 127–41.

⁶¹ Pallares Méndez and Portela, *La Reina Urraca*, 65–67.

⁶² Although Diego only formally aligned himself with Raimúdez in 1111, he likely favoured him before. As such the possibility of reconciliation between Urraca and Alfonso I, which remained present until at least late 1112 (HC I.89), meant that the threat of a new half sibling remained during the early years of the war, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 86.

The Burghers: A New Threat

Another focus of Gerald's polemic was the brotherhood of burghers (another *germanitas*) who conspired with certain clergymen against Diego in the Compostelan revolt of 1116/1117.⁶³ The story of their revolt against Diego was narrated in two stages, with the first covering the relatively peaceful uprising of 1116, in which the brotherhood removed Diego from power, retained him as a figurehead officeholder, and began to implement their own radical legislative agenda against his will.⁶⁴ The second phase covers the more violent period in which the brotherhood and their supporters, responding to an attempt by Urraca to reimpose the *status quo ante*, rioted, burned parts of the cathedral and episcopal palace down, and killed several of Diego's allies, including his brother Gundesindo Gelmírez.⁶⁵ Predictably, Gerald did not handle the brotherhood and their members sympathetically nor did he attempt to represent their grievances fairly.⁶⁶ Rather, he rendered them polemically and, as with Arias Pérez, contrasted their viciousness with the virtues of Bishop Diego. Specifically, he painted them as bringers of discord bound together by an oath of conspiracy.⁶⁷ He described them as previously being

⁶³ An entirely different '*germanitas*' to that sworn to Diego in HC I.47.

⁶⁴ HC I.109-111.5. For two studies dedicated to these uprisings, see: Abou El Haj, 'Santiago de Compostela in the Time of Diego Gelmírez'; Christopher James Farney, 'Spaces of Exclusion in Twelfth-Century Santiago de Compostela', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 42 (2011): 55–88.

⁶⁵ Gundesindo was one of four brothers that Diego is known to have had and who were named in the HC. Although their relative ages were uncertain, one can perhaps infer their importance to Diego (in a professional sense) from how frequently they appear in the HC. Munio Gelmírez was named as a canon at Compostela's cathedral chapter in 1102 (HC I.20.5), helping Diego in many of his earlier missions (HC I.10, 28) and last appearing when taken prisoner by Urraca along with Diego in 1121 (HC II.42.2). Pedro Gelmírez appears only twice in the HC and both times he is described as having been taken hostage, first in 1111 by Arias Pérez (HC I.60) and later with his brothers Diego and Munio in 1121. Juan Gelmírez's only appearance occurs in 1111 when he is also imprisoned along with Diego and Pedro. Gundesindo himself is only mentioned as dying during the rebellion, although Gerald notes that he had been employed as a *vicarius* of the city (HC I.110). One gets the impression from this that Diego valued his family and sought to put them in positions of responsibility. His nephew Pedro (the authors prove no patronymic to help identify his father) also held an important role as prior of the cathedral, appearing first in 1113 (HC I.90) and last in 1118, after having been attacked by bandits on the way to Rome (HC II.4.2, 6.2). There are no mentions of any female relations of Diego in the HC but it is of course possible that Pedro was nephew through a sister. Diego also had another nephew by the same of Diego Muñiz, the son of his brother Munio, who declared himself the archbishop's nephew in some diplomatics from 1150, *Patre meo Munione Gelmirici et de avunculo meo domno Didaco Gelmirici archiepiscopo, pro qua habuit germana mea donna Toda Moninci...* AHDS, San Martiño 79, 35; Xosé Manuel Sánchez Sánchez, 'Consideraciones En Torno a Un Posible Enterramiento Catedralicio Del Arzobispo Compostelano Diego Gelmírez', *Compostellanum* 63, no. 3–4 (2018): 352.

⁶⁶ HC I.114.1-116.6.

⁶⁷ HC I.110.

‘hidden criminals’ who had revealed themselves when their chance came.⁶⁸ They are described as being ‘ungrateful’ for not appreciating Diego’s support and patronage and ‘deceitful’ from the outset, working on the ‘pretext of defending justice’ but in actuality subverting it.⁶⁹ There are no moral shades of grey here, nor room for a reading that does not damn the brotherhood and sympathise with Diego.

Beyond the obviously negative descriptive language, these depictions of the brotherhood also tapped into certain contemporary prejudices that might have helped convince readers of the brotherhood’s malignancy. The first of these prejudices relates to the oaths sworn among the conspirators. While oaths were common at this time, oaths were crucial to the formation of political and social bonds in the central Middle Ages, they were, in some forms at least, theologically sensitive.⁷⁰ Gerald’s characterisation of the burghers as criminal subversives sought to cast them in this light, false oath maker who should be judged accordingly.

The second of these prejudices relates to the status of the burghers themselves within contemporary society and particularly with respect to the clergy. Burghers were, by writ of novel legal protections, a social class apart from the rest of Diego’s patrimony, one that had arisen as the city had and that had grown stronger as the city had grown richer.⁷¹ By Diego’s time, the burghers had acquired their own semi-independent judiciary and separate laws, freeing them from many of the restrictions imposed on the rural peasantry.⁷² Being the

⁶⁸ HC I.111.1.

⁶⁹ HC I.111.1.

⁷⁰ For a recent study on oaths, see chapter 6 of Jenny Benham, *Peacemaking in the Middle Ages*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2011).

⁷¹ This rise of the burgher class was occurring across the kingdom of León-Castile and the rest of the Latin West, and was the product of several centuries of urban growth after the collapse of most cities in the early eighth century, Hans-Werner Goetz, *Life in the Middle Ages from the Seventh to the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Steven Rowan, trans. Albert Wimmer (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 200–207.

⁷² As Sánchez Albornoz had noted, ‘Compostela había sido, desde el día primero de su vida, un templo y un mercado’, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *Santiago, Hechura de España* (Salamanca: Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 1993), 49. These exemptions from seignorial law were granted to them by successive decrees from Alfonso VI,

centraliser he was, Diego did not appreciate ceding any power to his subjects.⁷³ This was a sentiment felt by ecclesiastics across Latin Christendom too, where many affected clerics were horrified by revolutionary implications of such moves while resenting the lay powers for wilfully surrendering such rights to the burghers.⁷⁴ Given that Gerald's likely audience were the canonry of the early 1120s, one can assume that such parallels were being intentionally made.

A notable feature of Gerald's treatment of the insurrectionists was his silence when naming the conspirators themselves, despite his antipathy towards them. López Alsina wrote that Gerald was cowed into anonymising the names of the conspirators through fear of repercussion, as many of them were still active in Compostelan society at the time he was writing.⁷⁵ There does appear, however, to be one exception to this where one Arias Muniz (a canon first mentioned in the 1102 chapter list) was named as a leading member of the 1116/1117 conspiracy.⁷⁶ His naming was not however, López Alsina insists, a contradiction to Gerald's policy of silence but rather a later addition from Pedro Marcio, added as he completed the final conception of the HC.⁷⁷ This apparent divergence in approach was not a function of Pedro Marcio being less cautious than Gerald – he followed a similar policy when writing about some of Diego's enemies – but a move facilitated by Arias Muniz's death in 1146, two years prior to Pedro

Count Raymond, and Urraca, see: Pallares Méndez and Portela, 'Reyes, Obispos y Burgueses'. Alfonso VI also granted similar *fueros* to several settlements north of the Duero river, including Sahagún, Nájera, and Logroño, José María Minguez, *Alfonso VI: Poder, Expansión y Reorganización Interior*. (Handarribia: Nerea, 2000), 201–4.

⁷³ For a study of how Diego centralised power in himself, see: Esther Pascua Echegaray, 'Redes Personales y Conflicto Social: Santiago de Compostela En Tempos de Diego Gelmírez', *Hispania* LIII/3, no. 185 (1993): 1069–89.

⁷⁴ Examples include words from Alpert of Metz (d.1024), who expressed disgust at the burghers repeated petitioning of the king, and Ivo of Chartres (d.1115), who rebuked King Louis the Fat for siding with the burghers of Amiens over its municipal lord Bishop Guadrey, Jehangir Yezdi Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe* (London: Cornell University Press, 2013), 234–35.

⁷⁵ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 87–89.

⁷⁶ HC I,111.5, 114.15.

⁷⁷ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 87–88.

Marcio's resumption of the HC.⁷⁸ This caution when handling the burghers and their clerical conspirators individually, highlights some of the difficulties faced by the HC's compilers when writing their history and shows, in this instance at least, how Gerald was willing to soften his polemical stone somewhat in the name of self-preservation.

Alfonso Raimúndez: Galicia's Hope

It is perhaps predicable then that Raimúndez himself, who as the future Alfonso VII would later dominate Registrum III, received a positive portrayal from Gerald. Indeed, Gerald signalled his perspective on Raimúndez in the first chapter of his *registrum* where he depicted a scene in which Diego swore an oath before group of Galician nobles, and in which Diego promised to promote the child's interests as Galicia's rightful king.⁷⁹ This idea, that the child ought to be ruler, is paired in this opening chapter with another idea, that the kingdom had fallen into ruin since the death of Alfonso VI, implicitly connecting a return to peace and prosperity with the accession of the younger Alfonso to the throne, while also positing Diego as the agent entrusted with its fulfilment.⁸⁰ The connection established here between Diego and Raimúndez is strengthened shortly afterwards in a scene set in 1111, in which Diego crowns, anoints, and assumes (with Count Pedro Froílaz) stewardship of the child Alfonso.⁸¹ This series of events served to create a life-long personal and sacramental bond between the king and bishop and affirmed within the story Diego's role as Alfonso's, and by extension Galicia's, protector. Beyond the chapter that describes this, their sacramental relationship is often referred to by Gerald (and later by Pedro Marcio) when trying to highlight the closeness of the two.⁸² For most of the rest of Registrum II, Alfonso Raimúndez is not given much agency and when

⁷⁸ López Alsina, 87.

⁷⁹ HC I.46,

⁸⁰ HC I.46.

⁸¹ HC I.66, see also below: 236-237.

⁸² Such as in HC II.57.6; For Pedro Marcio, see: 236-237.

he appears in the story he functions less as a character in the narrative and more as an instrument of others' ambitions and disputes which, given that he was only nineteen at the end of Registrum II's narrative in 1124, is perhaps understandable.⁸³

Urraca: A Feminine Antagonist

Finally, there is Gerald's depiction of Urraca, the work's most important character after Diego, and the person who received the most varied and complex image. Munio's depictions of Urraca were few; she only appeared in five of his chapters and in each of them she was a marginal figure who received a relatively positive, if flat, and undetailed portrayal.⁸⁴ In one sense her presence on the periphery is not surprising as during the storyworld of Registrum I she was not the political player she would later become, nor was she a prime candidate for the crown.⁸⁵ Her marginalisation is more surprising if one considers that Registrum I was written during the earliest years of her reign, and after she had been named Alfonso VI's heir. One can only speculate as to why Munio did not spend more time writing about her and why the various contingencies of her early reign did not seep into his writing. Perhaps it was that his discipline in keeping to his own time was considerable, or perhaps it was because Compostela had not (at the beginning of the 1110s) reached a firm opinion on the queen and so opted to remain coy. Regardless, what is important is that Munio's depictions of Urraca were sparse and lacking

⁸³ He is only really given any sort of agency towards the end of Registrum II, where he is shown to lead an effort to free Archbishop Diego from his mother's imprisonment, HC II.42.6.

⁸⁴ In her five Registrum I appearances she is: present at Dalmacio's election where Munio referred to her as *nobilissima domina Vrraca* (HC I.5.1); named alongside her husband at the outset of Diego's second stint as episcopal administrator (HC I.6); named in a privilege granted by her husband to the citizens of Compostela in 1105 (HC I.27); mentioned as being with her husband and an army in the wake of her half-brother Sancho Alfónsez's death (HC I.29); named in a papal letter from Paschal in 1110 (HC I.36).

⁸⁵ Indeed, Alfonso had been planning to make his illegitimate son Sancho his heir until his untimely death at the battle of Uclés on 30 May 1108. His Urraca succession plan (which involved subjugating her to a new husband) was only devised after Sancho's death, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 125; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 51–59.

detail, and that the somewhat venomous write up she received afterwards was the product of Gerald's hand alone.

From the very beginning of Gerald's work, Urraca's reign is described as something of a tragedy. This is reflected in the first chapter of *Registrum II* whose shift in tone from the last few legal documents of *Registrum I* is so noticeable that the unannounced transition between the two *registra* is immediately evident.⁸⁶ *Registrum II* opens with the death of Alfonso VI and uses it to foreshadow a period of war. This jars tonally with what came before and framed the coming chapters as a story of conflict and relative decline. The comparison between the violent present and the stability of the past, while not directly critical of Urraca, heavily implies that the kingdom was diminished by having her on the throne.⁸⁷ Despite this inauspicious start, depictions of the queen were not initially too negative, with most of the *Registrum II*'s narrative up until 1116 offering Urraca a relatively neutral portrayal, during which Gerald's polemical focus was trained instead on Diego's earlier adversaries, namely petty lords such as Arias Pérez and King Alfonso of Aragon.⁸⁸

From 1117 however, Gerald's depictions of the queen do become decidedly more negative. The first such example appears during the war in an account of a joint Galician-Castilian expedition to the Tierra de Campos in which the queen is said to have betrayed and disrespected Diego after failing to properly support his Galician armies in the field.⁸⁹ In her next appearance (probably dated to 1116) Urraca is said to have ordered Diego's arrest (apparently with the intention of confiscating Compostelan riches) as he travelled back from Iria but allegedly

⁸⁶ It is worth reiterating here that the division between *Registrum I* and *Registrum II*, while clear from the content, is not explicitly marked. Rather, the break is that between chapters 45 and 46 of Book I.

⁸⁷ HC I.46.

⁸⁸ Such as in the chapters containing the dialogue between Urraca and her cousin Count Fernando, HC I.64.1-65.2.

⁸⁹ HC I.84.2.

reversed her decision after Diego's ally Pedro Froílaz informed him of her plans.⁹⁰ From here Gerald's depictions of the queen become wholly negative stating that: 'the faith of the woman is volatile, her authority weak, and her kingdom lost; truth and justice are nowhere to be seen'.⁹¹ He compounds this idea that the rule of a woman is necessarily worse than that of a man by taking the following from Sirach: 'better is the wickedness of a man than a woman who does good...'.⁹²

The most stark example of this misogyny appears during the narration of the 1116/1117 uprising when Urraca, having been promised safe passage out of the city by the insurrectionists, was apparently attacked by a mob and stripped naked.⁹³ As Falque has noted, Gerald's account is prosaic and unemotional, and seemingly without compassion for the queen's plight.⁹⁴ The detail of his account, which is worth quoting in full, suggests the contrary: 'When the crowd saw her they pounced on her, caught her, threw her to the ground, ravaged her like wolves, and stripped her of her clothes. With her body naked from her chest to down below she was stood before everyone in the land, shamefully, for a long stretch of time.'⁹⁵ Gerald's rendering of this scene is palpably callous, and one even senses a degree of glee in his writing. Like with prior targets of his polemic, he had begun to set her up as a villain and was mobilising her sex against her.

For much of Book II the focus shifted to ecclesiastical issues and so away from Urraca, with the spotlight only returning to her towards the end of Registrum II, at which point the gendered assault intensified. In her most significant late appearance, she is described apprehending

⁹⁰ This story is told twice in Registrum II and in two different ways, HC I.102.1-102.3, 107.1-4.

⁹¹ '*Animus mulieris infirmus est et instabilis et cito exorbitant*', HC I.107.2.

⁹² '*Melior est iniquitas uiri quam benefaciens mulier*', HC I.107.2; Sirach 42:14.

⁹³ HC I.114.5.

⁹⁴ Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 275.

⁹⁵ HC I.114.5.

Diego as he returned from a military campaign in Portugal.⁹⁶ Her image in these three chapters, as ‘the second Jezebel’ marks the crescendo of her Registrum II narrative arc and her development into a malign feminine antagonist. In writing this section Gerald threw all of his polemical arsenal at her, defaming her character and motives, deploying derogatory biblical comparisons, and including letters from illustrious personages supporting Diego and ostensibly damning the queen.⁹⁷ Apart from her appearances in the later *miracula* (which will be discussed further below), this represents the final stage in the development of his characterisation of the queen.⁹⁸

Just as Gerald deployed the idea of malevolent (and so illegitimate) kingship to discredit Alfonso of Aragon, so too he made use of misogynistic concepts and stereotypes to undermine the queen’s authority. As Joseph O’Callaghan has noted, prior to Urraca there had been no sole female monarch of León-Castile meaning that there was no template for queenship beyond traditional maternal and uxorial duties.⁹⁹ Queens were expected to conform, and hitherto had conformed, to accepted gender roles, which in the context of the Leonese-Castilian monarchy included managing the domestic affairs of the royal household and the patronising of monasteries and convents – there was no room for ruling queens.¹⁰⁰ In making allusions to Urraca’s ostensible weakness as a woman and in highlighting her departure from accepted gender norms, Gerald was attempting to mobilise prejudice to argumentative ends.

⁹⁶ HC II.42.1-4.

⁹⁷ The comparisons made with biblical figures are of Christ’s treacherous apostle Judas Escariot (Matt. 26: 14-16; Mark 14: 10-11; Luke 22: 3-6; John 13:2) and the uncaring Pharaoh of the Hebrew Bible (Exod. 7:13). The letters included were from Cardinals Boson and Deusdedit, Abbot Pons of Cluny, and Pope Callixtus II, HC II.42.4, 44.1-2, 44.4.

⁹⁸ See below: 214-219, 228-229.

⁹⁹ Joseph F O’Callaghan, ‘The Many Rules of the Medieval Queen. Some Examples from Castile’, in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight, Allyson M Poska, and Abby Zanger (London: Routledge, 2005), 21.

¹⁰⁰ O’Callaghan, 21.

As with Arias Pérez and Alfonso of Aragon, the polemical depiction in *Registrum II* offers clues to the source of Gerald's and Compostela's resentment for the queen. The charges of greed, for example, corresponded to her aggressive solicitation of military finance, while her sexualised depiction as Jezebel reflects the openness with which she conducted her extra-marital relationships and her disregard of the gender norms previously discussed.¹⁰¹ However, and unlike Diego's other antagonists, Urraca's depiction was far more uneven, a fact that reflects the complexity of her relationship with the bishop and Gerald's challenges in portraying it. Seen as a whole, the development of her character corresponds neatly with the worsening of Diego and Urraca's relationship within the storyworld, plummeting as the two ceased to be united by a common enemy. In this way, and despite the persistent negativity, Gerald showed a dynamic approach to characterisation and a willingness to adapt portrayals scene-by-scene. Even when their relationship was approaching its nadir, the queen can still be seen operating on the side of the good (i.e. Diego's side) when the story demands that the two work together. This flexible approach to characterisation is perhaps most clearly displayed elsewhere in *Registrum II*, specifically Gerald's treatment of the Galician people, a group about whom his opinion changes depending on the situation.

While describing the Galicians at war, alongside the 'cowardly' Castilians and against the 'barbarous' Aragonese, he shows the Galicians to be brave respecters of law and justice.¹⁰² This

¹⁰¹ The queen had, since at least 1112 but likely since the death of Raymond in 1107, had a couple of unconcealed relationships first with Gómez González, her father's *alferez* who died at the battle of Candespira, and then with Pedro González de Lara, a Castilian noble with whom she had several children, Pallares Méndez and Portela, *La Reina Urraca*, 47–50. The queen was also desperate for money and so often looked to her kingdom's wealthiest bishopric to extract wealth. Whereas her father had enjoyed a constant flow from *parias*, an annual tribute paid by many of Iberia's small Muslim taifa states to León-Castile, Urraca had not. This hole in the royal coffers, combined with the heightened threat that the kingdom faced during her early reign, meant that she felt the need to take drastic action including on a couple of occasions, trying to appropriate money from the Compostelan church. This was obviously not well-regarded by Diego and Gerald, Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 49–50. For a monograph on the history of the de Lara family and their relationships with the crown, see: Simon R. Doubleday, *The Lara Family, Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

¹⁰² HC I.84.

image is not maintained however, being contradicted a little later, during a spat between Diego and Urraca in which several Galicians were said to side with the queen. Here, Gerald described Galicians as being ‘by custom’ liars, gossips, and cheats.¹⁰³ This is a clearer example of the narrative strategy present in Gerald’s depictions of Urraca – a willingness to adapt his portrayal of a person given the situation and the story he is trying to tell. Across all these instances the only consistent feature is Gerald’s attempts to defend Diego by attacking his enemies; as his focus shifted so too did his polemical gaze.

Diego the Shepherd: Communicating and Consolidating Reform in the Patrimony of St James

This section looks at the second *gesta* element identified in Registrum II, namely, the characterisation of Diego as the shepherd tending to his flock. It begins by looking at the bishop’s 1113 speech in Burgos, where Gerald outlines Diego’s conception of ideal lay-clerical relations and expounds Diego’s conception of his role as spiritual leader, his understanding of his relationship with his flock, and how those ideas married with the Church reformers’ position on lay-clerical relations. It then examines Registrum II’s expressions of those reforms as manifested in Diego’s 1113 decrees, looking at what changes those decrees enacted and how they affected the various social groups of the dominions. The decrees themselves are examined in clusters and organised according to the social groups they were intended to affect. It also discusses Gerald’s rationale for communicating these changes, and what his deployment of them reveals about Compostela’s priorities in the early 1120s.

¹⁰³ HC I.102.1.

Expounding Reform: The Burgos Speech of 1113

Before a suspicious and war-weary crowd in Burgos 1113, Diego, according to Gerald, gave a speech that aimed to dissuade those assembled against making peace with Alfonso of Aragon.¹⁰⁴ The speech is significant for this study because of what it communicated about Diego's worldview and the conception of lay-clerical relations it promoted. Given the significance of the speech, it is worth quoting at length:

The [Aragonese] emissaries have... proclaimed things that here and in the eternity are against your salvation and which contravene laws both human and divine... You know, most dear brothers, that our Lord and Saviour in the Old Testament ordered that priests (*pontifices*) should lead their people and instruct them in the precepts of the Lord. Also, in the beginning of the New Testament the same Lord chose his apostles and ordered them to dispense their ministries... We, however unworthy, have this charge and with the same power, delivered to us [by Him], have risen to the summit of pastoral care. We are... the greatest dispensers of the ministry of God, we are the most intimate and dearest sons of God... To us Christ trusted his wife, the Church, and to us he delivered his children for education... What is dearest and most precious in this world for the King of Kings is that he gives it to us for its administration; to care for the souls and to protect the flock (that he entrusted to us) from the ferocity of the wild wolf. And if by chance they should lose sense and fall to the precipice of the road most easy, it is our duty to call them back to the road of truth so that the flock we have been entrusted with might graze on the pastures of discipline. To us are submitted the kings of the nations,

¹⁰⁴ At that time in Burgos, which was the most westerly of all cities sympathetic to Alfonso of Aragon, there was little appetite for war and a desire to see the warring spouses reconcile.

the lords, the princes, and all the people, born in Christ, and to their care we will attend.¹⁰⁵

The above speech was worth quoting at such length because it so clearly defines the radical understanding that Diego and his administration had about his role in society. They believed that he and all bishops were, as the spiritual successors of Christ's commissioned apostles, the stewards of the Church, the appointed protectors of His flock, and the only group of people on earth with the sacramental means, the knowledge, and (ultimately) the authority to lead them to salvation. Although used in this instance to lend authority to Diego's pronouncements on the potential Aragonese rapprochement, it was also an articulation of his understanding of the relationship between him and the people of his patrimony and, more broadly, of the clergy and the laity. It also reflected a worldview congruent with the reformers of his day.¹⁰⁶ In publicly advancing these ideas, Diego was taking part in a Latin Christendom-wide conversation on reform, placing himself firmly in the reformers camp while Gerald, in communicating them so clearly, was promoting Diego's ideological position to a wider audience. Gerald's conscious weaving of these ideas into the story of Diego's life was something of a novelty for the HC. While Diego's reforming tendencies were present in Registrum I, Munio's focus on documentation ahead of narrative meant they were less directly and comprehensively expressed.

¹⁰⁵ HC I.89.2.

¹⁰⁶ Emerging in the late tenth century and spreading in the eleventh under Leo IX and his reforming successors, there arose the idea that the contemporary arrangements between the Church and lay society, in which the Church was effectively subordinate to the lay rulers of a given territory and in which the clergy (and indeed the poor) were often vulnerable to exploitation, was structurally malign. There developed the idea that this situation, in which the sinful lay members of society effectively controlled the Church, was inherently corrupt and that (as has been seen with investiture) moves should be made to arrest it and then reverse it, so placing the Church at society's head. Proponents of this position argued that what had long been held as peace was in fact a structurally violent tranquillity that ought to be overturned through (in Jehangir Malegam's words) 'the insurrection of the spirit against flesh in self and in society.' See: Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 1–75.

Expressing Reform: The Seigneurial Decrees of 1113

While the Burgos sermon is Registrum II's clearest articulation of Diego's worldview, it is in the decrees of 1113 that those ideals were most practically applied and promoted. They were, according to the text that prefaces them, the product of a council held at Compostela and attended by canons, judges, and 'other noble men' (*ceterumque nobelium uirorum*).¹⁰⁷ They were also, according to Gerald, a conscious response to the 'oppression and anguish of the poor' and a means of protecting the exploited while also curtailing the coercive powers of the predatory lay authorities.¹⁰⁸ Each of his dominions' social groups (the knights, burghers, peasants, and lower clergy) were affected in different ways and to different ends. In short, Gerald was positing Diego as the poor person's savour, and his reforms as the solutions to the problems of war; he was, to return to the language of the Burgos speech, showing the measures by which Diego protected his flock from the wolves. Lastly, the decrees were also perhaps the clearest exposition of the sort of seigneurial powers that Diego had in the patrimony of St James where, like the pope in the patrimony of St Peter, he was lord as well as spiritual leader.¹⁰⁹

As the decrees' preface and preceding chapter suggest, many of the decrees were concerned with protecting vulnerable laypersons from predation. Among them, there were several decrees

¹⁰⁷ HC I.96^a- HC I.95. Although Reilly believed that this Compostelan council and its decrees were copies of the acts from an earlier council at Palencia of the same year. This general council, which Reilly thinks Diego missed because of a dispute with the queen, was considerable in size and scope, counting bishops, abbots, counts and other such magnates among its attendees. While this conference is referenced in Registrum II (HC I.88), Gerald insists that Diego missed it because of the dangers of the road and not for any other reason. No connection between this council at that at Compostela is noted, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 93-95.

¹⁰⁸ HC I.96^a- HC I.95.

¹⁰⁹ These seigneurial powers dated back to Ordoño I's 858 charter which granted the church of Iria the right to govern a six-mile square area around the shrine of St James, an area which still formed the nucleus of the patrimony of Diego's time, which had grown to encompass the lands between the Tambre and the Ulla. As seigneurial lord (as well as a spiritual leader) Diego was able to legislate, execute justice, and exercise executive power in his diocese in such a way that no other bishop his side of the Pyrenees could, something which gave him a big advantage over his rivals who did not have vast seigneurial estates to complement their spiritual authority. *Tumbo A*, 52-53; Pallares Méndez and Portela, 'Reyes, Obispos y Burgueses', 133; Both Munio and Gerald state that Compostela's lands fell between the rivers Tambre and Ulla: HC I.4, II.22; Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de Las Instituciones Españoles de Los Origenes al Final de La Edad Media*, 525.

that served to protect the peasantry.¹¹⁰ Of these, three were meant to protect the property of the poor, legislating against the harming of unarmed men and the arresting of women and children, preventing the poor from being fully dispossessed in court, and protecting the property of the dead and the war-captured from being appropriated by unscrupulous officials.¹¹¹ Several decrees protected the poor in the courts, with one asserting that only episcopally-appointed judges had the authority to hear cases, another that legal judgements were void if made by a non-episcopally appointed judge, and one which mandated that any poor person facing an individual of higher standing in court, ought to face instead a surrogate of equal rank.¹¹² Several of the decrees made life easier for the poor by removing the obligation to pay both the *fossataria*, a military levy meant to pay for soldiers during war, and the *luctuosa*, an inheritance tax paid to one's lord.¹¹³ Decree nineteen, which states that *saiones* could not seize goods on Sundays, is typical of many of the above decrees which sought to protect the poor by restricting the powers of the lay authorities; most of the above sought to curtail their abilities to make arrests, seize property, and to pass legal judgements without prior ecclesiastical authorisation. Similarly, decree sixteen, threatened 'knights and all those who exercise jurisdiction as *vicarii*' with harsh fines if they abused their powers.¹¹⁴

Before proceeding, it is worth clarifying a few terms so that the precise aims of the decrees might be better understood. *Vicarius* was a general term for an individual to whom a senior

¹¹⁰ For this study the poor and the peasantry (free and enserfed) will be treated as one, being defined as those from that largest and lowest social group who had little material wealth, cultivated the land, and raised livestock. For a broad outline of peasant life and status, see: Goetz, *Life in the Middle Ages from the Seventh to the Thirteenth Century*, 107–96.

¹¹¹ HC I.96.2, 4, 11, 22.

¹¹² HC I.96.3, 10, 11.

¹¹³ The *fossataria* began life as a fine issued to those failing to support their lords during war and gradually developed into a tax, Pallares Méndez and Portela, *La Reina Urraca*, 138; de Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de Las Instituciones Españoles de Los Origenes al Final de La Edad Media*, 252–53.

¹¹⁴ HC 96.2, 16.

authority might delegate their power, be that a king, bishop, or petty lord.¹¹⁵ In the context of the village or farm, *vicarius* came to mean (by the eleventh century) a delegate of castle power, associated primarily with community tax collection and policing.¹¹⁶ Given that these decrees pertain to the patrimony of St James, and given that Diego was trying to curtail their powers, the *vicarii* in question were unlikely to be those of the bishop himself but rather of a knight or petty magnate operating within the bishop's dominion. The *saiones*, another focus of the decrees, were low-level justice officials responsible for calling public meetings, meeting with litigants and judges, and administering justice themselves (sometimes corporal).¹¹⁷ They appear to have been often corrupt (or at least perceived as such) and were wildly unpopular, earning themselves the moniker 'crooks of the fisc' (*scurri fisci*); they were so widely despised that their lives were insured for the huge sum of five hundred *sueldos* (the same as for a nobleman) so as to discourage their murder by resentful litigants.¹¹⁸ The fact that the modern Spanish equivalent (*sayón/sayones*), although archaic, is a derogatory word meaning ugly, hints at the esteem in which this group was held.¹¹⁹

Along with knights, who as a group were a frequent target of Diego's and Gerald's ire, the *vicarii* and *saiones*, were clearly identified as agents of social strife. As such, they were the ones whose rights and powers Diego chose to regulate and those whose chastening Gerald was happy to advertise, especially given his and Diego's views on the bishop's role as the laypersons steward and guide. The decrees protecting the poor were then, in part, a legislative

¹¹⁵ de Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de Las Instituciones Españoles de Los Origenes al Final de La Edad Media*, 503.

¹¹⁶ André Debord, 'The Castellan Revolution and the Peace of God', ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 155–56.

¹¹⁷ de Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de Las Instituciones Españoles de Los Origenes al Final de La Edad Media*, 505.

¹¹⁸ de Valdeavellano, 505.

¹¹⁹ Real Academia Española, 'Sayón', Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 2020, <https://dle.rae.es/say%C3%B3n?m=form>.

expression of many of those ideas contained within Diego's Burgos speech, a confirmation of intent, and an act of communication to the reader that the bishop had moved to temper the social crisis.

As well as seeking to protect the poor from predatory laypersons, the decrees also sought to protect the lower clergy. Among the relevant decrees in this instance there includes one prohibiting anyone breaking into church grounds with the pretext of exercising justice, and a ruling that forbade *saiones* and knights from meeting on Church property.¹²⁰ As with the poor of his dominions, Diego wanted to protect the lower clergy, another group who had suffered considerably during the conflict, from exploitative officials.¹²¹ The decrees cited above attempted this once again through the diminishing of lay authorities' powers but also by asserting that Church property was outside of their remit and so off limits. As Portela has noted, the decrees of 1113 do here reflect somewhat the ideas of the Peace and Truce of God; this is an important observation which helps one understand Diego's social vision in context.¹²²

The Peace of God as an idea and as a movement first emerged in late tenth-century Aquitaine as an attempt to control and contain the predatory violence of petty lords.¹²³ Beginning as a series of localized responses to incidents of such violence, the Peace of God emerged via 'peace' councils in which religious figures would gather with local knights and convince them to swear an oath committing them to certain rules of engagement, such as a prohibition on the

¹²⁰ HC I.96.1, 20.

¹²¹ The lower clergy were often poor and vulnerable like the peasants they ministered to and were often extorted or simply robbed by petty lords and officials. Munio provides one such example of this in his *registrum*: HC I 43.1-3.

¹²² Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 299.

¹²³ See the introduction to: Geoffrey Koziol, *The Peace of God* (Amsterdam: Arts Humanities Press, 2018).

plundering of ecclesiastical and peasant-owned goods.¹²⁴ As the concept developed through the eleventh century, and as the peace councils began to be adopted across France, there emerged a fuller list of who and what should be protected, with the physically vulnerable, livestock, agricultural production, and the preservation of a fair judicial order becoming objects of the movement.¹²⁵ Technically, the peace was supposed to be secured by the formal placing of the lay and clerical persons under special ecclesiastical protection – a process that ideologically pre-empted the Church’s later claims that the Church should govern the laity.¹²⁶ These ideas, which were born of socio-political conditions in France similar to those of 1110s León-Castile, aligned nicely with Diego’s vision of a clerically-led society.¹²⁷

Related to the issue of church-protection was that of clerical purity; decrees 21 and 24 are relevant here, the first of which mandated that no cleric should be employed as a teacher or mayordomo of a layperson while the latter stipulated that no clergyman should pay *fossateria* and that no abbot nor cleric should be apprehended if transporting the *voto* or *tercias*.¹²⁸ As with the decrees that sought to protect the clergy from lay predation these decrees did have a prophylactic function, one that is perhaps most evident in the decree prohibiting the clergy from teaching laypersons. It was a significant law because it prohibited a practice that had been

¹²⁴ Such prohibitions were present at the even the earliest councils at the turn of the eleventh century, Thomas Head, ‘The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970-1105)’, *Speculum* 74, no. 3 (1999): 656–86; Koziol, *The Peace of God*, 49–89.

¹²⁵ See: Hans-Werner Goetz, ‘Protection of the Church, Defense of the Law, and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God, 989-1038’, in *The Peace of God, Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithica: Cornell university Press, 1992), 259–79.

¹²⁶ H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century’, *The Past and Present Society* 46 (1970): 42.

¹²⁷ As with Aquitaine at the turn of the eleventh century, León-Castile in the early twelfth century suffered from a weakening of central power and a violent competition for resources and status. In both instances there were deleterious consequences for those at the bottom of society, as this section has already noted.

¹²⁸ Mayordomo being the individual who was responsible for overall management of the royal fisc and is sometimes compared with modern-day prime ministers, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 259-260; *tercias* were a form of royal tax on tithes, constituting two-ninths of what had been raised, Real Academia Española, ‘Tercias Reales’, Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 2020, <https://dpej.rae.es/lema/tercias-reales>.

very common at the time, it had been practised across Europe.¹²⁹ One such practitioner had been Bishop Cresconio, one of Iria-Compostela's most significant recent incumbents, who had been employed by King Fernando I as the Infante Garcia's tutor.¹³⁰ This practice had however, by the middle period of Diego's rule, become unpopular with reformers and had fallen victim to the closer scrutiny that half a century or so of exposure to reform ideas had had on established Church practices. Like many other formerly acceptable activities, lay employment of clerical persons came to be seen as a dangerous and inappropriate corruption of the ideal social order because of the subordinate position the cleric would have to take. Diego would necessarily want to eradicate such practices and Gerald would want Diego's efforts to be seen.¹³¹

Making Diego's efforts visible was in fact the reason why Gerald included these decrees in Registrum II. For Registrum II, they served two functions. First, they provided proof that Diego's sentiments about protecting his flock from the wolves of the world was not idle talk – it was a sincerely held conviction on which he would act. Gerald was building into Registrum II's narrative the idea that Diego had a proven track record of looking out for his flock. This point is especially important if one considers that Diego was occasionally accused of neglecting his pastoral duties, preferring instead to focus on issues of Church and state.¹³² Gerald wanted to show that this was not the case and that Diego worked to the benefit of all his subjects. He was, therefore, building a defence against such charges into his narrative. Second, Gerald

¹²⁹ See the chapter on 'Household Service and Patronage': Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World. Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 236–68.

¹³⁰ Portela, *García II de Galicia El Rey y El Reino (1065-1090)*, 20.

¹³¹ Beyond those meant to aid the poor and the clergy (and as shall be seen below, the citizenry), many of the decrees were meant to support the effective and fair running of the city and patrimony of St James more generally. Such decrees included those stipulating the punishment of criminals, the regulating of official seals, prohibitions against most legal and commercial business on feast days and on the sabbath, and the establishment of Friday as the prime day for episcopal justice, HC I.96.5, 6, 17; HC I.96.7; HC I.96.9, 12, 14; HC I.96.14.

¹³² This charge is only explicitly placed at Diego's feet once, by Pedro Marcio in Registrum III. It can be assumed however that he would have been accused of this previously (indeed, it could be inferred from the 1116/1117) but that the authors never mentioned it. Pedro Marcio did mention it because, as shall be seen in the following chapter, he was unusually candid by the standards of the HC's authors.

wanted to demonstrate Diego's ideological soundness. Just as Munio had sought to conceptually 're-found' Compostela as a see with Romanising leanings, so too Gerald wanted to demonstrate that Diego exercised his power as a seigneurial lord according to reform ideals, showing his church to be leaders of the laity while also drawing on fashionable initiatives, such as the Peace of God and beliefs concerning clerical purity. This point is especially important if one considers HC's likely readership – the clergy of Compostela and perhaps the episcopate more widely – who would have been, by the time of the 1120s, almost all convinced of the merits of reform.¹³³

While much of the discussion so far has concerned Diego's battling with the metaphorical wolves that threatened the moral and physical security of his flock, it is a decree aimed at containing literal wolves that best communicates Gerald's message to his readers.¹³⁴ Decree fifteen mandated that every Saturday (excepting Easter and the Pentecost) all priests, knights, and farmers (as well as all freepersons of any other occupation) were required to chase, trap, and kill wolves. Each church was required to provide seven iron spikes. Priests and knights would be fined five *solidii* if absent (although priests were permitted to tend to the sick instead) while farmers would pay one sheep and a *solidus*. As Aleks Pluskowski has shown, the wolf was well-established in the collective consciousness of the continent, being synonymous with danger and a symbol of natural chaos and evil.¹³⁵ Historically, wolves have long tormented humans by hunting their livestock, a threat that was especially potent at times and places in

¹³³ After 1122 the Church's two main factions were those happy with the provisions laid out in the Concordat of Worms and those who wanted to push further – there was little space for traditionalists of the pre-reform order meaning that the clergy had, generally speaking, become more militantly pro-reform, Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 67.

¹³⁴ The metaphor of a shepherd protecting his flock from wolves was a common one in the twelfth century, see: Radosław Kotecki, 'Lions and Lambs, Wolves and Pastors of the Flock: Portraying Military Activity of Bishops in Twelfth-Century Poland', in *Between Sword and Prayer*, ed. Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, and John Ott, vol. 3, *Explorations in Medieval Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 303–40.

¹³⁵ Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 118–33.

history where one's wealth might exist primarily in one's animals, such as in high medieval Galicia.¹³⁶ They also posed a limited but direct threat to people, especially in places where there was overpopulation and a loss of wild spaces.¹³⁷ Galicia, which had gradually become overpopulated since the tenth century, was one of these places.¹³⁸ Therefore in Galicia, as in many places, wolf hunts were mandated so as to protect people and their flocks from the beasts.¹³⁹ Decree fifteen then, which records one of these mandates, was not only an historical testament to this phenomenon but it also a perfect expression of Diego's commitment to reform ideas of social organisation and a demonstration of his commitment to pastoral care. It includes a common evil to be tackled collectively, with the churchmen (as legislators) taking a leading role, and all free people helping to capture and neutralise the evil, with the violent impulses of the knights being used to positive ends. Furthermore, the fines were calibrated according to what one could afford, with the lower clergy and knights paying more than peasants if found to be absent from a hunt. It is, after Diego's sermon, the clearest exposition of his idealised society, and is the most explicit example of it among the decrees, behind which all these ideas lie.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Pluskowshi, 95.

¹³⁷ Pluskowshi, 95.

¹³⁸ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 7–8.

¹³⁹ Pluskowshi, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages*, 97.

¹⁴⁰ One group absent from this discussion who were indirectly affected by the decrees were the citizens of Compostela who, through a combination of comital and royal privileges were partially independent of Diego's jurisdiction. After being officially recognised as a city by the Infanta Urraca in 1087 (at around the time Raymond became Galicia's count), Compostela then received from both Raymond and Urraca a 1095 grant that promised the right of safe conduct for merchants and inhabitants of Compostela when passing through Galicia. In 1105 Raymond and Urraca made a final *fuero* donation to the men and women of the city. This was followed by a charter later in the same year from Alfonso VI that confirmed the above and granted the citizens the right to their own separate judiciary. This last charter, which was confirmed by Archbishops Bernard of Toledo and Gerald of Braga among others, declared the city free from seigniorial justice and exempted them from paying *fossateria* and *luctuosa*. Portela, *Diego Gelmírez*, 298; *Tumbo A*, doc. 13, doc. 74. The Compostelan *fueros* are handled sensitively in Registrum I, where Munio Alfonso describes their contents and legal implications for the city without any regret or emotion, HC I,23; Pallares Méndez and Portela, 'Reyes, Obispos y Burgueses', 140.

Diego the Churchman: Fulfilling his Promise and Narrating the Acquisition of the Archiepiscopacy

Having written about Diego as a war leader and politician, and about Diego as the pastor of his flock, Gerald was free to return to what was Diego's biggest preoccupation – the exaltation of his church. This had been a primary concern of Munio's when writing his *Registrum I* and evidently a key motivating factor of Diego's since he assumed the episcopacy in 1100.¹⁴¹ The following section looks at Gerald's handling of the issue, examining his writings on church politics, specifically those on Diego's ultimately successful campaign to acquire the archiepiscopacy. It is divided into three parts, discussing first how Gerald restated and built upon Munio's arguments from *Registrum I* so as to build a formal case for Compostela's rise to the archiepiscopacy. The ideas that Munio returned to were that Diego's Compostela was new and distinct from the inward-looking the Iria-Compostela of the past, that Diego was a moral individual, and that he was a competent administrator who had done much for his see. It then looks at the story of the first campaign to convince Gelasius II and what its failure reveals about the obstacles Compostela faced in achieving its goal.¹⁴² Finally, it considers the successful Callixtus II campaign.

Gerald's Case for the Archiepiscopacy

After its prologue, Book II proper begins with three chapters which collectively reiterate, refine, and clarify ideas present in *Registrum I*.¹⁴³ The first chapter discusses the history of the pre-Gelmirian Iria-Compostelan see, condemning the ecclesiological viewpoints of all the previous incumbents excepting Dalmacio 'of happy memory' (*bone memorie*), who of course

¹⁴¹ For the discussion on the 11055 acquisition of the pallium, which was likely an abortive attempt to win the archiepiscopacy, see above: 108-111.

¹⁴² HC II.1-3.5; HC II.4.1-8.3; HC II.9-18.2.

¹⁴³ One could infer from Munio's narrative on the acquisition of the pallium that this was a position he shared too only that Munio was much coy in relating it, see above: 111-115.

formalised Iria-Compostela's pro-Roman shift.¹⁴⁴ Here, Gerald was careful to emphasise the distinction between Dalmacio's rule and what came before, contrasting the pro-Romanism of the former Cluniac with the recalcitrant posturing of his predecessors.¹⁴⁵ Without naming any names, Gerald also tells the eleventh-century story of the insulted papal legate who had been asked to address the bishop of Iria-Compostela as if he were the pope; this story is a favourite anecdote of the HC's authors whenever discussing the troubled history of Roman-Compostelan relations and a version of it appears in the first two *registra*.¹⁴⁶ In an attempt to further distance Compostela from its problematic past, Gerald also recycled some of Munio's techniques and material, reasserting the episcopal competence and good character of the bishop (two key priorities of Registrum I), and providing a brief overview of Diego's life and achievements prior to 1118.¹⁴⁷

Then, having established the ideological, moral, and functional soundness of Compostela's contemporary administration, Gerald launched his argument for the see's promotion to the archiepiscopacy.¹⁴⁸ He argued that Compostela, being the resting place of an apostle (he is careful not to claim it an 'apostolic see'), ought to have the honour of the archiepiscopacy, citing the status of the apostolic burial sites of St Peter (Rome) and St John (Ephesus), as supporting examples.¹⁴⁹ While some of the assertions underlying his case were not strictly accurate (Ephesus was not, for example, a patriarchate but a metropolitanate within the Byzantine ecclesiastical order), the argument did have some force since Compostela was the official resting place of the apostle, meaning that arguments against the see's elevation could

¹⁴⁴ HC II.1; see above: 56-61

¹⁴⁵ HC II.1.

¹⁴⁶ HC I.16.5-6, HC II.1.

¹⁴⁷ HC II.2.

¹⁴⁸ HC II.3.1-2.

¹⁴⁹ HC II.3.2; For the controversy surrounding claims to a see's apostolicity, see: 57-60.

be construed as an insult to St James.¹⁵⁰ Gerald was also careful to allay Roman fears about Compostelan ambitions, explicitly denying that Compostela had aspirations beyond the archiepiscopacy by insisting that its subordination to Rome was correct, eternal, and the firm policy of the Compostelan administration.¹⁵¹

Having made the case for Compostela's promotion so cogently and forcefully, Gerald set up his upcoming acquisition narrative by putting the necessary story elements in place, marking Paschal II's death in 1118 and noting the new Pope Gelasius II's friendship with Galicia, stating that it provided an opportunity for Diego to renew his campaign.¹⁵² The fact that Diego's peninsular rival, the former Archbishop Maurice of Braga, had been named the imperial antipope also animated Gerald, who subsequently hinted at the future attempt to lobby the pope to transfer the archiepiscopate from Braga to Compostela.¹⁵³ The introduction is then rounded off by a letter from the new Pope Gelasius II in which he appears open to Compostelan overtures.¹⁵⁴

Collectively, the three introductory chapters of Book II form the most coherent and contained argument for Compostela's archiepiscopacy in the whole of the HC. The first chapter functions as a clear admission of historic guilt and a record of Compostela's past failings. It reiterates the story of Compostelan arrogance that Munio told in his acquisition of the pallium narrative but does so in a much clearer way than his predecessor. Where Munio placed it within the framing of a story (Diego's meeting with Hugh of Cluny), Gerald chose instead to pitch his argument

¹⁵⁰ This particularly line of argumentation, which held that there ought to be three apostolic centres of Christianity: one in the East (Ephesus), one in the centre (Rome), and one in the West (Compostela), features elsewhere in Jacobean writings: Deswarte, 'St. James in Galicia (c.500-1300), Rivalries in Heaven and on Earth', 493.

¹⁵¹ HC II.3.3.

¹⁵² HC II.3.4.

¹⁵³ HC II.3.4.

¹⁵⁴ HC II.3.5.

directly to the reader, making his point all the more powerfully.¹⁵⁵ After acknowledging these historical failings, Gerald then moved to absolve the current administration (including himself and his colleagues) of this historical guilt, noting that the ignorance of the ‘Toledan law’ (*Toletanam legis*), which he implicitly linked with Compostela’s old worldview, ended with Dalmacio and that all the current incumbents came after this break and so were untainted by what came before.¹⁵⁶ This new start was then emphasised in the following chapter, in which Gerald returned to the primary idea of Munio’s *Registrum* I: that Diego’s episcopacy marked a new start for the see. Lastly, the third chapter then made explicit ideas only implicitly present in Munio’s work, namely that Compostela wanted the archiepiscopacy and that it believed the current situation to be unjust. This departure from Munio is perhaps a function of the fact that Diego had succeeded in winning the archiepiscopacy by the time Gerald was writing, whereas for Munio he had not. As discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis, Diego’s trip to Rome in 1105 was likely an abortive attempt to secure the archiepiscopacy, one later packaged as a successful acquisition of the pallium.¹⁵⁷ Had Munio been honest about Diego’s intentions, he would have had to admit failure which, given the laudatory aims of his *registrum*, would have contradicted his historiographical aims. By the time Gerald came to write his *registrum* in the early 1120s, Diego had won the archiepiscopacy meaning that, unlike Munio, there was no incentive to conceal Compostela’s prior intentions.

The First Campaign

The narrative of Book II proper begins with an account of Diego speaking before a gathering (likely early 1118) of ‘the best and wisest canons of his church’, having just read aloud

¹⁵⁵ HC I.16.5.

¹⁵⁶ HC II.1.

¹⁵⁷ See above: 111-115

Gelasius's encouraging communication.¹⁵⁸ There he declared the acquisition of the archiepiscopacy as a 'fundamental aspiration', and, in a peroration that draws on several biblical passages declares that: 'it is time to ask and to receive, to search and to find, to call and to open.'¹⁵⁹ True to his word, the narrative progresses with him immediately dispatching his nephew Pedro with Pedro of San Féliz (a cardinal of St James and a priest of the aforementioned church) to Gelasius's curia with a generous cache of 'blessings' (*largissime benedictionis*) to help facilitate papal negotiations.¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately for Compostela however, Gerald tells us that the two Pedros were soon robbed on the road and were dispossessed of everything they had been carrying to Rome.¹⁶¹ To compound this misfortune, Registrum II tells us that Compostela's ambitions were dented further as Gelasius was expelled from Rome by supporters of the imperial papal faction and so had fled north to France, a fact not yet known to the Compostelans who were busy planning their next moves and preparing to send Bishop Diego of Orense and Gerald himself to Rome.¹⁶² This second mission, which unbeknownst to those involved was redundant given Gelasius's absence from Rome, was cut short at Sahagún in response to escalating reports of Aragonese threats.¹⁶³ All such efforts were to be rendered obsolete soon afterwards, however, as Gelasius died at Cluny, only a year into his pontificate.¹⁶⁴ The above summary tells the story of Diego's first attempts to win the archiepiscopate after Pope Paschal's death and reveals explicitly for the first time (in the whole of the HC) that acquiring the honour had been a long-standing Compostelan aim. Safe in the knowledge that Diego would eventually succeed, Gerald was able to relate this particular failure without

¹⁵⁸ HC II.4.1.

¹⁵⁹ *Iam, fratres, tempus est petendi et accipiendi, querendi et inueniendi, pulsandi, et aperiendi.* HC II.4.1; Eccl. 3: 1-8; Matt. 7:7-8; Luke 11: 9-10; Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 304.

¹⁶⁰ HC II.4.2.

¹⁶¹ Gerald notes that they were robbed of their pack horses, their clothes, silver, money, and everything else they needed (*Auferuntur eis centum et uiginti uncie auri, aufereuntur eis equitature, uestes, argentum, monete et quecumque necessaria itineri preparaurent*), HC II.4.2.

¹⁶² HC II.5-6.2.

¹⁶³ HC II.6.2.

¹⁶⁴ HC II.6.3-7.2.

tarnishing the bishop's reputation for competence, something which Munio, who obscured Diego's first attempt in 1105 behind his acquisition of the pallium, could not have done.

Gerald's account of this second campaign is also a testament to several contemporary phenomena which, with a little contextualisation, help elucidate some of the issues surrounding the event. The first of these relates to the recent schism borne of Gelasius's controversial election, which had as much to do with domestic Roman politics as it did with doctrine. Gelasius's expulsion from Rome at the hands of the Frangipani family, one of Rome's two great aristocratic families, was the first instance of this long-running interfamilial dispute between the Frangipanis and Perleoni stymying Compostelan ambitions.¹⁶⁵ As is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis, this aristocratic feud would haunt papal politics, and by extension Compostela's engagement with the papacy, for the rest of Diego's life.¹⁶⁶

The second contemporary issue Gerald's account points to is the danger of travelling on the road in the twelfth century. Travelling long distances was a perilous affair in the twelfth century as the farce surrounding Diego's 1101 consecration testifies.¹⁶⁷ The dangers of bandits, the poor infrastructure, the paucity of amenities, and slow rate of progression, meant that travel and communications were perilous and unreliable.¹⁶⁸ Diego's 1113 decrees, of which several were concerned with ameliorating the threat of banditry, as well as the two Pedros' muggings, reflect

¹⁶⁵ Several years before his election to the papacy, Gelasius got caught between these two great rival Roman clans by becoming close to the Perleoni family during his cardinalate. This had invited the jealous enmity of the Frangipani (specifically of whom Cencus Frangipani), fearing he would be frozen out of papal politics after Gelasius's election, abducted the new pope, expelled him from the city, and allied himself instead with the imperial candidate. These are the events to which Gerald briefly alludes in chapter 5, Book II and to which Compostela was initially oblivious to as they made their plans to approach Gelasius with their petition. For a good overview of the Frangipani/Perleoni schism at this time, see: Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 63–67.

¹⁶⁶ See below for the effects of this feud on later papal elections: 269-273.

¹⁶⁷ See above for the circumstances surrounding Diego's 1101 consecration: 86-88.

¹⁶⁸ This several decades before the Knights Templar were given responsibility for policing the Camino Francés, Seasholtz, 'Money and Morality on the Pilgrim Roads to Santiago de Compostela, 1078-1211', 92–93.

the endurance of this problem.¹⁶⁹ As Timothy Reuter has demonstrated, travel in the High Middle Ages was an intrinsically risky affair, with robbery and extortion being common occurrences.¹⁷⁰ In the case of the two Pedros, they were robbed (without chance of refund or recompense) of a hundred and twenty ounces of gold, their pack horses, their clothes, their silver, as well as anything else of value they were carrying.¹⁷¹ Considering the distances that had to be travelled in order to reach the pope, and considering the unpredictable risks associated with taking the road, travel placed a substantial logistical obstacle between Compostela and the archiepiscopate.

Lastly, there was the issue of cost. As outlined above, Diego had declared himself willing to do almost anything to secure the archiepiscopacy and, as his first gambit demonstrated, he was willing to spend money to make it happen. As Fletcher has remarked, the bishop directed a ‘prodigious expenditure of effort and treasure’ as a means to securing his end.¹⁷² And, as Fletcher has noted elsewhere, these ‘blessings’ (effectively bribes) were understood to be the *de facto* cost of securing papal privileges and were expected by papal curia in return for any favourable judgements.¹⁷³ Fortunately for Compostela, Diego’s was an exceedingly rich bishopric.¹⁷⁴ The depth of this wealth would be demonstrated in 1119 when Compostela would once again load up a package of papal bribes, including: an arc of nine gold marks, a hundred

¹⁶⁹ HC II.4.2.

¹⁷⁰ See: Timothy Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38–71. See also: Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, 54–55.

¹⁷¹ HC II.4.2.

¹⁷² Fletcher, *Saint James’s Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 204.

¹⁷³ HC II.4.2; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 213; Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 244–91.

¹⁷⁴ Compostela drew incomes from, among other things, huge estates and holdings, donations from pilgrims and penitents, a one-fifth share of booty taken from conflicts against Muslims, and taxation of his prosperous city and patrimony, Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065–1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 323.

morabitanos, two hundred *solidi* from Poitiers, seventy *solidi* from Milan, and twenty *solidi* from Toulouse.¹⁷⁵

The Second Campaign

Diego's 1119 campaign for the archiepiscopacy began much as the previous one had ended – with furious diplomatic activity and an uncertain estimation of the political situation in Rome. Gerald opened Callixtus's reign by providing an account of his election in Cluny and noting Diego's delight at having Count Raymond's brother and Alfonso Raimúndez's uncle in the papacy – he informs his reader that Diego began lobbying him immediately.¹⁷⁶ Compostela moved quickly, dispatching Gerald himself (Registrum II's author) with the sacristan Bernard of Carrión (along with a new convoy of treasures) to try and win Callixtus's favour.¹⁷⁷ As Gerald told his readers, when he reached *Morlanum* he met with the Bishop of Maguelone (an ally of Callixtus) who informed Gerald and Bernard that, while sympathetic, the pope could not yet accede to Compostelan wishes due to the recency of his elevation and his current political difficulties.¹⁷⁸ Gerald tells the reader that, while he was in *Morlanum* with the bishop of Maguelone, the archbishop of Toledo had written to the pope alleging that Diego had actually been working to dispossess Alfonso Raimúndez of his throne, a message that apparently made the pope cry with distress.¹⁷⁹ When Gerald met Callixtus shortly after, it was this charge from Toledo which stymied diplomacy and ultimately set back Compostelan plans,

¹⁷⁵ HC II.10. Morabitanos were a type of Andalusí silver coin, Real Academia Española, 'Morabetino', Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 10 2021, <https://dle.rae.es/morabetino>.

¹⁷⁶ Callixtus was, according to Gerald, elected in Cluny only four days after Gelasius's death and by a minority of the cardinalate. The two favourites present had been Guy of Vienne (who became Callixtus II) and Abbot Pons of Cluny, HC II.9.

¹⁷⁷ HC II.10.

¹⁷⁸ HC II.10. Falque struggled to firmly locate *morlatum* and suggests modern day Morlaàs (a commune in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques department in south-western France) as a potential identification, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 317. Maguelone is a former cathedral and bishopric located in coastal Occitania, around ten kilometres south of modern-day Montpellier.

¹⁷⁹ HC II.10.

with the pope refusing to accede to their petitions until he was sure that his nephew's inheritance was secure.¹⁸⁰ Gerald tells his reader that the pope handed him a letter for Diego, inviting the bishop to a council in Rheims, suggesting they speak in person.¹⁸¹

Unfortunately for both, so Gerald relates, Urraca forbade that Diego leave her kingdom, citing potential instability as her motivation.¹⁸² Consequently, Diego chose Hugh (the bishop of Porto and contributor to Registrum I) and one A. Pérez (a canon of Compostela) to go in his stead, disguising them both as monks and sending additional 'blessings' to the curia by sea.¹⁸³ After making the long and difficult journey to Rheims, and just before securing an audience with Callixtus, Hugh was accosted by members of the papal court who said that Bishop Diego's absence was indicative of his lack of respect for Rome, repeating the old anti-Compostelan sentiments.¹⁸⁴

For his task of convincing Callixtus, Gerald tells us that Hugh recruited Abbot Pons of Cluny, an old friend of Compostela who was, according to Gerald, convinced of the case for the metropolitanate.¹⁸⁵ There then followed the climax of the acquisition narrative and a dramatised account of the interaction between Hugh, Pons, and Callixtus. According to Gerald, it was Pons who initiated the discussion, advocating forcefully for Compostela and repeating Gerald's assertion that the resting place of St James ought to be honoured as all other apostolic resting places were.¹⁸⁶ He also stated that, if the pope were not disposed to transferring the see from

¹⁸⁰ HC II.10.

¹⁸¹ HC II.12.1.

¹⁸² HC II.12.2.

¹⁸³ HC II.12.2-13.1.

¹⁸⁴ HC II.15.1. it is significant that it was at Rheims where Callixtus had revealed rather authoritarian tendencies, effectively prohibiting conciliar opposition to papal decisions, Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 132. Read in this context, Diego is perhaps being criticized for contravening the spirit of this new papacy.

¹⁸⁵ HC II.15.1-3.

¹⁸⁶ HC II.15.2.

Braga to Compostela, as had been done from Braga to Lugo during the reign of King Theodomir, then it might be preferable instead to transfer the archiepiscopacy of Mérida, an ancient city long under Muslim rule and still deep within Almoravid territory.¹⁸⁷ Both men, Pons and Hugh, finished by throwing themselves at the pope's feet in supplication before being asked to rise.¹⁸⁸ Their wishes were granted. The following chapters of the HC contain the documentation which confirms and records the fruits of Hugh's mission, namely, the privilege confirming the transfer from Mérida, a privilege granting Diego the legacy of Braga and Mérida, and a papal bull listing Compostela's suffragans.¹⁸⁹ The story of the acquisition is ended by a section which Pedro Marcio, who provided the chapter names years later, titled 'From this Day he Was Called Archbishop.'¹⁹⁰

There in sum is the story of how Compostela finally acquired the archiepiscopacy, the end of Compostela's troubled pursuit of the Roman curia, the delivering of the promise Diego made to his chapter in 1118, and the conclusion of the moral campaign for Compostela's promotion made by Gerald in Book II's first three chapters. Significantly, and even though this same argument was not made (even implicitly) by Munio in Registrum I (although Diego's ambition for the metropolitanate could certainly be inferred there), the 1120 resolution of Registrum II also satisfies a narrative arc present from the beginning of the HC. This is because of Book I's prologue, which, having been added to the start of Book I by Gerald when integrating Munio's work into his own, foreshadowed the 1120 acquisition by signposting his bipartite scheme of division into two books, which he stated covered first the episcopate and then the

¹⁸⁷ HC II.15.3.

¹⁸⁸ HC II.15.3.

¹⁸⁹ HC II.16.2-17.

¹⁹⁰ HC II.19.

archiepiscope.¹⁹¹ In this way, Gerald presented Compostela's (and Diego's) eventual promotion as being teleologically determined from the start, encouraging the reader to reinterpret Registrum I according to what came afterwards, drawing a neat line of progression from Diego's first election to his accession twenty years later. While nothing was historically preordained, there was still some truth in this interpretation. While the death of a less cooperative pope (namely Paschal II) and the election of two congenial ones (Gelasius and Callixtus) were happy accidents for Compostelan diplomacy, it appears to be the case that, as Gerald insisted, the archiepiscope was largely achieved through sheer force of will on the part of Diego's administration, and in spite the many obstacles that faced them.

As with his rendering of the Gelasian campaign, Gerald's descriptions of the missions to Callixtus's court reveal much about some of the peripheral issues that affected their pursuit of the archiepiscope, among which was the role of Gerald as a character in his own story. Indeed, it is through Gerald's description of his own journey, his experiences therein, and the sense of general incompetence that he relays about himself, that one gets that the sense that the man behind the story might have been an impediment to the ends his master sought. As Gerald related several times, such as during the uprising of 1116/1117, in which he declared himself to be terrified and longing to be back in Beauvais, one gets the impression that he was not the man to have around in a crisis.¹⁹² This trait revealed itself again when, after the two Pedros had been robbed by bandits, Gerald was chosen with Bishop Diego of Orense to continue the mission.¹⁹³ In the account of which he spent a lot of time relating the dangers of the road, the fear of which led to his turning back at Sahagún before reaching the papal court.¹⁹⁴ Within the

¹⁹¹ Gerald's conception of course being the intermediate form of the HC. At this point, the work lacked the text's titles, some interpolations in Book I, the latter part of Book II, all of Book III, and the *monitum* that prefaced Gerald's prologue. See below for an overview of Pedro Marcio's conception, 217-226.

¹⁹² HC I.109.4.

¹⁹³ HC II.6.2.

¹⁹⁴ HC II.6.2.

narration of his next journey, which probably occurred in 1119 and a year after his first, he again overloaded the reader with melodramatic descriptions of the privations and dangers he endured, making several references to Scylla and Charybdis, a trope previously used by Munio himself in HC I.1.¹⁹⁵ Again on this second outing, which seems also to have been a decision out of his control, Gerald professed his misery, telling the reader that he undertook this journey ‘only through love of St James and the requests of his bishop’ and remarking that ‘when I remember how many blows my body endured and how much anxiety my spirit suffered... I tremble all over and am horrified by my trembling. I am not going to recount with my pen what my mind can scarcely dare to retrieve from my memory.’¹⁹⁶ Gerald was not asked to go again. Given Gerald’s fondness for drama and his tendency towards hyperbole, one could attribute these reflections to his literary style. However, it is the case that he somewhat personalises his distaste for travel when he compares his approach with of his predecessor Hugh, who himself had undertaken many trips on behalf of Compostela. Gerald admits that his colleague set out for Callixtus’s court far more fearlessly, apparently ‘stimulated by some boldness of mind, aspiring to the exaltation of the church of St James, and promising bravely to go and see the pope’.¹⁹⁷ As Falque has observed, compared with his predecessor, Gerald was no man of action and not the prime diplomatic candidate for his see.¹⁹⁸ It is perhaps telling that it was Hugh, who had been advocating for Compostela for at least twenty years, who managed to succeed in France with Callixtus and not his successor Gerald.

Another potential obstacle to Compostela’s rise to the archiepiscopate was the continued turmoil within the Roman church, a situation that had existed since Gelasius’s expulsion from

¹⁹⁵ See above: 71.

¹⁹⁶ HC II.10.

¹⁹⁷ HC II.12.3.

¹⁹⁸ Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 322.

Rome and one reflected in Gerald's account of Callixtus's election. Mary Stroll wrote that Gerald's account on the papal election reveals that it was executed with unusual haste, far from Rome (in Cluny), and by an incomplete cardinalate, all of whom wished to quickly replace Gelasius so as not to strengthen the position of the antipope Gregory VIII in Rome.¹⁹⁹ Gerald revealed the election to have been a decisive act taken by a reform-minded cardinalate with a view to winning an internal conflict. In this regard they chose wisely: Guy, who had a notably bombastic and unconventional style, and who had since his youth been willing to break with convention and tradition to push his sectional interests, managed to both overcome the imperial antipope Gregory VIII while also settling the investiture question for centuries at the 1122 Concordat of Worms.²⁰⁰ With this in mind, and despite Diego's historical links with Guy, one might think that, because of the Alfonso Raimúndez letter from Archbishop Bernard, because of Rome's historical suspicion of Compostela, and because of Diego's failure to attend the 1119 council of Rheims that Compostela would have failed in its petitions to Callixtus. Obviously, it was successful. What has to be considered is that Compostela's assumption of the metropolitanate also served Callixtus's own ends. As with Urban at Clermont in 1095, present contingences had created an opportunity that presented favourable conditions for a mutually beneficial agreement.²⁰¹ In Klaus Herbers's opinion, Compostela was lucky to have found an exiled papacy in desperate need of money and which, as one of the richest sees in Christendom, had wealth they could leverage.²⁰² This, more than Callixtus's mould-breaking

¹⁹⁹ It should be noted that there was not by this point a fixed procedure for papal elections aside from the stipulation (since the Papal Election Decree of 1059) that a pope should be elected by the cardinalate and with a divinely inspired *unanimitas*. The local and number of cardinals required was not noted, providing cardinals with opportunity to exploit the rules when needed, Stroll, *Callixtus II (1119-1124): A Pope Born to Rule*, 58–70; Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 63–64.

²⁰⁰ Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 167–73.

²⁰¹ See above: 53-57.

²⁰² Klaus Herbers, 'El Papado En El Tiempo de Gelmírez, Constancia y Variación', *O Século de Xelmírez*, 2013, 75–92.

radicalism or his historic relations with Diego, was the likely catalyst for Compostela's promotion to the metropolitanate.

To that end, it is certainly worth reflecting on the significance of Diego's achievement and what it meant for his power henceforth and for the memory of his rule. He had managed, within twenty-five years of the transference of the see from Iria, and within twenty-five years of Roman rehabilitation to achieve his ultimate objective. The promotion he achieved insulated Compostela even further from Toledan and Bragan authority and formalised much of the influence he had over other rival bishoprics, providing him with suffragan sees, and giving him extra *de jure* prestige and influence when dealing with other magnates, clerical and lay. Add to this Diego's acquisition of the legacy of Braga and Mérida, which made him the *de facto* papal viceroy in these archdioceses, and one can easily see the scale of Compostela's 1120 success.²⁰³ Finally, it is worth commenting how the assumption of the legacy in particular representing a deepening of the subordination to Rome first formalised in 1095 by Dalmacio. Like the Roman Freedom, the institution of the legacy was used as a means of projecting papal power into distant regions; indeed, it was a favoured means of Callixtus's for bypassing local ecclesiastical authorities and of further centralising Church power.²⁰⁴ It was a privilege he was happy to hand out to allies in the Church and did so to several including Thurstan of York (an ally in his dispute with Canterbury).²⁰⁵ As such, for Diego and Compostela, it also further entrenched the subordination of their see to Rome.

²⁰³ The institution of the legacy, which had ancient roots as envoys to the courts of Constantinople and Aachen, had developed from the time of Gregory VII onwards into an influential role and a sort of apprenticeship for future popes, with fifteen of the nineteen popes of the long twelfth century (1073-1198) having been legates at some point prior to their election. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 146–47.

²⁰⁴ Stroll, *Callixtus II (1119-1124): A Pope Born to Rule*, 5.

²⁰⁵ Stroll, 242–44.

Miracle Narratives, Thematic Convergence, and the Close of Registrum II

Towards the end of Registrum II, and after hundreds of pages of flitting between characterisations good and bad, after the resolution of the war, and after acquiring the archiepiscopacy, Gerald's various narrative threads begin to converge. Aside from a few stray documents and the story of Urraca's final arrest of Diego, Registrum II's last few chapters are dominated by two sets of miracle stories (or *miracula*), which together pick up and conclude the *gesta* themes that Gerald had hitherto threaded through his work.²⁰⁶

Miracle narratives, which were in essence texts meant to record and communicate the miracles of God or any given saint, had a rather obvious promotional function but they could also be appropriated for other historiographical purposes.²⁰⁷ Their very conventions and topoi (simple narrative structures, real-world settings, plausible (if flat) characters, a conflict that needed to be resolved, and a miraculous resolution to that conflict) provided a readymade framework for the telling of moralistic narratives something which, as has been demonstrated above, Gerald was rather fond of. The following discussion looks at the two sets of miracle narratives that appear towards the end of Registrum II. It argues that they both represent creative appropriations of *miracula* and instances in which Gerald subordinated the traditional functions of the genre to the aims of his *registrum*.

The First Set of Miracle Narratives

The first of these collections, which constitutes the fiftieth chapter of Book II, is split into six chronologically arranged narrative sections each of which tell successive stories, all with the

²⁰⁶ The three chapters after the last miracle narratives concern other miscellaneous achievements, including the building of an aqueduct to help bring water into the city for pilgrims and townspeople (HC II.54), details of the construction projects of the early 1120s (HC II.55), and the agreement between Munio and Diego on the archpresbyteries (HC II.56.1).

²⁰⁷ Axel Rüth, 'Representing Wonder in Medieval Miracle Narratives', *MLN* 126, no. 4 (2011): s89–90.

same protagonists.²⁰⁸ The chapter is positioned after the texts detailing Diego's arrest, imprisonment, and release by Urraca, and is followed by details of the post-conflict settlement and a narrative account of a council held in Compostela.²⁰⁹ Chapter Fifty, which also describes Bishop Diego's dispute with Urraca, if in a markedly different way, is situated chronologically with respect to its adjacent texts. The chapter's distinctiveness genre-wise and its proximity towards the HC's only other *miraculum* suggests that it might be one of Registrum II's latest additions. Had Gerald not explicitly named himself as author within them, one might initially conclude that they were interpolations added by a later author with different literary tastes. However, as the following discussion will show, the texts are eminently Geraldine in style and thematic focus.

Chapter fifty is titled: 'Miracles produced during the archbishop's imprisonment in the presence of some Saracens, of whom one is restored to health'.²¹⁰ The title hints at the two different miracle narratives contained within the chapter: the release of Bishop Diego and the healing of a 'Saracen' or Muslim. The two *miracula* are quite different and need to be examined separately before being judged together. Part 1 introduces the first *miraculum* and describes how 'King Ali of the Saracens... on both sides of the sea' sent two Muslim messengers (*Hismaelitas nuntios*) to the kingdom of León-Castile.²¹¹ Understanding that the queen and her son were in Galicia, they headed there, whereupon they found a throng of pilgrims heading west. On the road, they spoke to a Christian soldier who knew their language and asked the

²⁰⁸ HC II.50.1-6.

²⁰⁹ HC II.29-49.4; HC II.51-52.

²¹⁰ *De Miraculis que facta sunt in captione archiepiscopi presentibus Sarracenus et de quodam eorum Sanitati Restituto*.

²¹¹ Emma Falque claims that the phrase '*Sarracenorum rex... que et citra mare et trans mare*' as found in HC II.50.1, was frequently used in contemporary chronicles to refer to the Almoravids, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 383. This is probably a reference to Ali ibn Yusuf (r.1106-1143) the Almoravid leader at that time. For an overview of his life and reign, see: Amira Bennison, *The Almoravid and Almohad Empires* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 54–59.

soldier who the pilgrims were flocking to see.²¹² The soldier informed the Muslim emissaries they were walking to the tomb of the apostle St James to ask for intercession.

In the second part of the miracle narrative, the Muslims arrived in Compostela and were amazed by the church of St James, claiming that nothing like it existed in their kingdom. They then listened intently to stories of St James's miraculous interventions, choosing not to argue back. The third part begins by making reference to Bishop Diego's incarceration and laments the deleterious effects it was having on Compostela and the church of St James.²¹³ On hearing this the Muslim ambassadors asked, with a hint of mischief, how, if St James were so powerful, could he tolerate his bishop being imprisoned by 'a woman'.²¹⁴ The soldier, cautioning against questioning God and his judgements, remained faithful that justice would be administered. Part 4 states that Bishop Diego was released eight days after this conversation. The manner of his release is not discussed here but the text makes it clear that it was the result of divine intervention and that Diego's release was meant to demonstrate to the Muslims proof of St James's power. The ambassadors were amazed by this and apologised for doubting the saint. They did not however renounce Islam.

The above miracle is one of liberation as Bishop Diego was freed from Urraca's custody, eight days after the Almoravid legate questioned St James's power and willingness to protect his representative. In it, Gerald described Diego as 'legate, pastor, and protector of the church of the apostle', underlining the intimate relationship between the bishop and patron, while reiterating Diego's paternal stature. Gerald was also careful to avoid making the Christian soldier contravene the injunction of Matt. 4:7 'do not put the Lord your God to the test' by

²¹² The soldier is described using the classical word *centurionem*, HC II.50.1.

²¹³ HC II.50.3.

²¹⁴ HC II.50.3.

having him rebuke the Almoravid's challenge.²¹⁵ Another notable aspect of this narrative is its shortage of what might be considered typical features of a miracle narrative, specifically: the absence of direct saintly invocation (although St James was invoked indirectly), a lack of named witnesses, and a failure to explain the nature or mechanics of Diego's liberation. While this may seem something of a deficiency for *miracula* which, in their primitive form at least, were designed to celebrate the power of a saint and their miracles, it makes more sense when one considers the historical development of the genre and its functions over time.

Benedicta Ward wrote that medieval miracle narratives could be divided into two groups, those produced before the twelfth century and those produced afterwards.²¹⁶ According to Ward traditional *miracula*, those which predominated before the twelfth century, were rather inward-looking and focussed on parochial concerns.²¹⁷ One example she gave was that of St Faith of Conques, a young martyr who died during the Diocletian persecution and whose canon of miracles is dominated by tales of vengeance and the protection of community insiders against hostile outsiders, regardless of desert; miracle narratives like hers often had a partisan quality where local community membership trumped personal morality.²¹⁸ From the twelfth century onwards there arose a proliferation of forms of miracle narratives, prominent among which were healing narratives, telling stories of pilgrims, crusaders, and shrine devotees being rewarded for pious acts, especially when benefitting the saint in question.²¹⁹ Such miracle narratives were, while meant to advertise the saint and their cult like more traditional *miracula*, conceived by editorially critical writers and compilers who wrote with specific socio-political functions in mind.²²⁰

²¹⁵ HC II.50.3.

²¹⁶ See chapters 3 and 4 of: Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215*.

²¹⁷ Ward, 36.

²¹⁸ Ward, 36–38.

²¹⁹ Ward, 67.

²²⁰ Ward, 67.

One such writer was Thomas of Monmouth (fl. 1149-1172), a Benedictine monk who wrote *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*, a collection of miracle stories that associated the murder of its eponymous protagonist, a twelve-year-old tanner's apprentice, with Norwich's Jewish community. According to Thomas's account the young boy had been tortured, crucified, and then abandoned in woodland by local Jews who had allegedly subjected William to a secret Jewish ritual.²²¹ This death at the hands of non-Christians turned William, by Thomas's telling, into a martyr and gave him a relationship with the divine that allowed him to perform posthumous miracles.²²² Ultimately, the actuality of William's murder is unknowable and for the purpose of this study is not relevant, what is more important are the intentions of the text and the mentality it betrays.

As John McCulloh has suggested, the miracles of William of Norwich were in part motivated by inter-communal tensions. Since the Norman conquest of England (roughly eighty years before William's murder), there had been in Norwich a community of Francophone Jews who had, due to their wealth, their alien tongue, and their Hebrew faith been a focus of resentment for the English of Norwich. For McCulloh these *miracula* ought to be understood in this context and should be seen as being primarily political; he believes that Thomas wanted to tell a story that articulated and projected the monk's own anti-Judaism.²²³ It is into this group that the first of chapter fifty's miracle narratives, with its explicit lack of mechanical detail and its focus on the interpersonal, evidently fits.

²²¹ See: E.M. Rose, *The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origins of Blood Libel in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 235–38.

²²² See: Rose, 93–126.

²²³ John McCulloh, 'Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and Early Dissemination of the Myth', *Speculum* 72, no. 3 (1997): 736–37.

As with William of Norwich's miracle narratives, Gerald subordinated the traditional function of his *miracula* to the argumentative needs of his *registrum*. It did not provide any details about the nature and mechanics of the miracle because it was not, like a traditional *miraculum* would, trying to convince the reader of the miracle's veracity. Rather, Gerald was trying to communicate the fact that Diego's release was miraculous (and so sanctioned via St James and by God), that Urraca's actions were bad enough to warrant supernatural correction, and that even two unbelievers Muslims could see the injustice of the bishop's arrest.

This is not to say that Gerald was willing to leave the precise story of Diego's release up to the reader's imagination. As mentioned above, the events of chapter fifty are preceded by chapters that also cover the story of Diego's release.²²⁴ These are chapters that are however, longer, more detailed, and less miraculous in content, crediting the archbishop's release to Alfonso Raimúndez's intervention and including some of Gerald's most fiercely gendered attacks against Urraca.²²⁵ So, while these two sections essentially refer to the same event, Diego's release from Urraca's custody, they are substantially different, with the earlier narrative containing no hint of the divine intervention and portraying it as an eminently political and personal affair.²²⁶ On its own, it is a story of two rival power bases jostling for control of a provincial city, and the release of a political prisoner. Paired with the miraculous version of Diego's release, it becomes the 'historical' half to the latter's 'hagiographical' telling; the former fills in missing information from the *miraculum* while the latter provides a saintly gloss to the historical account. Read in this way the miracle narrative of HC II.50.1-4, while not typical, was certainly not deficient, rather it was a retelling of a story meant to add depth and

²²⁴ It describes how the young Alfonso Raimúndez laid siege with the support of Count Pedro, Count Munio, and all the 'other principal men of Galicia', with a view to securing Diego's release, HC II 42.6.

²²⁵ HC II.42.1-7.

²²⁶ HC II 42.6.

bolster the defence of Diego while building the polemic against Urraca in a new and creative way.

The second *miraculum* from chapter fifty (HC II, 50.5-6) continued where the previous one left off. It begins in part five as one of the Almoravid legates developed a deadly and inoperable abscess on his face and continues with his convalescence in Compostela. Having seen a faithful devotee of St James's shrine lighting candles, and being aware of the saint's intercessory power, the sick ambassador asked the devotee, a widow, to light candles at the shrine and pray on his behalf. Shortly after the widow's intervention the Muslim was cured, leaving behind nothing but a scar to remind him of what had happened. Part six involves the legate's full conversion to Christianity, his pledge of devotion to St James, and his promise to tell people in Almoravid Al-Andalus about his power.

This miracle story, which in many ways is a rather typical healing narrative, relates a cure and contrasts the pious humility of the widow with the erudite infidelity of the Almoravid legate. This particular narrative is also interesting with respect to the rest of the HC because it is one of the few instances where St James acts with agency. Although St James is a constant background figure in the HC, he scarcely features as a character, and aside from his *translatio* and *inventio* in HC I.1, his power is always implied rather than demonstrated; the traditional-style *miraculum* of HC II.50.5-6 allows for such a demonstration and at a convenient time. To this end, it interacts with HC II.50.1-4 in a rather interesting way. The *miraculum* of Diego's liberation asks the reader to reinterpret the events of HC II 40.6 as being miraculous, something that would be a leap of faith unless one were to believe that St James was willing and capable of miraculous intercessions; HC II.50.5-6 helps facilitate this leap by providing evidence of the saint's power. In this way the three narratives discussed here can be seen to work together:

chapter forty-two describes the facts of Diego's release, HC II.50.1-4 add context and indicate the miraculous nature of Diego's release, and HC II.50.5-6 validate the claims by demonstrating an instance of St James's power. This combination of three quite different *miracula* is novel within the HC and reflects a certain creativity on the part of Gerald in his goal to control the historical memory for the Compostelan party.

To add depth to this interpretation one should also consider the role of the Muslim characters here. The narrative, like its predecessor, is not without socio-political charge, its deployment of the two Muslim figures is especially interesting given contemporary depictions of Islam in other miracle narratives. In his chapter on depictions of Muslims and of Jerusalem in central medieval *miracula*, Marcus Bull noted that miracle stories were 'reflections and affirmations of the value to religious communities of looking outwards and of interacting on terms congenial to themselves... with the world beyond.'²²⁷ In depicting Muslim characters, they were revealing their own prejudices about the world of Islam and its people more generally.

With this observation in mind, one should perhaps think of chapter fifty as containing an idealised representation of the cult of St James interacting with representatives of the Almoravid king, twelfth-century Latin Christendom's religious foe. The story of the legate's amazement and eventual conversion is given extra power when one considers how Muslim characters were usually rendered in eleventh- and twelfth-century miracle narratives, typically, as thoughtlessly violent, thieving heathens.²²⁸ An illustrative example comes from Andrew of Fleury, the eleventh-century author of the *Miracles of St Benedict*, who described the 'Saracens' of Iberia as being the inveterate enemies of Christians, both aggressive and

²²⁷ Marcus Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000-c.1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders' Motivations', in *The Experience of Crusading Volume 1*, ed. Norman Housley and Marcus Bull (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 29.

²²⁸ Bull, 36.

effeminate at the same time, the new Philistines, and successful only because of their greater numbers.²²⁹ With this in mind, one could easily see how a saint who had converted a Muslim (with all the baggage that designation carried) to Christianity would have been seen as especially powerful; Gerald had used the motif of the Muslim to demonstrate St James's strength. Moreover, he had demonstrated Urraca's degeneracy, as she necessarily looked bad by comparison. In this way, Compostela's greatest asset (St James) and Christian Spain's greatest enemy (Islam) are both being appropriated to further Gerald's relative characterisations of Diego and Urraca, and to try and give the reader another reason to accept his understanding of their relationship.

Beyond its internal role vis-à-vis the rest of Registrum II and the HC, and beyond its value as a testimony to the creativity of Gerald's polemical writing, the two *miracula* of chapter 50 are also significant in that they provide the earliest examples of Compostelan Jacobean miracle stories as well as an alternative paradigm to that expressed in St James's most famous *miracula*, those of Diego's other great literary project: the *Liber sancti Jacobi*. Constituting Book II of the *Liber sancti Jacobi*, the *Miracles of St James* contains twenty-two chapters and twenty-five separate miracles.²³⁰ Of these, eighteen are pseudo-attributed to Pope Callixtus II, while the other four are ascribed to other greats from Christian history.²³¹ The miracle narratives themselves have a wide geographical distribution, showing St James able to operate anywhere between Jerusalem and Compostela, and most are temporally placed within the span of 1100-1135.²³² Although Book II of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* is difficult to date precisely, it is likely

²²⁹ Bull, 36.

²³⁰ Coffey and Dunn, *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, xlv.

²³¹ Coffey and Dunn, xlvii–xlix.

²³² Coffey and Dunn, xlix–liv.

that many of the miracles predate the compilation of the *Liber sancti Jacobi* as a whole.²³³ Moreover, the true authorship of any of the work is unknown and unknowable.²³⁴

While the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* contains considerably more miracles than chapter fifty, it still has relatively few compared with other contemporary collections, something that suggests a curatorial rather than a maximalist approach to Pseudo-Callixtus's compiling. He suggests as much in the introduction to his work, stating that 'I have written down...only those that I have judged to be true, based on the truest assertions of the most truthful people.'²³⁵ The central theme of Pseudo-Callixtus's miracle collection is the diversity and potency of the miracles worked by St James when called upon by those worthy of his intercession which meant practically, in all but one of the miracle narratives, individuals who had either made pilgrimage or had promised to do so.²³⁶ Military figures appear prominently among the *Liber's* cast, featuring in eleven of the twenty-two narratives, something which William Purkis notes is a function of its anti-Islamic, crusading ideology.²³⁷ Like with many other contemporary and near-contemporary *miracula*, the *Liber's* miracle narratives employ the familiar Muslim stereotypes (most prominently the 'Muslims as kidnappers' trope) with several of the miracles having St James free Christians from Almoravid bondage.²³⁸ Moreover, and building on the militarisation of much of the *Liber's* miracle collection, St James is described as being a knight and portrayed much in the way of a crusader.²³⁹ None of this appears in chapter fifty's *miracula*. They both are different in scope, and in content, with the *Liber* containing miracles related to soldiers and pilgrims rather than Archbishop Diego and the Muslim legate.

²³³ The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* itself is dated to between 1139- 1172 whereas the miracles themselves are dated to between about 830 and 1139, Coffey and Dunn, xxxix, xlix–liii.

²³⁴ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*, c.1095-c.1187, 141.

²³⁵ *The Attestation of Pope Callixtus* in the LSJ.

²³⁶ Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*, c.1095-c.1187, 145.

²³⁷ Purkis, 145–46.

²³⁸ Purkis, 146.

²³⁹ Purkis, 148.

The differences between the miracle narratives of the *Liber* and those of chapter fifty of the HC, two near-contemporary products of Compostela's scriptorium, exist because of the two texts' divergent aims. In the first instance it should be noted that chapter fifty was designed to support Registrum II and the lionisation of Diego whereas the *Liber*'s miracles had a liturgical function and were meant to promote the cult.²⁴⁰ Secondly, and more significantly, the two collections contain a different image of St James and a different literary way of portraying Muslim figures. Whereas the *Liber*'s miracles showed St James in a militaristic, quasi-crusader guise, posturing to defeat and overcome his 'Saracen' enemies, the more aloof St James of chapter fifty preferred instead to convert his Muslim sceptics through a show of power. This difference indicated either a development or divergence from official portrayals of St James from Compostela's scriptorium. Given that it is the *Liber*'s image that proved more resilient, developing into the Santiago Matamoros legend, it is noteworthy that there existed around the time of that legend's inception an alternative image that was also sanctioned by his church.²⁴¹

The Second Set of Miracle Narratives

The second and final of Registrum II's miracle collections can be found in the fifty-third chapter of the second book of the HC. Unlike those of chapter fifty, which mesh temporally with the surrounding texts, chapter fifty-three marks a break in the book's chronology, jumping back to various points in Diego Gelmírez's past.²⁴² The chapter follows on from chapter fifty-

²⁴⁰ Coffey and Dunn, *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James, Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, xxxvii–xli.

²⁴¹ The figure of Santiago Matamoros, the 'Moor slayer', became an important figure in the Christian Iberian devotional landscape and a patron of Iberian crusaders. He would later become the patron saint of the kingdom of Spain. For St James's later life as a Spanish saint, see 'Santiago and the Shadow of Decline' in Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Ávila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011), 20–47.

²⁴² The author acknowledges it as an anomaly, stating that he wanted to include it lest he be accused of laziness: '*eadem quoque et cetera sub uno ad memoriam reuocare opera pretium arbitror: nolo, stilus meus inertie arguatur*', HC II 50.1.

three and the texts that concern the dispute between Diego and Urraca, and its later resolution. Chapter fifty-four onwards is one of Registrum II's document clusters, which appear in Gerald's work, between his narrative blocks.²⁴³ The *miracula* of chapter fifty-three should be understood as the endpoint of the core story of Registrum II. It also marks, as is discussed below, the definitive end of Gerald's conflict metanarrative and the point at which its various *gesta* themes converge.

Chapter fifty-three is also unusual in that it reaches back into Diego's earlier life and breaks the chronology that Gerald had hitherto maintained. It was this chronological disconformity that led Emma Falque to conclude the chapter was a later interpolation, written sometime after the surrounding chapters.²⁴⁴ Whatever the reality, it can be accepted with a degree of certainty that this text, with respect to genre and chronology, is something of an anomaly. Although it was possibly penned later, chapter fifty-three was still written by Gerald as it bears both his name and his distinctive style.²⁴⁵ A range of dates of production are reasonably easy to come by with the latest dateable event being Diego's incarceration in July 1121, a date that provides a clean *terminus post quem*.²⁴⁶ A *terminus ante quem* is a little harder to discern as there are no easily dateable events beyond the last miracle narrative in 1121 but, given that the end date posited for Registrum II is 1124, and considering that this was likely one of the last things written in Gerald's *registrum*, 1124 is a plausible date. The disconformity of this chapter, both with respect to genre and chronology, is underscored by Gerald's introductory statement in which he asserted his desire to preserve for posterity the difficulties Bishop Diego endured and

²⁴³ See above: 49-50

²⁴⁴ Falque, *Historia Compostellana*, xix.

²⁴⁵ Gerald announces himself in HC II 53.4.

²⁴⁶ HC II.53.7.

the divine favour that allowed him to endure them.²⁴⁷ This was a clear and concise reiteration of Gerald's prologue aims although, as is discussed below, it is not the whole story.

Chapter fifty-three is longer and more complex than chapter fifty. It has seven parts and as many miracle narratives. Five of these parts are based on historical events reported elsewhere, whereas the other two are conventional, undatable and likely fabricated.²⁴⁸ These two parts show Diego administering justice against corrupt officials and underscore Gerald's depiction of Diego as the good shepherd of his flock.²⁴⁹ The chapter can be split into two halves, with parts 1-3 describing incidents from Diego's early career. Of these parts, only part one refers to a known historical event while the other two are the possible fabrications. The second half, which includes parts 4-7, describe Diego's various escapes from plots laid by his political enemies in the middle years of his career, those previously narrated by Gerald in *Registrum II*. As with chapter fifty, chapter fifty-three refers back to and builds upon earlier narrative sections and so cannot be properly understood in isolation. Gerald acknowledges this, noting that he was returning to events covered in the previous book.²⁵⁰ While the first three *miracula* do not refer back to earlier HC narratives, HC II 53.1 does refer to an historical event, namely Diego's presence and deliverance at the 1094 battle in Coimbra. The latter four parts of the chapter all map perfectly onto events previously narrated in the HC; HC II.53.4 refers back to HC I.49-61 (which recalls Diego's 1111 incarceration by Arias Pérez), HC II.53.5 re-treads HC I.68 (where Diego escapes the Aragonese at the Battle of Viadonga), HC II.53.6 reiterates HC I.114.1-116.6 (which covers the 1117 civil revolt in Compostela), while HC II.53.7 recounts the most recent controversy, that also mentioned in chapter fifty, Urraca's 1121 imprisonment of Diego.

²⁴⁷ HC II.53.1.

²⁴⁸ HC II.53.1, 4-7; HC II.53.2-3.

²⁴⁹ HC II.53.2-3.

²⁵⁰ HC II.53.3.

These points of intertextuality are, of course, not accidental or chosen at random, each of them (excepting the two ahistorical ones) refer to times when the bishop faced serious threats to his position. Starting first with his release from Arias Pérez's imprisonment in 1111, it is worth looking more closely at these *miracula* to see how they interact with their previous iterations so that one might see what Gerald was trying to do.

The *miraculum* contained within HC II.53.4 refers back to the first major conflagration of Urraca's reign and the period in which the initial fighting broke out.²⁵¹ As discussed above, Gerald's first account of this period relates how Bishop Diego was betrayed and arrested by members of a Galician brotherhood with whom he had previously been allied, after successfully helping them capture a castle, and after which the bishop had his belongings plundered by Arias Pérez and his men, the leader of this plot.²⁵² In the original account it was a group of nobles and knights who banded together and eventually freed Diego, achieving their goal by applying military pressure on Arias Pérez.²⁵³ Taken as a whole this first tale is descriptive, detailed, and politically-oriented with a consistent moralising tone. The narrative of HC II.53.4 on the other hand condenses the whole story into a single paragraph, sets the archbishop's imprisonment against the post-1109 breakdown of order, and posits Arias Pérez as a forerunner of what was to come, claiming (for the first time) that the knight had been planning to usurp the patrimony of St James from Diego. Most importantly, Gerald also asserted that Diego was released, not by men, but by God's own mercy. It is this addition that transforms what was a summary of a past event into something different, a miracle narrative. This substantially recasts the event as one not fought solely between people on earth but as one fought between the two factions – one of light that possessed divine favour and one of dark

²⁵¹ HC I.49-61.

²⁵² See above: 155-157.

²⁵³ HC I.59-61.

that invited opprobrium. In this dualistic world, Diego is being associated with the light and his enemies with the dark. Moreover, and as told within the first set of miracle narratives, the retelling of Diego's arrest was a new version of a previously narrated story, one condensed and repackaged as a *miraculum*. It is also a further refinement of the dualistic worldview, one that sacralised Diego's role in the kingdom's conflicts,

Gerald's depiction of the Battle of Viadongas was reworked in a similar way.²⁵⁴ The initial account, told in HC I.68, describes how the young king, the count, and Diego reached Viadongas while heading from Compostela to León.²⁵⁵ The group decided to camp for the night, not knowing that they had been spotted by Alfonso I's scouts. The Aragonese army advanced on Viadongas while the Galicians quickly mobilised to face them on the battlefield; they were outnumbered ten to one. Despite fighting bravely, the Galicians succumbed to the Aragonese and their greater numbers. Count Fernando, the queen's cousin and a senior figure on the Leonese-Galician side, was captured and killed. Meanwhile Bishop Diego, fearing for the safety of the young Alfonso Raimúndez, fled to a castle at Orcellón where he had been staying with his mother.

Gerald's narrative records the events around the battle quite blandly while maintaining a typically strong pro-Gelmírez and anti-Aragon bias. It does not describe the nature of Bishop Diego's escape, nor does it describe his conduct in battle. If anything, the chapter has an apologetic tone, perhaps defending the bishop against charges of cowardice for fleeing the battle.²⁵⁶ HC II.53.5's perspective on Viadongas is quite different; the battle and the parts of

²⁵⁴ The Battle of Viadongas was an 1111 battle fought at Viadongas or Fuente de Angos (located between Astorga and León) fought between the partisans of Urraca and Alfonso of Aragon, HC I.69.

²⁵⁵ The count almost certainly refers to Count Pedro Froilan, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 176.

²⁵⁶ The text claims, with some justification from the Compostelan perspective, that the whole of Spain could have been ruined were Alfonso Raimúndez captured by Alfonso of Aragon, HC I.68.2.

the story that occupy most of HC I.68's narrative is condensed into one summary paragraph. The bulk of the *miraculum*'s narrative concerns itself with a previously untold story in which Alfonso of Aragon directed his men specifically to kill Diego, believing that without him Galicia would submit to Aragon. As in the earlier narrative Diego escaped but this time Gerald was sure to credit his deliverance to God rather than any mundane force or factor. This additional narrative does two things to modify the understanding of the event. First, it adds a second line of defence against anyone who might doubt Diego's conduct in battle: not only was he working to protect the young king but he was doing so with God's guidance. Second, it elevates Diego to the status of Alfonso of Aragon's main adversary, an idea absent from the original narrative where the bishop was part of a coalition of Leonese and Galician leaders. The next *miraculum* concerns the insurrection of 1116/1117, as originally narrated near the end of Book I.²⁵⁷ HC II.53.6 condenses the whole story into two paragraphs, which work to signal divine providence in Diego's escape and re-installation as bishop. As with the prior two miracle narratives, the manner of the bishop's deliverance was not described but stated, with Gerald claiming only that Diego survived because 'God protects and defends those that follow the path of truth'.²⁵⁸

Part seven is something of an oddity as it represents the third time that the 1121 dispute between Diego and Urraca had been described in narrative within the space of ten chapters. This third telling, which opens by reminding the reader of Urraca's vice, comparing her with the Erinyes (the chthonic deities of vengeance from ancient Greek mythology), Herod, and the daughter of Babylon, while also informing the reader that the Queen broke her oath to Archbishop Diego when seizing him in Portugal.²⁵⁹ Again, Gerald credited God with Diego's release, packing his

²⁵⁷ HC I.114-116.

²⁵⁸ *Ipse uiam seruorum suorum in pacem dirigit, ipse uiuentes a dextris et a sinistris protegit*, HC II.53.6.

²⁵⁹ HC II.53.7.

account out biblical references and upward-looking affirmations, without describing what he thought actually happened. Given that Gerald wrote about this event three times, and considering that the polemical tone gradually heightened, one can assume that the incident was evidently a source of trauma for Diego and Gerald's preoccupation with it suggests a desire to have the final say. A 'final say' is exactly what part 7 represents as it is the end of an eleven-chapter section that concerns this dispute and its fallout.²⁶⁰

Fernando Lopez Alsina suggested that these seven *miracula* were added to put beyond doubt the idea that Diego and his project had divine favour.²⁶¹ This seems to be true as all the miracle narratives of chapter fifty-three were meant to reframe the older narratives to give Diego a saintly gloss, so exonerating him from past controversies; in this way they had a clear apologetic function. This series of chapters appears to have been crafted by Gerald to help support Diego's position as bishop at a time when his authority and credibility were damaged and suggests an insecurity on the part of Diego and an anxiety to control the memory of the past, while also displaying the combative mentality present all through the HC. The messages that readers were supposed to take from these chapters were that Diego was wronged by a wicked queen; that he was re-instated at the behest of Rome, whose support he still held; and that he had reached a legally binding peace with Urraca as a protection against future incarceration. The *miracula* were meant to give retroactive sanctity, or quasi-sanctity, and so added legitimacy, to his person and his actions in the eyes of the reader.

²⁶⁰ This section includes HC II.42.1-4, which gives a narrative account of the arrest, HC II.42.5 is a letter from cardinal Bosón offering Diego help and support, and 42.6 describes the bishop's release. Chapters 43-48 include letters from Pope Callixtus II and Cardinals Bosón and Deusdedit, offering goodwill and support in re-establishing order in Compostela. Finally, HC II.49.1-2 narrate how Diego and Urraca settled their dispute while HC II.49.3 is a copy of their oath of friendship. Chapter 50 contains the *miracula* (discussed above) which sought to recast Diego's release from custody as miraculous. Chapters 51-52 describe Diego re-establishing himself after his imprisonment.

²⁶¹ Fernando López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela: Centro de Estudios Jacobeos, 1988): 77.

While the content of these miracle narratives is certainly illuminating it is also worth looking at their form as they are rather unusual by the standards of the genre and have idiosyncrasies that deserve close attention. The first of these peculiarities relates to the interrelationships between characters, specifically, the absence of St James as an intercessory figure and the fact that Diego is shown to have a direct line to God and is able to request divine intervention personally. This feature is present in the first of the narratives which refers to a 1094 battle in Coimbra at which Diego was present, and describes how the bishop was ‘protected by the right hand of the Omnipotent... from a hail of darts’; in this telling St James is not involved and an invocation is made directly to God.²⁶² Similarly, in HC II 53.4, the passage that references one of Urraca’s earlier arrests of Diego, Gerald only alludes to Diego’s 1111 miraculous release from custody and does not provide detailed information.²⁶³ Here, as with all the *miracula* from 53.1, 4-7, Gerald gives no details as to the source of the miracles with St James himself being conspicuously absent. The *miracula* of HC II, 53.2-3, which are similar to one another in form and content, do describe the miracles in a little more detail but they are bland and conventional. The omission of St James from miracle stories about his own bishop is certainly worthy of comment: one gets the sense that Gerald intentionally chose a form that allowed him to sideline St James, lest he overshadow Bishop Diego.

For this Gerald did have a paradigm in another sub-genre of miracle narrative: the *vita*. Such *miracula* were, tales that sought to acknowledge instances of personal sanctity by demonstrating the incursion of the divine into his or her life.²⁶⁴ Naturally, given that the saint

²⁶² *Denique cum Christianorum alios cederent, alios uinculis manciparent, ipse, licet inermis, protegente eum Omnipotentis dextera, a telorum grandine, a tanta sanguinis effusione, inmo ab ipsis Sarrecenorum manibus liber et incolumis euasit*, HC II.53.1.

²⁶³ Gerald says only that Diego was released on account of God’s mercy and clemency (*Dei clementia eiusque mirifica misericordia a periurorum proditorum manibus eum liberauerit...*), HC II 53.4.

²⁶⁴ Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215*, 168.

his/herself was the central protagonist and agent of the supernatural in the story, there was no need for third-party intercession, consequently such narratives feature a direct invocation (whether implicit or explicit) and direct intervention. Generally, such texts were used either to promote a specific individual's sanctity or were meant to provide readers with 'a mirror and a model' through whom they might find moral examples to imitate.²⁶⁵

While it is certainly the case that the miracle narratives of chapter fifty-three resemble typical *vitae* formally, it does not seem appropriate to say that they resemble them functionally, with Gerald neither trying to provide a moral exemplar nor providing the basis for a future campaign for canonisation. It is not that Gerald did not communicate Diego's actions to the reader, he spent some time describing Diego's good deeds particularly in parts 1-3, but that he spent far more time describing the perfidy of the bishop's enemies and the ways in which they had wronged him. Put simply, it is unlikely that they were meant to be exemplary texts because there is not much high virtue to emulate. Once again Gerald was subordinating the genre to his own polemical, historiographical ends and was, as when he adapted more traditional *miracula* to attack Urraca in chapter 50, bending them to socio-political ends. There is however one final crucial distinction between conventional saints' lives and chapter fifty-three, namely that it makes no claims of sanctity on Diego's behalf. Rather, Gerald uses these *miracula* to demonstrate that Bishop Diego has God's favour. Diego is shown to be virtuous and worthy, as he is throughout the whole HC, but Gerald stops short of claiming sanctity. Yet in each of chapter fifty-three's miracle narratives, God intervenes directly to protect the bishop when he sees he is at risk of harm. It would appear that Gerald was trying to exalt the bishop as much as he could without actually claiming sainthood. It is perhaps the case that, while still wanting

²⁶⁵ See chapter three of: Marie Therese Flanagan, *Flanagan, Marie Therese, The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 92–117.

the bishop's memory to benefit from the miracle narratives, Gerald thought sanctity was too far an imaginative leap for a man as political as Diego. Regardless, this is another example of the HC's compilers adapting genres creatively to suit their own needs.

Conclusion

When Gerald pulled Munio's *registrum* out of the cathedral treasury he would have found much to admire: a single-minded promotion of Diego the man, a comprehensive defence of his reforming programme, and a rich catalogue, evidencing the bishop's early successes. There was much there he could use. Although it was almost a decade out of date, Gerald judged Munio's *registrum* to be a suitable foundation for his own. To this base structure he added his own history, increasing the volume of the codex by around three hundred percent and recontextualising what came before by providing Munio's work with a new prologue, one which foreshadowed the events of Gerald's *Registrum II*, and which posited a line of teleology from Diego's first secular vicarate in 1092 through to his archiepiscopacy in 1120. Stylistically, Gerald went his own way, relegating the documentary function of his work while promoting its narrative, something that allowed him to showcase his abilities as a writer and a rhetorician. It is because of Gerald's recalibration of the HC towards biography that the work is now known as a *registrum/gesta*, and it is through its focus on its biographical aspect, and his deliberate application of his *gesta* elements, that Gerald prosecuted his literary aims – the promotion and celebration of Archbishop Diego and his achievements.

The content of his revised HC was largely dictated by events that, in the intervening years between the HC's two phases of production, were dominated by war, social strife, and eventual archiepiscopal success. Gerald could not have avoided writing about these. That is not to say that he was not able to use the past as he found it to his own ends. Gerald used the conflict: to

cast Diego as a powerful politician and war leader facing down forces of darkness, to damn his enemies by associating them with that darkness, to advertise and consolidate his ideas and work as his patrimony's shepherd, initiating social reform, to assert his God-given role as his patrimony's steward and protector, while also seizing the opportunity to celebrate and laud Diego as the heroic churchman who finally won Compostela the archiepiscopate. His socio-political appropriation of *miracula* genres further hinted at a creative genius and underscored his storytelling ability. Understood as an artefact of its time, Registrum II reveals a self-confident see that wanted to succeed in vanquishing its enemies' memory just as it had bested most of them in life.

As a unit, Gerald's HC was a largely coherent whole that successfully subsumed Munio's *registrum* into itself, turning its prior conception to the laudatory and polemical ends that were so clearly outlined in Gerald's new introductory prologue. It was not, however, a wholly unified work but a palimpsestic one whose antecedent sat within it undigested. As Registrum I survived intact within Gerald's HC so did its thematic focuses and historiographical priorities, textual features that, shorn of Registrum I's immediate context, were no longer relevant by the early 1120s. By Gerald's time the chapter was relatively quiescent, the Peláez threat had passed, and the visible omissions from Iria-Compostela's textual history were less visible, meaning that much of Registrum I's argumentative thrust had become redundant. Similarly, the differences in tone and structure between Registrum I and the rest of Gerald's HC would have stood in relief to the eye of a critical reader. Registrum I's accounts and records of Diego's various acquisitions and privileges would have retained their relevance however, even if they were arranged a little differently to what came after. From this one can conclude that Gerald did not seek to refashion and reconstruct Compostela's textual past as Munio had done, but that he contextualised it in the light of his own substantial additions. This had the effect of also

updating the text around which the textual community of Compostela had formed. Regardless of the divergences between Registra I and II, Gerald's HC worked as a narrative whole as its two divergent parts told a single and coherent story of Diego's life and rule up until 1124. This meant that while the focusses of Registrum I might have appeared somewhat obscure to the capitular readership of the early 1120s, they were still comprehensible as elements of a near history that had led to the world of the present.

Registrum II is, more than any other part of the HC, a work borne of confidence, victory, and perhaps even hubris. It was written by a man who had been at Compostela since the early years of the Diego Gelmirez project, who had seen that project realised with masterly execution, and who had the satisfaction of writing its official history. As a self-contained narrative it would feel complete – it is likely Diego was pleased with the outcome. One can sense, however, in the way in which Gerald handled certain personages and groups, particularly the citizenry of Compostela with whom Diego never reached a firm accommodation, a certain insecurity about the future. In fact, such concern would be well placed in that, as Pedro Marcio would later learn, Compostela had not reached the end of its history in 1120. There would be other battles to fight and other, less salubrious, histories to write.

Chapter Four: Narrating Decline in Pedro Marcio's Registrum

III

Having been at Compostela since his youth, Pedro Marcio could remember the glory days of Diego Gelmírez's Compostela; for those final years he had an insider's perspective on the slow decline that characterised Diego's latter rule.¹ Moreover, at a time when many of his colleagues within the chapter turned against Diego, Pedro Marcio had remained loyal. By the time he undertook the completion of the HC, less than a decade after the archbishop's death, the world that Diego had known and operated in had largely vanished. In Pedro Elías there was a new archbishop who, despite leading an internal campaign against Diego in the 1130s, had been elected by the chapter to succeed him.² Church affairs had moved on significantly too: Rome was on its third pope since Innocent II, Cistercians (rather than Cluniacs) had come to dominate the papacy, and the pope was, with the backing of his patron Bernard of Clairvaux, about to launch the Second Crusade.³ Moreover, Compostela had drifted away from the centre of royal

¹ See above: 34-36.

² Pedro Elías had been at Compostela's chapter for at least thirty-eight years by the time he was elected archbishop in 1140, having been listed among the church's canons after Diego's 1102 capitular reforms (H I.20). He would rise to prominence in the middle 1120s, coming to fulfil the sort of diplomatic role that Munio, Hugh, and Gerald had all held (Pedro Elías in the 1120s: HC II.56, 63, 64). From the 1130s he was dean of the cathedral chapter and appears to have become a figurehead for those who resented Diego's rule. After Diego's death in 1140 there is no comparable narrative text detailing Pedro Elías's rule the way the HC did for Diego meaning that one is required to piece together his life from various smaller sources. What is known is that he was elected in 1140 by the chapter and that this was contested by King Alfonso VII who wanted to place his own candidate in position. Little is known about his archiepiscopate except that: the chapter remained divided throughout his rule, he promoted the crusade against Lisbon in 1147, and he conducted Queen Berengaria's funeral in León on 8 March 1149, a fact that suggests he was at least partially reconciled with King Alfonso after their investiture dispute nine years earlier. He died on 9 November 1149 after which Berenger (Alfonso's original pick for the see) was made his successor, López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1901, IV:220-46; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 80, 105, 166; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 57; José García Oro, 'Las Diócesis de Compostela En El Régimen de Cristianidad (1100-1150): De Gelmírez a Fonseca', in *Iglesias de Santiago de Compostela y Tuy-Vigo*, ed. José García Oro, vol. 14, *Historia de Las Diócesis Españolas* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002), 54.

³ For the papacy of the later twelfth century, see: Ian Stuart Robinson, 'The Papacy, 1122-1198', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith and David Luscombe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

concerns with conquests against Al-Andalus (geographically to the south of his kingdom) becoming Alfonso VII's main priority.⁴ It was from the vantage point of this world, different from Diego's own, that Pedro Marcio had to complete the story of Diego's archiepiscopate. Moreover, the fact that he was looking back at this period as fifteen years of relative decline from a position of relative weakness, made his completion of this laudatory Diego's *gesta* difficult: there was much less in this period to laud.

Despite the endurance of many of Diego's achievements, Registrum III's story is unquestionably one of relative decline. The challenges this posed Pedro Marcio, who was tasked with continuing a laudatory biography, will be a primary focus of this present chapter. The chapter is, as ever, structured according to the emergent themes identified during the thesis's primary research. First, it provides an overview of Registrum III as a new piece of work and as the HC's final conception, discussing its new content, its less coherent organisation, its moderately refined aims, its approach to including documentation, its production context, its authorial anonymity, the final tripartite book division, and its imposition of a scheme of rubrication onto the whole work. The chapter then turns to Pedro Marcio's handling of the declining royal relationship, outlining the long-standing Compostelan policy of demonstrating closeness to the crown, before discussing how Pedro Marcio tried to maintain this policy despite a real-world deterioration. Next, the chapter looks at how Pedro Marcio narrated Diego's various seigneurial issues, arguing that, while Pedro Marcio's focus on Diego's many domestic faction mirrors that of Gerald, their argumentative approaches were considerably different, given the vast historical, contextual, and authorial differences between the two men and their *registra*. Finally, the chapter looks at changing papal relations between the years 1124 and 1139, how Diego sought to navigate those changes, and how Pedro Marcio

⁴ This idea is discussed below in Chapter Two's 'Coming to Terms with a Strained Royal Relationship', 227-247.

chose to relate them. It argues that while papal relations provided Pedro Marcio with some precious material for his pro-Diego panegyric, there is evidence of relative decline here too and that Pedro Marcio, adhering to Compostela's avowed policy of Roman subordination, opted to smother conflict with the papacy to paint a more harmonious picture. His *registrum* therefore, was one concerned with defence and consolidation. In discussing the above themes, the chapter also touches on other historical and contextual issues, such as the variant pressures of the Pedro Elías papacy, the ongoing conflicts with Compostela's chapter and its burghers, the papal schisms of the 1120s and 1130s, Alfonso VII's shift away from Galicia, and the rise of the crusading ideal within Iberia.

Pedro Marcio's Conception: The *Historia Compostellana* in its Final Form

Pedro Marcio's Registrum III includes the HC's lattermost eighty-seven contiguous chapters (from the sixty-fourth chapter of Book II up until the end of the work) as well as his three interpolations placed within the body of Gerald's contribution.⁵ Pedro Marcio's contribution necessarily includes Gerald's whole contribution within it too as well as Munio's Registrum I. As will be discussed below, the ratio of integrated documents to narrative is higher than in Registrum II, although still much lower than Registrum I.⁶ Pedro Marcio's output also included the HC's prefatory *monitus*, which warns potential thieves against stealing the book (lest they face eternal damnation), and the rubrics for the whole work.⁷ Consequently, Registrum III's author is both the HC's second most prolific contributor (adding ninety chapters of new content) and its most significant compiler too, in that he was responsible for formulating and imposing its final conception.

⁵ HC I.100.1-6, II.57-58, 64.1-III.57.

⁶ See below: 221-222.

⁷ There are several features of the HC's rubrication that point to a post-Gerald production including: a mismatch of spellings between titles and the body of the text (this pertains to both Registra I and II) and the usage of titles which contradict or do not fully align with the texts they introduce, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 93.

Although the production dates for Registrum III are not explicitly mentioned, internal evidence points to a 1145-1149 range. The posthumous reference to Arias Muniz, a long-serving canon at Compostela who died in 1143, provides a *terminus post quem*. Pedro Marcio's delicate handling of any material pertaining to Pedro Elías, Diego Gelmírez's successor as archbishop, suggests Registrum III was written during the latter's archiepiscopacy, giving it a *terminus ante quem* of 1149.⁸ This last point suggests that, as was often the case with the HC's writers, Pedro Marcio was exercising self-censorship, in this instance because he was serving Archbishop Pedro Elías himself; if one accepts this reasoning then it follows that the *terminus ante quem* for Registrum III aligns with Pedro Elías's own death in 1149.⁹

Regarding content, Pedro Marcio's storyworld picks up from where Gerald's left off, covering the years 1124-1138/39 and finishing two years before Diego's death.¹⁰ Furthermore, his additions to the HC were similar to Gerald's in that they focused on Diego's relationships and encounters with the various figures and factions of his day, namely: the crown, the Spanish episcopate, Rome, the Galician aristocracy, and the peoples of his city and dominions (primarily burghers, knights, and his chapter). Similarly, the various confrontations between Diego and these people and groups, confrontations that typified Registrum II, dominate Registrum III's narrative with many old resentments that were seemingly settled within Registrum II's story re-emerging and manifesting themselves as new confrontations. The main content-related difference with Registrum II pertains to Diego's position vis-à-vis these groups; while he was ascendant at the end of 1124 (where Gerald's story ended), having bested his

⁸ HC III.16; both canons were named in the 1102 chapter-list, HC I.20.

⁹ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 86.

¹⁰ The HC does sometimes stray from a strictly chronological narrative path, as it does at the transition between Gerald and Pedro Marcio's *registra*, between which there is a crossover of about two months. It ends with an undated letter from the papal legate and Bishop of Lescar, inviting Archbishop Diego to the Second Council of the Lateran, an event which was held in Easter of 1139 and which Diego would never attend. Given that the council was called in the wake of Antipope Anacletus's death in January of 1138, we can assume that the invitation was sent in later 1138 or at the very beginning of 1139. Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 424, 599.

rivals in every sphere he met them, by the middle of the 1120s he and his administration was in decline. Structurally, Registrum III has a looser organisation than Registrum II, with Gerald's clear narrative units giving way to tangles of narration and documentation. Its organisation is such that Reilly described it as 'being so interspersed with extraneous material as to almost lack coherence' and a 'Frankenstein' whose 'miscellaneous documents lack any overall ordering'.¹¹ As this chapter demonstrates below, Reilly's assessment was broadly correct.

The three pillars of Diego's success (influence with the crown, favour with the papacy, and hegemony over Compostela's dominions) began to crumble as friendly incumbents passed on and as currents of historical change conspired against the archbishop.¹² As is discussed throughout the chapter, Registrum III is a story of narrative descent, during which, and after the peak of 1120-1124, the administration transitions from glory, to complacency, through malaise, finally reaching irrelevance. The story of Diego's archiepiscopacy ends quietly, with the archbishop being decidedly outside the circles in which high politics were then conducted. Perhaps as a consequence of this, Pedro Marcio wrote little of archbishop's final years and his death is not mentioned at all.¹³

One first encounters Pedro Marcio's work in the HC's prefatory *monitus*. In it one finds, like in Munio Alfonso's *uerba auctoris* and Gerald's two prologues, a justification and explanation for the work.¹⁴ Like with Gerald's prologues, Pedro Marcio's *monitus* was an attempt to

¹¹ Reilly, 'The Historia Compostellana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Gesta', 84.

¹² Hegemony is being defined here as simply the dominance of one group or figure (Archbishop Diego and his coterie) over others (all others from Diego's dominions).

¹³ Richard Fletcher was the first to argue that Diego died in Easter 1140. His claim is based on evidence from the twelfth-century *Arquivo Distrital*, a roll of stitched-together legal documents from Braga cathedral which places Diego's death exactly one year before the contested appointment of Berenger, who was appointed at Easter 1141, Fletcher, 'The Archbishops of Santiago de Compostela between 1140 and 1173, a New Chronology', 48–49.

¹⁴ For Munio: HC I.3.2; For Gerald: HC I.P, II.P; For Pedro Marcio: see footnote directly below.

partially recontextualise the prior conception of the HC on his own terms. Pedro Marcio also laid out his historiographical intentions in the prologue to Book III, where he stated his desire: to save Diego's memory from oblivion, to recount Diego's defence of the church in the face of persecution, and to record the goods, lands and privileges Diego acquired for the see of Santiago.¹⁵ While this particular three-fold formulation reflects aims and aspirations broadly congruent with those espoused by Munio Alfonso and Gerald, it does have subtly different emphases, particularly with respect to the legalistic aspect of the text. Munio's statement of intent is rather short, adding up to a curtly-worded wish to preserve Diego's memory for posterity, a statement that neglects to mention Registrum I's documentary function, even though Registrum I is the most document-heavy of the three.¹⁶ In contrast, Gerald wrote at length in the first of his prologues, noting a desire to preserve the memory of Diego for posterity and placing an especial emphasis on the moral didactic potential of his work.¹⁷ However, while Gerald did mention the recording of Diego's acquisitions and privileges in his first prologue, it was presented as a subordinate focus of his exposition and would be omitted entirely from his second prologue. This is not to say that Pedro Marcio was completely abandoning what came before –in formulating his own aims (of preserving Diego's memory while also recording the vicissitudes of his life and the material acquisitions he made) he contradicted neither of his predecessors. Pedro Marcio's main contribution to the framing of the HC was his complementing, streamlining, and subtle reinterpretation of his predecessors' stated aims.

This subtle reformulation of the HC's aims is also reflected in the proportion of integrated documents included within Pedro Marcio's Registrum III. As discussed in the previous chapter,

¹⁵ HC P, III.P.

¹⁶ See above: 148-151.

¹⁷ HC I.P, 3.2; the idea of memorialising a life with a view to the moral edification of future generations is a trope common to medieval prologues, Falque, 'Los Prólogos En La Historiografía Latina Medieval: La Historia Compostelana y El Liber Eliensis', 124–25.

Registrum II tended to privilege narrative above documentation, with Gerald orienting it towards the *gesta* on the *registrum/gesta* spectrum.¹⁸ Pedro Marcio on the other hand, at least in his framing, foregrounded this documentary function, swinging the focus some way (if not completely) back towards Munio Alfonso's original *registrum* conception.¹⁹ The figures bear this out: Munio's *registrum*, which constitutes twelve per cent of the whole HC, contains thirty-five documents within eighty-nine chapters, Gerald's (constituting fifty-five per cent of the final HC) contains sixty-one documents within two hundred and sixty eight chapters, whereas Pedro Marcio's contribution (accounting for thirty-three per cent of the whole) includes eighty one within a hundred and seventy two chapters.²⁰ While these figures are somewhat misleading given Pedro Marcio's (and especially Gerald's) fondness for writing long narrative sections (measured by word count, the proportion of Munio's documentation would be even greater than the figures suggest) they do give an indication of the relative prioritisation of documentation across the three *registra* and its phases of conceptual development, with Munio Alfonso prioritising them the most, Pedro Marcio coming a little behind, and Gerald coming considerably behind them both. In this way, the relative proportion of integrated documents within each *registra*, and particularly Pedro Marcio's increase relative to Gerald, suggests that the reformulation of aims apparent in the *monitus* and prologue was intentional, and that the documentary aspect of the work was being foregrounded for its final conception.

This foregrounding of the HC's documentary function is again reflected in the contents of Pedro Marcio's interpolations. The first of these interpolations, placed within a run of texts concerning peninsular ecclesiastical politics (falling between 25 April and 18 October 1114 in

¹⁸ See above: 148-151.

¹⁹ This legalistic function is, along with the memorialising aspect, was one of the two key purposes of any serial record, Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance, Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, 103.

²⁰ For the source figures, see: López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 97, 301-11.

the storyworld and within Registrum II), concerns, as it states in the preamble, ‘the growth of [St James’s] church, the building of churches, the acquisitions of properties and goods, and the construction of buildings and fortifications.’²¹ It then goes on to describe in detail various aristocratic donations made to the church of St James between 1110 and 1118 that had been omitted by Gerald when he first wrote his *registrum*, as well as the text of an agreement detailing the terms of an alliance between Bishop Diego and Pedro Froílaz.²² Similarly, Pedro Marcio’s next interpolation, which appears towards the end of Registrum II and after a document dated 28 August 1122, lists a number of Diego’s acquisitions, this time the many liturgical vestments, ornaments, and books he had obtained up until 1122.²³ A glance at the contents of these interpolations supports the idea that Pedro Marcio was, as his *monitus*, prologue, and deployment of documentation in Registrum III proper suggests, placing more emphasis on recording the physical acquisitions that Diego made for his see during his rule. One can take this point further and argue that it seems Pedro Marcio deemed Gerald’s approach insufficient in this regard and that his interpolations were attempts to correct his predecessor’s shortcomings.

This inevitably brings one to the issue of intention and prompts one to ask why Pedro Marcio wanted to focus more on documentation and cataloguing. Here, the production context is key. His predecessor Gerald, who had been writing while Diego was at the height of his powers, was able to tell a story of how his master confronted, battled, and beat his various adversaries

²¹ The surrounding texts are HC I.99, 101.1 and the interpolation is HC I.100.1-6; Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 232–38.

²² HC I.100.1-6; The fact of its interpolation is arrived at by its usage of the term *thesaurus* over *catalogus*, indicating language preferred by Pedro Marcio rather than Gerald, and the nature of its reference to Urraca which is both posthumous and respectful (*Regina Domina U. venerabilis memoria*). This shows that it was written after the texts surrounding it and by one more well-disposed to the queen than Gerald; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 92.

²³ The dated document can be found in HC II.56.2 and the interpolation is HC II.57. López Ferreiro thought this refers not to all such objects that the church possessed but all those that had been made or acquired during Diego’s administration up until that date, López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1901, IV:69.

on his path to ecclesiastical and seigneurial domination. Gerald's narrative-centric approach, as detailed in the previous chapter, is reflected in his thematic focuses and through his relative neglect of documentation. Pedro Marcio on the other hand, writing in the second half of the 1140s, was working in a different context – he was working underneath Archbishop Pedro Elías and at a time when Compostela's slide into relative obscurity continued.

Although the evidence for the period is scarce, especially for the years 1140-1167, which were marked by instability and short archiepiscopacies, the see of Compostela was, as well as losing influence, weakened financially and morally, with many of its temporalities being encroached upon by the crown and the nobility; it is likely that this process would have started during the turbulent 1140s.²⁴ In this regard Pedro Marcio's aims align more with those of Munio Alfonso who, in 1110, was faced with a crumbling political order at home and the prospect of a civil war. For his Compostela, the HC was conceived in part as a means of recording and consolidating the achievements of Diego's early rule. One can imagine then how Pedro Marcio was, when compiling his version of the HC, similarly insecure and uncertain about the future and so became more concerned with cataloguing his see's various temporalities so as to provide a physical record of their historical ownership and provenance so as to head off any spurious attempts by predatory forces to despoil them of their possessions.

It is important to note however that while Pedro Marcio did swing the HC's focus back towards the *registrum* side of the HC's *registrum/gesta* duality, he did not swing it back the whole way. Between Registra II and III there is much narrative continuity, both in style and in substance. Unlike the transition between Registra I and II, which was tonally and thematically

²⁴ Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 59.

incongruous, the latter transition is more subtle and harder to detect.²⁵ As López Ferreiro first noticed, there is in the first chapter of *Registrum III* an aside about the transfer of the metropolitanate from Mérida to Compostela, which describes the transfer as being valid *in perpetuum* despite the fact that in the storyworld up to that point, the archiepiscopal transfer was still a temporary measure and would not cease to be so for around another year.²⁶ In the following chapter (the first of *Registrum III*) the transfer is formally made within the narrative and recorded by a papal privilege.²⁷ This *post hoc* narration of the permanent transfer indicates a chronological break between the two chapters, one long taken to be evidence of a change of authorship.²⁸ Despite this chronological break however, the chapters do run together thematically, and no immediate change of focus is evident. The transition is further obscured by the latter two interpolations in Gerald's *registrum*, both of which appear close to its end, in which Pedro Marcio reached back and altered what came before according to his preferences. This, combined with the fact that he largely continued writing in Gerald's mould, blending long passages of historical narrative with sporadic (if far more frequent) supporting documentation, created a sort of convergence in which the distinctions between the two *registra* became somewhat blurred.²⁹ Consequently, one can conclude that Pedro Marcio's approach to compilation was a midpoint between Munio's and Gerald's, one in which the focus on documentation was not overly diluted but where the presence of a strong narrative element was still preferred.

²⁵ See above: 166-167.

²⁶ López Ferreiro did not refer to the three-registra structure of the HC as it had not yet been theorised, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 82-83; López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1901, IV:171-72.

²⁷ HC II.64.3.

²⁸ Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 424; López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1901, IV:78-93.

²⁹ Features distinguishing *Reigstrum III* from *Registrum II* include: an emotional neutrality when referring to Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón (see: HC III.7), a tendency to refer to Diego as '*dominus compostellanus*', the habit of highlighting the fact that Diego baptised, anointed, crowned, and knighted Alfonso whenever referring to their relationship, and the impersonal references to Roman cardinal Deusdedit (in contrast with Gerald's more familiar depictions (HC II.70)). For the full list of literart features, see: López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 90-91.

This blurring effect was enhanced by another of Registrum III's defining features: its authorial anonymity, something which made the blurring seem intentional. In this respect one cannot but conclude that Pedro Marcio, unlike his predecessors Munio, Hugh, and Gerald, who were frequently self-referential and self-identifying, was trying to hide his involvement in the work. While he would often place himself within the text, claiming eyewitness testimony much in the same way that Gerald and Hugh did, he never actually identified himself by name, as was customary when making such a claim.³⁰ The likely reason for this intentional anonymity, though difficult to infer, was likely a wish to look impartial. This desire can be best explained as being motivated by self-preservation, given the controversy of some of the events described, the divisions existing within the chapter during Pedro Elías's rule, and the contested nature of Diego's memory.³¹ One could also argue that he was also hoping to conceal his own authorship while borrowing the *auctoritas* of his late colleagues Munio and Gerald who, while not impartial actors, were by the late 1140s dead and therefore historical figures who did not feature in contemporary politicking.³² If Pedro Marcio was in fact trying to assign the authorship of his own work to his predecessors, then one would have to assume that he did this with a future audience in mind, as he could not have plausibly convinced his contemporaries in the chapter, who would have known of Gerald and Munio's prior deaths, that the end of the HC was written posthumously.

³⁰ See: HC II.68, 87, 91, III.47, 51, 53; López Alsina, 94. For examples from Hugh and Gerald see: HC I.15.5, 117.

³¹ López Alsina, 98.

³² Alastair Minnis wrote in his work on Medieval authorship that, for medieval writers it was the *auctoritas* of a medieval *auctor* (author/authority) that lent a given work its authority. According to Minnis authorities with the greatest *auctoritas* were the ancients although any work from the past (however recent) would carry more weight than any from the present. Consequently, it could be argued that Pedro Marcio, in writing anonymously, was borrowing the *auctoritas* of his two predecessors, men who had left a legacy at Compostela's chapter. See: Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholarship Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 1–12.

There are other features of *Registrum* III that are less immediately comprehensible, among which is the decision to abandon Gerald's bipartite structure in favour of a tripartite one. As discussed in the previous chapter, Gerald's rationale for his scheme of organisation was clear and sensible, stating in both his prologues his intention to separate the story of his life into two books covering the episcopate and archiepiscopate respectively.³³ Pedro Marcio on the other hand wrote in his prologue that 'it seems appropriate' (*Placuit vero*) to divide the work into three books so that readers might easily find what they were looking for.³⁴ Considering that there is no obvious thematic break between Books II and III, and given that Book II and Book III combined would not be too much bigger than Book I it is difficult to understand exactly what Pedro Marcio intended.

Another significant aspect of Pedro Marcio's *registrum* is the fact of his responsibility for the whole text's rubrication, and although this gave him an opportunity to reinterpret certain sections, it is not obvious that he decided to do this with any vim as, aside from titles which occasionally jar tonally with their contents (such as the 'Jezebel' chapter being titled 'the liberation of the archbishop') they seem to largely cohere.³⁵ Like Gerald before him, Pedro Marcio did not attempt a wholesale assimilation of what came before but rather attempted a recontextualization through a series of targeted if limited amendments to his predecessors work – the conceptions of Munio and Gerald remained visible within Pedro Marcio's HC. As shall be discussed below, Pedro Marcio was less successful in this regard as content of his narratives often clash with what came before. The most apparent effects of Pedro Marcio's rubrications are; numerous discrepancies between the spellings of words in the title and bodies of certain chapters of *Registra* I and II (e.g. *galliciani/gallaeci*), the usage of certain anachronisms (such

³³ HC I.P, II.P.

³⁴ HC III.P.

³⁵ 'De Solutione Archiepiscopi', HC II.42.6.

as referring to Alfonso as *rex* in the text and *imperator* in the title), and the presence of other errors and contradictions between title and text.³⁶ It is with all these structural and conceptual changes in mind that Registrum III returns to a familiar theme, that of Diego's relationship with the crown.

Coming to Terms with a Strained Royal Relationship

Successive Irian-Compostelan administrations had sought to maximise their influence over the Leonese-Castilian crown in order to receive patronage from it.³⁷ This orientation was present in many Irian-Compostelan histories, which generally sought: to portray a history of close Compostelan-royal cooperation, to record the granting of royal donations and privileges, and to encourage contemporary royals to grant more.³⁸ One such example was the *Cronicon Irienese*, which linked Iria-Compostela with the kingdom of Galicia's first Christian monarch, King Miro (r.570-583), so connecting it with the kingdom's Christianisation.³⁹ This idea was further developed fifteen years later by Munio Alfonso when he inserted Miro into the interlude between St James's translation and discovery, crediting him with laying down the ecclesiastical infrastructure of the church of St James.⁴⁰ Munio also borrowed from the c.1080 *Concordat Antealtates*, repeating its claim that Alfonso II honoured the apostle by building him a church.⁴¹ This claim was picked up in the 1130s by the compilers of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, so ensuring

³⁶ HC I.46, 48, 83-85, 90; HC II.85, 87; López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 93.

³⁷ There was no viable power hierarchy at this time that did not include a monarch at the top of it. When monarchs were challenged it was not that they were being challenged because they were monarchs but because they were the wrong monarchs., Pallares Méndez and Portela, *La Reina Urraca*, 178.

³⁸ For other contemporary and near contemporary examples of Leonese cartularies being drafted to attract and protect royal donations, see: Shannon Wearing, 'Holy Donors, Mighty Queens: Imagining Women in the Spanish Cathedral Cartularies of the Long Twelfth Century', *Journal of Medieval History* 42, no. 1 (2016): ; the practice was widespread across Europe if not especially common. For non-Leonese examples see: Adam Kosto, 'The Liber Feudorum Maior of the Counts of Barcelona: The Cartulary as an Expression of Power' 27, no. 1 (2001): 16-17.

³⁹ This was likely written during Dalmacio's episcopacy. See above: 29.Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 68; For a brief overview of the historical King Miro's reign, see: Jorge Arias, 'Identity and Interaction: The Suevi and the Hispano-Romans' (PhD Thesis, Charlottesville, University of Virginia, 2007), 30-33.

⁴⁰ This sentences largely summarises the arguments of Chapter One of this thesis.

⁴¹ HC I.1.2.

that the story of antique royal connections would live on through the rest of the twelfth century and beyond.⁴² In his series of short episcopal *gestae*, Munio Alfonso also emphasised the historic association between his church and the crown, most notably during the reigns of Alfonso III (r.866-910), and Bermudo II (r.982-999), who both gave generously to the church and were said to have been protected robustly by St James in return. Emphasising these royal links was clearly important for successive generations of Irian-Compostelan historiographers.

Iria-Compostela's policy of emphasising the links between itself and the crown did not just pertain to its distant past but was also applied to its own time. When covering near-contemporaneous events, Munio Alfonso's depiction of the royal-Compostelan relationship was still decidedly positive.⁴³ Gerald continued this thread; while his handling of the relationship between crown and Compostela was superficially different to Munio's, an emphasis on the royal relationship was maintained.⁴⁴ Gerald cast Diego as being indispensable to and respected by the crown. Most significantly, he made much of Diego and Alfonso

⁴² The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was widely disseminated across Europe, coming to have a far greater geographical reach than any other contemporary product of the Compostela scriptorium, Herbers, 'Codex Calixtinus. The Book of the Church of Compostela', 139-41. López Alsina, 'Diego Gelmírez, Las Raíces Del Liber Sancti Jacobi y El Codice Calixtino', 355.

⁴³ It was, however, a little distant, most of King Alfonso VI's appearances in the text are peripheral if still benevolent. Diego's relative marginalisation here, especially compared with the storyworlds of Registra I and II, can be explained by his relative minority at the time and the presence of Raymond of Burgundy, Alfonso's deputy in Galicia. Regardless, the actuality of the relationship is not wholly relevant; what is most significant, and what lays down the historiographical thread that Munio's successors would pick up, was the clear depiction of royal benevolence: all of Diego's initiatives were shown to have had royal approval and all the integrated royal grants implied royal favour. King Alfonso was shown permitting certain actions, authorising grants, and featuring in general historical narratives which were important to Registrum I's story but in which Diego Gelmírez was not directly involved. See: when Alfonso approved Diego's election as bishop and his 1105 trip to Rome, when the king conceded to Compostela the right to mint coinage, and his role during the narratives describing the investiture dispute of Diego Peláez, HC I.2.12, 7.1-2, 8.1, 16.1, 28.1. See for example Diego's secular vicariate (supported by Raymond, HC I.4.), his second vicariate (supported by Alfonso, Raymond, and Urraca, HC I.6.), and his election as bishop (approved by Raymond and Alfonso, HC I.8.1). See also Alfonso VI's royal privilege granting Compostela the right to mint its own coinage (HC I.28.1.).

⁴⁴ Following the policy of his predecessors, Gerald laboured to show Diego's admiration for the late Alfonso VI and Count Raymond, to posit the bishop as Alfonso Raimúndez's chief protector and advocate, and to indicate his loyalty to Urraca, despite her alleged enmity towards him. See the above discussion on Gerald's treatment of Urraca: 166-171.

Raimúndez's early relationship, emphasising the former's role in the young king's coming of age.⁴⁵

Finally, and before moving on to Registrum III, it is important to note the persistence of royal-adjacent policy beyond the confines of the HC. One such example, as briefly mentioned above, was the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*'s translation narratives in which the traditional association with Alfonso II was continued and amplified.⁴⁶ Another example is that of *Tumbo A*, the illuminated cartulary of royal donations that was put together with the specific intention of commemorating and legally preserving Compostela's history of royal patronage.⁴⁷ Lastly, and most significantly, there exists in the *Voto de Santiago* a document penned by Pedro Marcio's own hand (some eight to twenty-five years after Registrum III): the forged charter that supposedly testifies to a privilege made by Ramiro I to St James.⁴⁸ This last document is especially important for this study in that it demonstrates the maintenance of Compostela's pro-royal policy into the final third of the twelfth century.⁴⁹

The purpose of the above discussion was to demonstrate that there was a common historiographical line that all agents of Compostela's scriptorium maintained between at least 1080 and 1173. These men were, without exception, keen to emphasise a deep historical relationship between Compostela and the crown. This pro-royal policy is also one of several narrative threads that runs through the whole of the HC, and which survived its tumultuous forty-year production history. It was the precedent that Pedro Marcio had to follow, and would later follow with his *Voto de Santiago*, when covering Diego's interactions with the crown.

⁴⁵ See the above discussion on Gerald's portrayal of the young Alfonso Raimúndez: 165.

⁴⁶ See above: 60

⁴⁷ See below: 252.

⁴⁸ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 181–93.

⁴⁹ It also connects the author of Registrum III, with a later pro-royal document if of course, one accepts the theory of Pedro Marcio's authorship of Registrum III.

Unfortunately for Pedro Marcio, the realities of the post-1126 socio-political order, and the events that flowed from it, made it difficult for him to maintain this approach in the same way that his predecessors had.

In the transitional part of Registrum III one can detect the first hint of a troubled relationship and an early example of Pedro Marcio's approach to handling royal conflict. In that transition he copied in a royal letter, sent jointly by Alfonso Raimúndez and Urraca in which mother and son both demanded that Diego not to interfere in the affairs of the newly vacated Toledan see.⁵⁰ Pedro Marcio also included Diego's reply in which the archbishop acceded to their demands while protesting his good intentions.⁵¹

Two novelties in the relationships between the three figures are immediately striking. First, there is the cooperation and unity presented by mother and son. This contrasts with the acrimonious depiction of their relationship in Registrum II, in which they and their partisans fought the better part of a decade. Second, there is issue of Alfonso Raimúndez's apparent siding with Toledo over Compostela, something that seems incongruous given the way Gerald framed their relationship in Registrum II. Upon reading the letters, one cannot help but feel that the bond between the Alfonso and his former steward was not as strong as Gerald had suggested and that Alfonso's relationship with his mother not as weak.⁵²

The suddenness with which the reader is confronted with these developments is explained not by some recently occurring shift or factional alignment, but by a previously incomplete narration of events, borne of intentional omissions from Gerald's prior *registrum*. Readers of

⁵⁰ HC II.73.2.

⁵¹ HC II.73.3; López Ferreiro described as the tone of Diego's reply as 'sour', 'El tono un tanto agrio', López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1901, IV:108–9.

⁵² See: 165.

Registrum II were intentionally deprived of this elucidating context by Gerald who purposely underplayed the point of divergence between Diego and Alfonso. Gerald described how, back in 1116, Urraca and her son's stewards, Diego and Pedro Froílaz, came to an agreement that would settle the fighting.⁵³ While it is difficult to ascertain the particularities of the agreement from Gerald's muddy account, charter records indicate that it eventuated a partition that gave Alfonso dominion over Toledo and Galicia, left Urraca with everything else, and stipulated they rule concurrently until the queen's death. The most historically significant consequence of this rapprochement, which was typically elided by Gerald, was the separation of Alfonso Raimúndez from his Galician guardians.⁵⁴ As part the agreement the young king left Galicia, relocated to Toledo, and entered into the stewardship of Archbishop Bernard.⁵⁵ This had the effect, as Ángel Gordo Molina has noted, of handing the rest of Alfonso's *praeparatio*, (the training given to the heir to the Leonese-Castilian throne) to Diego's main ecclesiastical adversary.⁵⁶ Moreover, and in what amounted to a tactical masterstroke by Urraca, it further divided the Raimundist faction, not only by relocating Alfonso but also by removing from Galicia the person on whom Archbishop Diego and Count Pedro Froílaz's alliance rested, so dividing their party.⁵⁷ From here, Count Pedro and Diego were disunited while Alfonso, now shaped at Toledo, would turn his back on Galicia, instead continuing his mother and grandfather's policy of utilising the Castilian see as the crown's 'chosen ecclesiastical instrument.'⁵⁸

⁵³ HC I.113.1; Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 116–17; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 142.

⁵⁴ HC I.113.1-2

⁵⁵ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 166.

⁵⁶ Ángel G. Gordo Molina, 'Diego II Gelmírez y La Praeparatio de Alfonso Raimúndez. El Ayo y Su Regio Ahijado Según La Historia Compostellana', *Actas de Las Septimas Jornadas Internacionales de Historia de España X* (2011): 28.

⁵⁷ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 116–17.

⁵⁸ Reilly, 116, 243..

If one then assumes, on the basis of this contextualisation, that the letter was motivated by a sincere royal preference for Toledo, one could make the inverse judgement that it was the product of a pro-Toledo king looking unfavourably upon Diego's various schemes. If this hypothesis is accepted, it then follows that the most likely immediate cause for the letter, aside from Archbishop Bernard's death, was a desire to clip the wings of an archbishop who had been overreaching since being made papal legate and archbishop. The HC provides several examples of Compostelan activities that would have infuriated a pro-Toledan crown. In one particularly egregious incident from the previous year, Diego had tried to promulgate and apply conciliar legislation to all the archdiocese of Hispania, a move that vastly exceeded the legatine authority granted him by Pope Callixtus.⁵⁹ Alfonso and Urraca would also remember how Diego, back in 1119-1120, tried to leverage the chaos in Braga to his advantage as a means of dispossessing the Portuguese see of its own archiepiscopal status, a move that even Callixtus II thought inappropriate.⁶⁰ The memory of these rather brazen acts would have been recalled by those in Toledo who, upon Bernard's death, would have alerted Alfonso and Urraca to the possibility of interference, prompting the monarchs to defend their primatial see.⁶¹ In this way, the exchange between Alfonso, Urraca and Diego reflects not just a unified royal preference for Toledo but also a reaction to Diego's tendency to overreach, and the point at which his fortunes began to turn.

It is understandable, given Alfonso's newfound alliance with Toledo, which must have been at least partially apparent to Gerald when he was writing, why Registrum II's author elided the

⁵⁹ Diego's legatine authority applied only to the archdiocese of Braga and Mérida, HC II.65-66.5; see also: Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' Und Die Kirchenpolitik Des Nordwestspanischen Raumes. 1070-1130. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien Und Dem Papsttum Ze Beginn Des 12. Jahrhunderts.*, 443-73.

⁶⁰ Callixtus found a transfer of the metropolitanate from Mérida (rather than Braga) far more palatable, HC II.20.1-2; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 202-212; see the section of Chapter Three on 'Diego the Churchman', 181-194.

⁶¹ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126*, 187.

1116 separation of the bishop from king. In the same vein it is likely that Gerald, had he continued working on the HC beyond 1124, would have omitted the 1125 letter too; it is similarly notable that Pedro Marcio did not. Significantly, and unlike Gerald, Pedro Marcio chose not to contextualise the letters with narrative nor commentary leaving the reader instead to interpret them on their own merits, a fact that seems odd considering the HC's previous unwillingness to relay unambiguously negative coverage, especially when it undermines one of its central narratives –Compostela's intimate relationship with the crown. Perhaps he assumed that Diego's protestations were enough on their own, but it is still indicative of a historiographical approach that diverged from Gerald's and so suggests a willingness to present a more balanced account of Diego's rule. As shall be seen below, the 1125 letter is only the first of many instances where Pedro Marcio appeared willing to show fragility on Diego's part without utilising it for rhetorical purposes.⁶²

If Urraca and Alfonso Raimúndez's joint letter posed a problem for an author trying to emphasise the closeness of royal-Compostelan relations, then the events of Alfonso's 1126 coronation would offer no resolution. In Gerald's account of Alfonso Raimúndez's first coronation, after the Pentecost 1111, the six-year-old was led into the church of Compostela by a procession of clerics and taken to the altar of St James.⁶³ There, the child was anointed and crowned by Bishop Diego Gelmírez, was given a sword and sceptre, and was proclaimed king of Galicia.⁶⁴ In this account, the ceremony took place in Compostela and was performed by Diego, indicating an elevated position with respect to the king; there was no ambiguity and no obvious obstacles to Gerald's glowing portrayal.⁶⁵ The same cannot be said for Alfonso's

⁶² Gerald was willing to show Diego being overly trusting for example when it suited his narrative (as with Arias Pérez (HC I.50).

⁶³ HC I.66; see also: Ermelindo Portela, 'Diego Gelmírez y El Trono de Hispania. La Coronación Real Del Año 1111', *O Século de Xelmírez*, 2013, 45–74.

⁶⁴ HC I.66.

⁶⁵ HC I.66

1126 coronation, held after his mother's death and upon his receipt of her former lands.⁶⁶ According to Pedro Marcio's telling, the various lay and ecclesiastical factions of the realm flocked to Alfonso's court, seeking favour and influence.⁶⁷ Unfortunately for Diego, by the time his party had arrived in León, the king had already left, facing the Galicians with the humiliating prospect of trying to race the king's court to Zamora.⁶⁸ They succeeded in overtaking the royal convoy to Zamora where Diego secured a meeting with the king which was, according to Pedro Marcio, pleasant on account of their shared past.⁶⁹ The differences between the two coronations are obvious: Diego Gelmírez was officiating the first whereas Bishop Diego of León led the second; Compostela was the site of the first whereas León was the second; the Galician faction was ascendent in the first whereas they were marginal in the second.

In this instance the shift in Diego's status between the two accounts was not a function of historiography but of history – in all aspects Diego's influence vis-à-vis the king and the coronation ceremony had waned. This was compounded by the fact that, upon arriving at Zamora, there was a predominance of bishops from Alfonso's new realms of León and Castile.⁷⁰ For the reader, this is the first piece of clear evidence of the shift in Alfonso's priorities that Gerald had tried to conceal. Significantly, the regional composition of his entourage at León also reflected that of his contemporary royal household which was initially had an Asturian-Leonese-Castilian bent, concerned as he was with issues pertaining to the settling of the *meseta*. None of this had much to do with Diego or with Galicia. While none of

⁶⁶ CA II.1.

⁶⁷ Pedro Marcio describes a scene in which bishops from all over his kingdom were racing to get to him, HC II.80.2-3.

⁶⁸ HC II.80.2.

⁶⁹ HC II.80.3

⁷⁰ Pedro Marcio mentions, aside from Diego, two bishops from Galicia (Mondoñedo and Lugo), one from Asturias (Oviedo), three from León (León, Astorga, Salamanca), and four from Castile (Toledo, Segovia, Palencia, and Ávila), HC II.80.3.

this was positive for Diego, the situation was not (fortunately for Pedro Marcio) a complete humiliation, as Diego was eventually met by the king and greeted with full honours; this was all Pedro Marcio had to work with and he made much of it. Nevertheless, the political situation that Pedro Marcio had to narrate was evidently less amenable to Compostelan interests than it had been fifteen years earlier and so was difficult to depict.

If the earliest accounts of Registrum III's storyworld had foreshadowed a malaise between Diego and Alfonso then the events of 1127 were to throw it into the open, confirming Alfonso's lack of love for the see, undermining Gerald's prior narrative, and posing Pedro Marcio fresh problems to solve. In early autumn of 1127, only eighteen months into the new king's reign, Diego and Alfonso returned to Compostela victorious, having beaten Diego's old foe Arias Pérez in battle.⁷¹ It was the king's first time in the city since he inherited the rest of his mother's lands. After arriving to a procession and three days of feasting, the king, according to the account, was lobbied by advisors into asking Archbishop Diego for a huge cash donation.⁷² After initially asking the archbishop politely for the money, events accelerated as his advisors suggested he remove Diego and divide up the wealth of his see. The king then approached the archbishop with his much bigger demands, asking for six hundred marks of silver and three prisoners, specifically, Bernard the cathedral treasurer, Bernard's brother Pedro Estévez, and his cousin Gonzalo Peláez.⁷³ To this, Diego replied (according to Pedro Marcio) that he would not allow anyone to be taken from his city or lordship, be they cleric, lay, or peasant.⁷⁴ Enraged, the king demanded a thousand silver marks without any prisoners and threatened to remove

⁷¹ The HC (II.84.1-3) describes how Arias Pérez, a powerful knight and long-time antagonist of Diego who first appears in the second chapter of Registrum II (HC I.47), decided to side with Teresa rather than King Alfonso, after Urraca's death. Teresa was at this time, and had been since 1117, a self-declared queen of an independent kingdom, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 8.

⁷² HC III.86.2

⁷³ HC III.86.2.

⁷⁴ HC III.86.3.

him from his post and divide up Compostela's dominions, unless the archbishop complied.⁷⁵ Incredulous and doubtful of his ability to raise such a sum, Diego broke to speak with members of his chapter. With Diego resigned to leaving his post, a distraught and weeping chapter convinced him to stay, begging him not to abandon his flock and promising to help him raise the funds to pay Alfonso.⁷⁶ Fortified by this and now resolved to see this crisis through, Diego promised to pay Alfonso the huge sum, providing that he took no prisoners from his dominions and that he requested no further payment, to which the king agreed.⁷⁷ This settlement apparently angered the king's advisors, who pushed him to raise his demands to three thousand silver marks. Alfonso was however dissuaded by a conversation with the 'Count of Jerusalem' who warned him against breaking the agreement he had made with the bishop.⁷⁸ Having reached an agreement, and with the apparent consent of the city's powers, Diego collected money from the clergy and burghers of the city, and the nobility and peasantry of his rural dominions, and proceeded to pay the king.⁷⁹ Shortly afterwards, Diego urged the king to repent for extorting money from his church. Accepting this, but stating his inability to return the money, Alfonso made a series of generous land grants to Compostela, and promised to be buried in the city's cathedral after his death.⁸⁰ He also granted a series of significant privileges which were to expand Diego's influence and power, giving him control of appointments to the royal chaplaincy and chancery, and confirmed in writing his pledge of non-interference in future

⁷⁵ HC III.86.3.

⁷⁶ HC II.86.3.

⁷⁷ HC II.86.4.

⁷⁸ López Ferrerio thought this anonymous 'Count of Jerusalem' might refer to Fernando Pérez de Traba, an influential royal advisor and son of Count Pedro Fróilaz de Traba who had already visited Jerusalem twice by 1127, HC II.86.5. This identification seems unlikely given Pedro Marcio's largely unflattering portrait of Fernando Pérez elsewhere in his *registrum* and the fact this complimentary moniker is not used elsewhere in the text. Nevertheless, it cannot be entirely discounted, López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1901, IV:132.

⁷⁹ HC II.86.6.

⁸⁰ He is joined in this pledge by his sister Sancha Raimúndez and his aunt Teresa of Portugal, none of whom fulfilled it with Alfonso being buried in Toledo cathedral, Sancha in the San Isidoro de León, and his aunt in a small abbey on the outskirts of Coimbra, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 478–80.

archiepiscopal elections.⁸¹ The narrative that describes these events is followed by inserted copies of the texts, detailing each agreement in full.⁸²

Just as in 1127 this event must have been harrowing for Diego, his chapter, and his city, so too it must have been a nightmare for Pedro Marcio when he came to write it, for whom Gerald's narrative of the godfather/godson working in each other's interests was little more than a fantasy. Alfonso's actions here, which were arguably more egregious than anything Urraca had done, would have dispelled in the mind of the reader any illusions about their relationship that they might still have held. Unlike with Urraca however, the relationship with Alfonso was key to Compostela's sense of self and so the author of *Registrum III* could not dismiss the event as an avaricious act from a corrupt monarch. Consequently, when Pedro Marcio came to write this up in 1148, he was faced with the following problem: how could he reconcile this unambiguous assault on Diego with Gerald's prior depiction of the king while, still maintaining that there existed close cooperation between the see and the crown? To this Pedro Marcio applied three different methods, each executed with various degrees of success.

First, Pedro Marcio assigned the burden of responsibility with the king's unnamed advisors who were depicted as being determined to destroy Diego. While not completely absolved (Alfonso is shown to be naive and greedy) the blame is pointed at the unnamed 'gossipers and critics' of the archbishop who had planned a conspiracy and filled the king's head with lies.⁸³ These men were shown to be behind Alfonso's every turn in these chapters, encouraging him

⁸¹ The HC is one of the first texts that attests to the workings of the Leonese-Castilian chancery. For a recent study on the development on the chancery in the twelfth century, see: Miguel Calleja-Puerta, 'El Mandato En La Cancillería de Alfonso VII (1126-1157)', in *La Lettre Diplomatique*, ed. Hélène Sirantoine (Madrid: Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 2018), 115–34.

⁸² The texts of the agreements are located immediately after their narration (HC II.87.1-94), after which point Book II formally ends.

⁸³ HC. 85.2.

to reject compromise and pushing him to dispossess the bishop; it was only through appeals for his soul (and the promise of a large sum of money) that he eventually relented.⁸⁴ The trope of the anonymous conspirators was, as discussed in the prior chapter, also a feature of Registrum II, a fact that both highlights a point of continuity between the *registra* while also suggesting that Pedro Marcio, like Gerald, was unwilling (likely for reasons of self-preservation) to name the conspirators personally.⁸⁵

The second method Pedro Marcio employed was to remind the reader of Diego and Alfonso's historical links and to use them as a way of mitigating the king's role in extracting money out of the see. Having shifted responsibility for the extortion from the king to his advisors, Pedro Marcio then looked to affirm the bond between Diego and Alfonso. He did so with the help of a phrase that was frequently used to describe Alfonso and Diego's relationship, a phrase deployed seven times in Registrum III and only once outside it: it stated that Alfonso was 'baptised, anointed, crowned, and knighted' by Diego.⁸⁶ The phrase's four-point formulation is a succinct summary of Diego's historical involvement in these important milestones of the king's life, one that emphasises the sacramental nature of their bond. It was used by Pedro Marcio in seven separate scenes: when Diego met the king in Zamora after missing his coronation in León; in the introductory chapter to the dispute of 1127; after the same event, where Diego asked Alfonso to make amends; again during negotiations for more compensatory privileges after the dispute; in 1130, placed in the mouth of Alfonso during a dramatised dialogue in which the king asked for more money; when Diego met the king at a council in Burgos after the 1133 attempt on Diego's life; and finally, at the end of the *registrum*, where

⁸⁴ HC II.86.6.

⁸⁵ See above for examples of Munio Alfonso and Gerald's self-censorship: 95, 164-165.

⁸⁶ ...*tum quia eum a se baptizatum semper dilexerat et in regem uncxerat et coronauerat et postea adultum propriis manibus ante altare beati Iacobi in militem armauerat, tum quia regis Adefonsi nepos et comitis Raimundi atque regine domine V. filius fuerat...* HC II.87.1; Gerald employed a similar formulation somewhat earlier in Registrum II, HC I.66, see also above: 163.

Pedro Marcio excoriated Alfonso for breaking his oath and for attempting to squeeze even more money out of Compostela.⁸⁷ The meaning of the four-point formulation is clear: it was meant to remind the reader of Diego's long involvement in the king's life and his role in the most important formative events as a king and a Christian, so highlighting the strong historical bonds between the two men. In each of these cases the phrase was used as a sort of credential, either flashed in exasperation at the disrespect shown to Diego or as a means of amplifying and foregrounding any respect that is being shown, even if it is negligible.⁸⁸ In all cases, it revealed an anxiety about the relationship and a resentment about the state of royal-Compostelan relations. In the instance of the 1127 royal extortion, it was used in combination with the claims of conspiracy, which collectively showed a desire to limit the impact of the occasion, which looked bad, by underlining the strong bond between the two men.

Lastly, Pedro Marcio tried to flatten out the episode by presenting it as a qualified success. As already discussed, Pedro Marcio was, compared with Gerald, particularly concerned with recording lands, goods, and privileges granted to Compostela; this one event provided many such examples.⁸⁹ He was also able to present the outcome of the dispute with Alfonso as a coming together of the two men and as a reconciliation. The episode of royal extortion showcases one method found in contemporary histories, in which disreputable events were explained away or justified by teasing out positive aspects, however small, and by enlarging and foregrounding them, so as to reinterpret them as qualified victories. Edward Roberts describes this process in a recent chapter, in which he details how Flodoard (c.893-966), author

⁸⁷ HC II.85.2 is slightly different as it omits to mention Diego's anointing of the king, HC II.80.3, 85.2, 87.1, 91, III.24.2, 53.1.

⁸⁸ HC II.85.2, II.87.1, II.91, III.24.2, III.53.1; HC II.80.3, III.49.3.

⁸⁹ They include a donation of the castle of St George, half of Montaos, a promise that the king's sister would be buried in Compostela, the monastery of St Pelayo of Sabugueira, and a privilege protecting Compostela's goods after Diego's death. HC 87.7-93. Montaos was an area to the north of Compostela, half of which had already been granted by the king in 1126 (HC II.64.2); José Campelo and Manuel Suárez, *Historia Compostelana o Sea Hechos de D. Diego Gelmírez* (Santiago de Compostela: Editorial Porto, 1950), 31, 358.

of the *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, sought to create a more conciliatory and politically sensitive history for the archdiocese of Rheims.⁹⁰ By reinterpreting past tales of conflict, and by rehabilitating the actions of some of the see's archbishops, Flodoard worked to bury traces of a century-old schism, so as to protect the legitimacy of the archiepiscopal line and to dissuade potential schismatics.⁹¹ This process is analogous to Pedro Marcio's rendering of the royal extortion, in that the relative value of Diego's gains, however substantial they actually were, were enlarged and exaggerated so as to flatten out the humiliation of the episode.

In the eight years following Alfonso's 1126 coronation, Diego continued to drift from royal favour. His interactions with Alfonso were almost all oppositional and Pedro Marcio's depictions mitigatory; in handling them he redeployed the palliative methods used in Registrum III so far. The interactions in question include an 1128/1129 agreement for an annual tribute of a hundred silver marks to be paid from Compostela to the crown, a concurrent attempt to deprive Compostela of its right to mint coinage, a further extraction (likely in 1130) of three hundred silver marks as well as a messy dispute between Diego and his former acolyte Bernard over the behaviour of, the latter under whom he was employed as the royal chaplain.⁹² In each of these Pedro Marcio sought to mitigate the damage using methods already discussed, attacking the extractions but being careful not to criticise Alfonso with any vigour, blaming 'bad advisors' (*prauorum consiliorum*) and military need for Alfonso's actions, and by confecting a story that showed Alfonso treating Diego with respect and dignity, despite the fact he was pressing the archbishop to once again hand over large sums of money.⁹³

⁹⁰ The *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* was written c.948, Edward Roberts, 'Remembering Troubled Pasts: Episcopal Deposition and Succession in Flodoard's History of the Church of Rheims', in *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire c.900-c.1050*, ed. Sarah Greer, Alice Hicklin, and Stefan Esders (London: Routledge, 2020), 36–55.

⁹¹ Roberts, 55.

⁹² HC III.12, 13, 24.1–2, 32, 39.5.

⁹³ In the first of these instances (III.12), Pedro Marcio explicitly frames the extraction as being part of longer history of the crown unfairly taking money from the church of St James. Despite this, Alfonso VII is treated

The only story of positive relations between the two at this time came at Carrión in 1130, where Diego intervened with Cardinal Humbert on Alfonso's behalf, defending the king against claims that his marriage to wife Berengaria of Barcelona was consanguineous.⁹⁴ For this, the king was grateful and gracious towards the archbishop, inviting him for dinner in his palace and allowing him to appoint two Compostelan canons, Arias and Alfonso Pérez, to the newly vacated sees of León and Salamanca.⁹⁵ This was a very real win for Diego that did not need to be spun by Pedro Marcio to be presented as a success. Together with the securing of the royal chancery and chaplaincy three years prior and his 1129 commissioning of Bernard (now at the royal court) to produce the *Tumbo A*, his appointment of allies to the sees of León and Salamanca represented something of a late surge in Diego's attempt to leverage influence over the king.⁹⁶ The period also provided Pedro Marcio with a rare positive to report about the relationship.

gently. In the second Alfonso is described as being influenced by '*quorundam prauorum consiliariorum*', and in the last Alfonso is said to have come and visited Diego in his archiepiscopal palace rather than the other way around, describing his desire to respect the man with whom he had such an historic connection, HC III.12, 13, 24.1-2,

⁹⁴ HC III.14.1; López Ferrero thought that the marriage was probably consanguineous by the seventh grade which was illegal according to the church law of the time, López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1901, IV:165-166; Cardinal Humbert was the papal legate to Diego's diocese during Honorius's latter pontificate, arriving in the Kingdom of León in 1129. Although sent to investigate Diego under suspicion from the pope, it appears that Humbert and Diego had a cordial relationship, Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, Fletcher 216.

⁹⁵ Although the HC does not mention it explicitly, the three men deposed at Carrión in 1130 (Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, Bishop Munio of Salamanca, and Bishop Diego of León) were all removed for opposing the king's marriage on grounds of consanguinity. Considering that Diego would go on to appoint his own men to two of these sees one can perhaps infer that Diego had something to do with their removal, HC III.14.2; Reilly, 'On Getting to Be a Bishop in León-Castile: The "Emperor" Alfonso VII and the Post-Gregorian Church', 38, 48-49. Pelayo of Oviedo, whose career was described in the introduction to this thesis, was the long-serving bishop of Oviedo and famous falsifier of historical documents. Bishop Diego of León had crowned Alfonso in León in 1126 and had been among the small group of courtiers present when he learned of his mother's death. As such, one could conclude that prior to his turning against Alfonso over the consanguinity dispute, Diego of León had been one of Alfonso's closest advisors, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 15.

⁹⁶ Fletcher summed up the worth and purpose of *Tumbo A* beautifully: 'The cartulary was therefore not simply a muniment; it was also in some sense a manifesto. There, neatly recorded for all who might consult it to see, was the record of royal generosity towards the church of St. James, the grateful recognition by successive kings of their special relationship with their apostolic patron and his servants, the bishops and clergy who were entrusted with his shrine. It was a witness in parchment and ink to an armoury of wealth, privilege and spiritual power; it was also a reminder to kings of where their duty lay. Diego was urging this duty upon Alfonso VII throughout the early years of the reign.', Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 263-64.

From 1136 onwards the relationship between Alfonso and Diego was in terminal decline and Pedro Marcio's attempts to salvage something start to appear desperate. After the conspiracy on Diego's life and failed assassination in the church of St James (discussed further below) Diego, aged and wounded, travelled east to Burgos to seek recompense for his ordeal and to face down some of those who might have been complicit.⁹⁷ According to Pedro Marcio, and after judgement had been passed on some of the perpetrators, members of Alfonso's household approached the archbishop and told him that the conspirators had spoken with Alfonso prior to the assault.⁹⁸ Hearing this, Diego went to visit him, demanding a face-to-face meeting.⁹⁹ There, Alfonso told Diego that the conspirators had offered him three-thousand marks of silver in return for removing Diego from office but that he had refused on account of their long-standing relationship; despite the noted tenderness of the occasion (Alfonso is said to have shown the aged Diego the upmost respect) the king still came away with the promise of forty silver marks from Diego.¹⁰⁰ After this, and after an oath of friendship was signed between Diego and the king, many of the perpetrators were pardoned and Diego returned to Compostela.¹⁰¹

In the final four years of Diego's life Alfonso would engage with the archbishop twice more, first in 1137 when he secured two-thousand *solidi* from Compostela to help with his campaign in Portugal, and second in late 1138 where he broke the pact of the previous year and sent men to confiscate goods from the cathedral treasury to the horror of the infirm archbishop and his chapter.¹⁰² It was here that Pedro Marcio saved his most scornful words for Alfonso, describing him as being as money-loving as Crassus and comparing him unfavourably with his father,

⁹⁷ HC III.46.1-51.

⁹⁸ HC III.49.2.

⁹⁹ HC III.49.3. Pedro Marcio was by this point describing Alfonso as 'emperor' (*imperator*) as he had been titled since his 1133 imperial coronation.

¹⁰⁰ It is also one of seven occasions where Pedro Marcio reiterated Diego's history as the one who baptized, anointed, knighted, and crowned Alfonso, HC III.49.3.

¹⁰¹ HC III.49.4-5.

¹⁰² HC III.53.2-5.

Raymond, and grandfather, Alfonso VI, both of whom Pedro Marcio claims would not have dared despoil Compostela in such a way.¹⁰³ According to Pedro Marcio, the Compostelan chapter wished to excommunicate Alfonso for this but, according to the text, decided not to considering the effect it might have on the flow of pilgrims to the city.¹⁰⁴ The Emperor's final appearance in Registrum III comes in the HC's penultimate two texts, both of which are letters directed to Diego and Compostela, and both of which talk sweetly of Diego and caution against violence.¹⁰⁵

The juxtaposition of those two images of Alfonso, first as a rapacious, Crassus-like figure and then as the steadfast monarch supporting his bishop, might seem contradictory but it is not; it is consistent with the HC's authors approach to the crown, of sometimes criticising its actions but never questioning its authority, and of attacking it in one context while relying on it in another – this can even be said of Gerald on Urraca.¹⁰⁶ The vehemence of Pedro Marcio's rhetoric is notable however in that it seems to represent the abandonment of the godfather-godson narrative that Gerald established, and that Pedro Marcio had hitherto laboured to keep alive. What remained in its wake, and what a reader would take from these final pages, was perhaps a more truthful reflection of their relationship – a relationship of contingency and convenience that was more important to one party than the other. Contrary to what Pedro Marcio and Gerald had asserted, it seems obvious that Alfonso had no special affection for Compostela. Consequently, it seems that, as the emperor became increasingly focussed on the south and eastern parts of his realm and as Diego ceased to offer him much of value, Compostela's influence over the crown naturally ebbed away.¹⁰⁷ The story of Diego's life and

¹⁰³ HC III.53.3.

¹⁰⁴ HC III.54.

¹⁰⁵ HC III.56.1-2.

¹⁰⁶ For the variability in Gerald's treatment of Urraca, see above: 172-177.

¹⁰⁷ See: Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 15-52; As Fletcher has noted Alfonso scarcely visited Compostela in the last decade of the archbishop's life (travelling only in December 1129-

his relationship with Alfonso had lost all momentum and so Pedro Marcio had nowhere to turn when looking for ingredients for his narrative.

Instead, he turned to quiescence; the most revealing parts of the latter stages of Registrum III are not what was included but what was omitted, most notably the 1135 imperial coronation, an event detailed in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.¹⁰⁸ As the anonymous chronicler wrote, nine years after his last coronation, Alfonso was once again being crowned in León at a huge ceremony attended by the peninsula's great and good, this time as *Imperator totius Hispaniae*, and by the bishop of the royal city, Arías of León.¹⁰⁹ After the ceremony, the guests repaired to their tents, where they were treated to a feast and lavish gifts from the emperor.¹¹⁰ In the following days those present were engaged in the royal palaces to discuss issues of war and high politics.¹¹¹ Although the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* did not mention him, documentary evidence external to it (and the HC) indicates that Archbishop Diego was there.¹¹² The chronicle focuses on the ceremony's prestigious lay attendees, specifically King García Ramírez of Navarre (r.1134-115), King Sayd al-Dawla of Zaragoza (d.1146), Count Ramón Berenger IV of Barcelona (r.1131-1162), Count Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse (r.1112-1162), as

January 1130, July 1137, December 1138) and when he did visit Galicia it was only to collect tribute with which he could continue to finance his wars, Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 276. This relative marginalization of Galicia with respect to the Leonese-Castilian crown was from Alfonso VII's reign onwards part of a long term trend that would temporarily reverse for the years 1157-1230 where, after Alfonso VII's death, the kingdom was divided between his two sons. Under Fernando II (r.1157-1188) and Alfonso IX (r.1188-1230), Galicia enjoyed prominence in the smaller kingdom of León and Galicia. However, it would fall even further into obscurity from 1230 onwards when it reunited with Castile under Fernando III (r.1230-1252). See: Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez, 'The Kingdom of Galicia and the Monarchy of Castile-León in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 429-62.

¹⁰⁸ CAI I.1-6. Peter Linehan notes that the coronation was held on the fiftieth anniversary of Alfonso VI's entrance into Toledo. He also comments on the fact that the event was largely omitted by thirteenth century historian and archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada who, presumably with the reputation of his own see in mind, wished the gloss over an event in which the see and bishop of León played such a central part, Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 235-36, 400-401.

¹⁰⁹ CAI I.70; the imperial coronation was a declaration of his superiority over the other Christian kings of Iberia, Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 60.

¹¹⁰ CAI I.70.

¹¹¹ CAI I.70-72.

¹¹² Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 50.

well as many other unnamed nobles from Gascony and France.¹¹³ The kingdom's many senior bishops and clergy were noted as having been present although only Toledo and León were specifically mentioned.

Clearly, this represents a considerable drop in Diego's status with respect to his king, having fallen between the first two coronations (1111-1126) from the status of preeminent bishop, to one senior cleric among many, then finally to that of a decorated bystander in 1135. It is worth noting that the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* was not impartial with respect to Diego; written in either León or Toledo contemporaneously with the king's life, the chronicle focuses primarily on Alfonso's middle years and his efforts to conquer Muslim lands.¹¹⁴ As such, Galicia features only once and Archbishop Diego only twice, with each depiction being peripheral to the chronicle's main narrative.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, and despite its obvious historical importance, the anonymous chronicler omits both Alfonso's youth at Diego's side and his old status as the king of Galicia.¹¹⁶ While this is likely an intentional oversight, made by a cleric with interests in downplaying Alfonso's Galician past, his description of the 1135 coronation is, with respect to Archbishop Diego's marginalisation, still likely congruent with the truth, especially considering that Pedro Marcio declined to mention the event at all.

¹¹³ CAI, 70.

¹¹⁴ The CAI covers the years from Alfonso VII's accession to the full Leonese-Castilian throne in 1126 to his attack on Almería in October 1147. While the precise date, authorship, and provenance of the work is unknown, a few things can be adduced, namely: that it was likely written during Alfonso VII's lifetime and that the author had a bias towards and deep knowledge of both León and Toledo. Bishop Arnaldo of Astorga (fl.1144-1152/3) is the most commonly cited candidate although the issue of authorship is essential unresolvable, Simon Barton, 'Islam and the West: A View from Twelfth-Century Leon', in *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, ed. Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 154–56. For more on the CIA, see also: Maurillo Pérez González, *Crónica Del Emperador Alfonso VII* (León: Secretario de Publicaciones, 1997); Luis Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1950).

¹¹⁵ All mentions of Diego and Galicia in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* occur during the aftermath of the 1126 coronation, CIA, 5; CIA 1, 3, 5.

¹¹⁶ Xosé Manuel Sánchez Sánchez, 'La Proyección Política de Alfonso VII: Un Análisis Comparativo de La *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* y La Historia Compostelana', *Edad Media: Revista de Historia* 4 (2001): 146–49.

Looking back from the late 1140s, Pedro Marcio would have known the story of Alfonso's relationship with Diego would end badly and he would have known that the promise of an unbreakable bond set up by Gerald could never be fulfilled in any vaguely plausible history of Diego's life. However, regardless of Alfonso's latterly predatory stance towards Compostela, the basic necessity of royal patronage, and the relationship between influence and success, had not changed, meaning that Pedro Marcio had to make the best of it, as he did by continuing to advertise Diego's victories and by mitigating his defeats.

The above discussion has demonstrated how the long-standing historiographical Iria-Compostelan policy of emphasising close relations with the crown was applied by Pedro Marcio but with only limited success. This was because Pedro Marcio did not have the raw materials with which he could effectively craft such a narrative. He tried, as his predecessors had, to emphasise the few positive instances from the past, to draw positives out of negatives, to remind the reader of the king and archbishop's historical links, and to elide inconvenient events. Ultimately however, Pedro Marcio was held back by an increasingly unhelpful source material that his various methods were unable to overcome and so left the reader with an unconvincing portrait of positive royal-Compostelan relations. This had a deleterious impact on the coherence of the HC more broadly in that his largely reactive and defensive manner of writing did not mesh well with the glorious metanarrative established by Gerald. This created a narrative discordance within Pedro Marcio's HC that any critical reader would notice.

Handling Discord in Compostela and its Dominions

While the subject of Diego's relationships with the vassals and subordinates of his dominions was not a prominent feature of Registrum I it was a central part of Registrum II, where Gerald detailed Diego's various attempts to confront and counter the antagonist factions within and

around his lands.¹¹⁷ Gerald even articulated, through sermons and decrees he copied into his work, an idealised conception of that seigneurial relationship, one concordant with contemporary ideas of the guiding role the cleric should hold over the laity. Although far from this ideal, Diego's dominance over the patrimony's various factions was firm enough to allow Gerald to make such an idea appear plausible, if distant. However, and as with the historiographical consequences of Diego's fall from royal favour, the historical realities of the late 1120s and 1130s (a resurgence of noble discontent and the strengthening of a rival faction in the chapter) imposed themselves on Pedro Marcio as he came to write his history, effectively vetoing his predecessor's hubristic approach. Consequently, he was required, as he was when writing about the king, to formulate his own way of depicting the various groups that challenged Diego within his lands. This section looks first at changing depictions of the nobility, arguing that Pedro Marcio offered a subtly different portrayal that offered nobles a route to redemption for malevolent acts while also encouraging donations. It then considers Pedro Marcio's handling of growing burgher power and discusses his more fallible portrayal of Diego. Last, the section discusses Pedro Marcio's depictions of relations between Diego and his cathedral chapter. Specifically, it argues that, like with Munio's narration of Diego's 1100 election and consecration, Pedro Marcio's sought to bury certain controversies.

An Evolving Perspective on the Nobility

Texts concerning the nobility in *Registrum III* exist in two contrasting forms: those documenting the nobility's conflicts with Diego, and those recording their donations. With respect to the former, Pedro Marcio recognised the potential danger of the nobility and was willing to criticise them when necessary; there was no coyness or reluctance to name names

¹¹⁷ These factions also include some members of the upper nobility who, while not technically resident within in his dominions, did have interests in (or designs on) them. See relevant discussions above: 151-171.

here, as was the case in earlier parts of the HC. In recounting instances of aristocratic conflict, Pedro Marcio appears to have been rather candid, noting specific incidents involving Fernando Pérez, Fernando Yañez and Diego's old enemy Arias Pérez.¹¹⁸ Pedro Marcio was also clearly aware of the historically destabilising effect the group had had, noting during his narration one stand-off with Fernando Pérez (in which the magnate abducted Archdeacon Pedro Crescóniz) the track record of malevolence that the nobility had, referencing the murder of Bishop Gundesteo of Iria-Compostela in 1069.¹¹⁹ Unlike Gerald, however, Pedro Marcio was more willing to recognise the good that the group could do, indicating an open path to redemption.

Fernando Pérez de Traba was a sometime crusader, effective ruler of Portugal until 1128, and Pedro Froílaz's most prominent son. He appears five times in *Registrum III*, first in 1127/28 where his castle at Raneta was destroyed by Diego's forces, second in 1127 advising King Alfonso not to destroy Diego and his church, third when he was expelled from Portugal in 1128 by Afonso Henriques, fourth in the aforementioned abduction dispute with Diego in the early 1130s, and last in an 1134 oath of friendship between him and Diego in which he made various donations to the see of Compostela.¹²⁰ Here, one can see the familiar image of coercive lordship of *Registrum II* continuing into *Registrum III*, before being redeemed by a final act of

¹¹⁸ HC II.80.1-2, 84.1-2; Fernando Yañez was a Galician aristocrat and lord of Puente Sampayo, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 608.

¹¹⁹ HC III.37; At the time of his abduction he was the archdeacon of Nandos, an area which overlapped with the de Traba family patrimony, Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, 217-218; Portela, 'Diego Gelmírez. Los Años de Preparación (1965-1100)', 124.

¹²⁰ HC II.84.2, these dates are taken contextually from the story's placement within the HC and not from any explicit dating and as such are not especially reliable, HC II.87.5, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 474; López Ferreiro, *Historia de La Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 1901, IV:132; HC III.24.1. Alongside his lover Teresa of Portugal, Fernando Pérez had been *de facto* ruler of Portugal since 1121. This ended after both he and Teresa were beaten at the battle of San Mamed in 1128 by Alfonso Enríquez (Teresa's son by Count Henry of Portugal), María Pallares Méndez and Ermelindo Portela, 'Aristocracias y Sistema de Parenescos En La Gaicia de Los Siglos Centrales de La Edad Media: El Grupo de Los Traba' 53, no. 185 (1993): 833; HC III.37; HC III.40.1-3. The lands received were Santa María de Trasmonte, the 'other part' of San Pelayo de Lens, as well as a recognition of the integrity of Compostela's other possessions and its historical rights to them.

benevolence to the church. It is this latter idea, that of redemption, that is novel to Registrum III.

The same trajectory can be seen with respect to his father Pedro Froílaz. After Diego and Pedro Froílaz turned against one another in Registrum II, and after the depictions of the latter darkened somewhat, Count Pedro next appeared in a scene where Pedro Marcio chastised him for striking Count Alfonso Muñiz of Limia in front of the altar of St James, for which the count and his wife donated the monastery of Cospindo as penance.¹²¹ His second and final appearance in Registrum III came with his 1128 death, after which much of his wealth was donated to the church.¹²² Here, and despite his sometime negative relationship with Diego, Pedro Marcio gave him a positive obituary describing him as a ‘prudent, powerful, and intelligent man’.¹²³ In the case of Pedro Froílaz, his reputation was further enhanced as Pedro Marcio inserted an historic agreement between Diego and the count into Registrum II. This had the effect of subtly recalibrating Gerald’s depiction of him, emphasising the collaborative side of Diego and Pedro’s relationship, rather than the combative, and of adjusting Pedro Froílaz’s place within the HC’s narrative at large.¹²⁴ This, even more clearly than for his son, shows how the image of a particular noble within the HC could be rehabilitated by good acts.

Arias Pérez, whom for Gerald was an emblematic figure of knightly vice, appears twice in Registrum III in addition to his many appearances in Gerald’s history, with the trajectory of his depictions following those of Fernando Pérez and Pedro Froílaz.¹²⁵ In the first of these (an undated section likely occurring shortly after Alfonso’s second coronation in 1126) Arias Pérez

¹²¹ HC II.89.

¹²² HC III.3.

¹²³ HC III.3.

¹²⁴ HC I.100.5.

¹²⁵ See above for Gerald’s treatment of Arias Pérez: 156-158.

is shown to rebel against the new king, just as he had against Urraca; indeed, Pedro Marcio makes clear that he was the only person of substance within Galicia to reject the authority of Alfonso's rule.¹²⁶ His second and final appearance in the *registrum* is somewhat remarkable – in it he is described as ‘one of the bravest and most skilful knights of Galicia... so eloquent that he could turn white into black and black into white.. [a man who] was also a malicious and dreadful liar who acted treacherously’.¹²⁷ Pedro Marcio went on to describe how Diego implored Arias Pérez, on account of his wicked past, to make amends for the sake of his soul.¹²⁸ According to Pedro Marcio, Arias Pérez complied (although the specific circumstances are left opaque) and the knight donated six properties to the church.¹²⁹ While the text does not state it explicitly, it implies that this late act of benevolence helped his case for salvation. Once again, a member of the nobility with a history of conflict with Diego, is redeemed in the HC's narrative through pious donations to the church of Compostela.

Before addressing the significance of these depictions, it is worth briefly relating how perceptions of the nobility within the church had shifted between Gerald's time in the early 1120s and Pedro Marcio's own in the late 1140s. As discussed in the previous chapter, Gerald conceived of an ideal nobility, one in which petty knights and great magnates would turn their lives to Christian ends, refraining from intra-Christian warfare, relenting from exploiting the vulnerable, and submitting themselves to the priorities of the Church.¹³⁰ Since those decrees, Diego had twice tried to harness aristocratic power for good, the first at a peace council called at Compostela in 1124, and again at a legatine council the following year in which Diego gave

¹²⁶ HC II.84.1.

¹²⁷ HC III.2. The association of one's eloquence with the metaphorical ability to turn white into black and vice-versa is a signature trope of Pedro Marcio's, López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 91..

¹²⁸ HC III.2.

¹²⁹ HC III.2.

¹³⁰ See above: 177-178.

a crusading sermon, amplifying Callixtus's 1123 affirmation of the Iberian crusade.¹³¹ These councils marked something of a turning point for the perception of the nobility in Compostela; where previously they had mostly been dismissed as agents of chaos (unless they happened to be supporting Diego) they were now presented as a profane force with a prescribed path to righteousness should they choose to take it; that of the pious crusader fighting the infidel and protecting the poor. It is perhaps significant that Registrum II and Registrum III were produced at either side of Diego's crusading sermon and further along in the development of the pious knightly ideal. As Simon Barton recognised, by 1140 the inter-Christian warfare on the peninsula had all but stopped as the various Christian kings and lords of Iberia turned to al-Andalus, a process that Barton identified as the institutionalisation of the Christian fight against Islam.¹³² This necessarily had implications for the way nobles were depicted, most obviously in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and the *Prefatio de Almaria* – two texts produced at roughly the same time as the Registrum III, in which the nobility were shown to be pious agents of God.¹³³ As discussed above, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (and for that matter the *Prefatio de Almaria*) were produced in different contexts to the HC, being much closer to Alfonso VII, Toledo, and the emerging Iberian crusading ideology and so were always more likely to display these ideas more prominently.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, as Diego's 1125 sermon indicated, while far from al-Andalus, Compostela was still part of the broader Christian thought-world whose attitude towards Islam was hardening while perceptions of the nobility were inversely softening. It is, then, certainly plausible that the spread of these ideas is what

¹³¹ HC II.78.1. It was in that speech that Callixtus drew an equivalence between crusading in the East and in the West and confirmed that crusaders fighting in both frontiers would benefit from the same spiritual privileges, Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187*, 129. For Diego's role in promoting crusade in Iberia, see:

¹³² Patrick J. O'Banion, 'What Has Iberia to Do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish Route to the Holy Land in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): 387–95.

¹³³ Barton, 46.

¹³⁴ See above: 245–246.

motivated Registrum III's more sympathetic depiction of the nobility, even if that sympathy was subtly arrayed.

Working in tandem with this new-found sympathy for the nobility was the more prosaic desire to encourage new aristocratic donations. Although it was lost (or possibly never finished) the *Tumbo A* was also meant to contain, alongside its royal donations, a catalogue of aristocratic donations.¹³⁵ This suggests that the administration of Compostela in the 1130s was actively working to secure more noble patronage, much as they had previously sought royal patronage. In this way, one could see these latter portrayals as functioning like the *Pilgrim's Guide* from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* – as a text promoting the benefits of, and so encouraging, particular behaviours.¹³⁶ It is certainly the case that Compostela was keen to project, preserve, and expand its donations from the nobility, as the *Tumbo A* indicates.

What can be seen in these three redemptions-by-donation, is the textual manifestation of a change in the way that Compostela (and the Church more broadly) engaged the nobility. In each of the nobles' narratives the aristocrats were shown to have led morally questionable lives that were eventually redeemed (or somewhat redeemed) by donating lands, properties, and wealth to the church of St James. In each of these instances, the link between the health of the noble's soul and their beneficence towards the church was made explicit. This redemption of their souls was also matched by a redemption in the narrative as the hitherto negative depictions softened in the wake of their generosity. They reflect both a change in attitudes towards the nobility and a desire to extract more from them in the form of donations. It is another example

¹³⁵ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 324.

¹³⁶ With the pilgrim's guide being used to in part attract new pilgrims and donations to the church.

of Pedro Marcio adapting an approach of his predecessor Gerald, who gave little scope to the idea of knightly or noble piety, to newer concerns.

The Archbishop and the Burghers: A More Human Depiction of Diego

Since Count Raymond and the Infanta Urraca granted the citizenry of Compostela a degree of self-governance in 1087 and 1095, the artisans, traders and merchants that made up Compostela's citizenry had been a rival centre of power in the city, one whose growing discontent with Diego became manifest during the insurrection of 1116-1117.¹³⁷ In depicting the citizens, the HC's previous authors had been inconsistent. Where Munio essentially excluded them from his narrative, including them only within certain documentation, Gerald presented a mixed picture, generally ignoring them until forced to acknowledge their role in an event, occasionally implying their malevolence, and indicating their relative independence compared with Diego's other seigneurial subordinates.¹³⁸ By Diego and his biographers alike, they were handled delicately and usually discreetly; Pedro Marcio on the other hand was more candid in his portrayal, demonstrating what Diego did for them, while also revealing the weakness of Diego's position

An early indication of Pedro Marcio's approach comes in his reporting of an 1125 event (which, although rather oblique, seems to refer to an intervention from certain citizens and clerics) involving Diego and Compostela's citizenry.¹³⁹ In his account Pedro Marcio admitted to the prevalence of bad morality and practices within the city's governance at that time.¹⁴⁰ More

¹³⁷ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140)*, *El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 298; *Tumbo A*, doc. 13, 74.

¹³⁸ It is difficult to tell whether Munio's apparent uninterest in the affairs of the citizens was studied (i.e. that there was nothing positive to say) or if it was a function of Registrum I's relatively limited scope. When they do appear they do so tangentially, as the beneficiaries of certain legal pronouncements. For a discussion of Gerald's approach to portraying episcopal-burgher relations, see above: 168-170.

¹³⁹ HC II.68.1-2.

¹⁴⁰ HC II.68.1.

significantly, and more distinctly from what came before, Pedro Marcio presented a scene to the reader in which Diego gave a speech to Compostela's citizens, humbling himself in the name of reconciliation, admitting standards of justice in the city had declined, and that, at times, he had promoted undeserving people to positions of authority.¹⁴¹ In this starkly worded *mea culpa*, Pedro Marcio had Diego admit that 'in the eyes of the divine majesty and in the presence of you all...I am to blame.'¹⁴² The speech, clearly meant to address discontent at the shape and workings of the city government, is followed by an oath in which Diego swore to execute justice fairly and in which the burghers swore in kind.¹⁴³

While the essential purpose of the narrative and oath was not radical with respect to the rest of the HC, its content and apparent priorities were.¹⁴⁴ As with the joint royal letter warning Diego against interfering in Toledo, here the reader is struck by an event that interrupts the prior narrative; in this instance, the reader is alerted to the fact that the citizenry had not been calmed post-1117 and thenceforth still remained a threat. What separates these texts most sharply from the *registra* of Munio and Gerald is its candid portrayal of the long-standing burgher–archiepiscopal tensions in the city and its willingness to apportion Diego some of the blame. As Falque notes, such a depiction would be unthinkable in Gerald's *registrum* and likely politically inviable were Diego alive at the time of its writing.¹⁴⁵ This gives the impression, as López Alsina has remarked, of a more balanced and impartial approach to historiography.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ HC II.68.1.

¹⁴² ...unde me in conspectu diuine maiestatis et in uestri omnium presential culpabilem esse confiteor, HC II.68.1.

¹⁴³ HC II.68.2.

¹⁴⁴ See for example the 1103-1110 dispute surrounding the archpresbyteries of Bezoucos, Trasancos, and Seaya (HC I.34-35) and the 1121 jurisdictional dispute between Queen Urraca and Diego (HC II.49.1-4).

¹⁴⁵ Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 438.

¹⁴⁶ López Alsina, *La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela En La Alta Edad Media*, 85.

While this is certainly true to a point, the absence of Archbishop Diego's lingering glare through the scriptorium door would have freed Pedro Marcio from some constraints, it is just as likely an active function of some of Compostela's positive priorities. Those priorities are hinted at in the beginning of the chapter where, before Diego's speech, Pedro Marcio protested that the archbishop had not been unduly concerned with ecclesiastical issues but that he had struck the right balance between attending to his seigneurial duties and matters of the Church.¹⁴⁷ One could infer here that Pedro Marcio – mindful that the citizenry would later try to take the archbishop's life – was trying to absolve Diego of some of the charges that the burghers would have thrown at him since his death. Unlike Gerald, who was writing during Diego's pomp, Pedro Marcio was writing beneath a different archbishop, and during a time when Diego's memory was not revered by all – with these contextual differences fundamentally changing the author's calculus. It is possible then that Pedro Marcio was aiming not to make Diego look all-conquering and infallible, as Gerald did, but to humanise him in the eyes of his readers and to protect him against accusations that he did not care for his subjects.

Registrum III's next foray in the affairs of the citizenry was more soberly delivered but no less radical. Constituting a series of market-oriented decrees, this document recorded the overhauling of the trade-related promulgations of 1113, instituting new legislation that better satisfied the city's mercantile class. In the text in question, originally drafted in 1133, Diego blandly announced the abolition of the *malis foris* and the instituting of merchant-friendly alternatives, which laid out in detail what could be sold, by whom, when, and for what price.¹⁴⁸ The text mandates, for example, that wine brought from Castelo was not to be sold for less than eight quarts per mark, whereas other wines brought in by sea could not be sold for less than

¹⁴⁷ HC II.68.1.

¹⁴⁸ HC III.33.1-3.

twelve quarts per mark.¹⁴⁹ These decrees, which went considerably beyond those of 1113 with respect to granularity of market regulation, were, according to Portela, the result of a capitulation on Diego's part, one made in the face of an increasingly powerful and assertive mercantile faction.¹⁵⁰ Presumably the *malis foris* here were the laws that the burghers least liked. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the citizens were, unlike in 1113, named along with the archbishop, the canons, and the judges in the promulgation of the decrees, a move which would suggest that the merchants' power had grown significantly over the previous two decades.¹⁵¹ Moreover, the fact that these decrees were included unvarnished and without commentary, suggests that, as with the *mea culpa*, Pedro Marcio's priorities were not to mitigate any potential embarrassment that the concessions might bring Diego but rather to indicate to the reader that Diego had historically worked in the citizens' interests.

The Problems Posed by a Divided Chapter

Like the insurrection of 1116/1117, the attempted murder of Diego in 1136, should be understood as an outburst of mounting resentment at the nature of his rule. Looking back over the texts that deal with the citizenry in Registrum III, namely the 1125 *mea culpa* and the 1133 decrees, one can infer that the focus of this disaffection was Diego's stewardship of an apparently corrupt seigneurial government whose interests ran counter to those of the burghers.¹⁵² One can also get an idea of the scale of the burghers' opposition to Diego, and of their considerable means, from their offer of three-thousand silver marks to Alfonso to support their attempts to remove him.¹⁵³ This story of burgher-archiepiscopal relations reaches its crescendo in Registrum III with the 1136 attempted assassination of Diego, in which the

¹⁴⁹ HC III.33.1.

¹⁵⁰ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140)*, *El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 303–7.

¹⁵¹ HC III.33.1.

¹⁵² HC II.68.1-2, III.33.1.

¹⁵³ HC III.49.3.

citizenry involved are portrayed negatively (as violent, ungrateful, and lawless drunks) while Diego is shown to be the aged victim, cowering for his life in the shrine of St James, being protected by the saint whom he had spent a lifetime serving.¹⁵⁴ In this way, it is a continuation of Pedro Marcio's approach to narrating issues of the city in that it presents a sympathetic, if relatively weak, image of Diego. This narrative does, however, by virtue of its rich detail, reveal more about what Pedro Marcio was trying to do with Registrum III and the sorts of pressures he was under.

It is significant that Pedro Marcio, who was an eyewitness at the attack, mentioned none of its perpetrators, except for Guillermo Seguín, whom he identified as the burgher and principal instigator of the plot against Diego, eventually expelled and excommunicated at Burgos for his role in the plot.¹⁵⁵ As with Arias Muniz, whose name Pedro Marcio interpolated into Gerald's *registrum*, it is possible that he was one figure who was no longer around by the time Pedro Marcio was writing and so was a safe target for scapegoating. Just as Gerald had to tolerate the continued presence of certain members of the *germanitas* even after their failed coup in

¹⁵⁴ The burghers of Compostela were to make one more narrative appearance in Registrum III and it was to be their most significant appearance yet. According to Pedro Marcio, a group of '*epulones*, gluttons, and drunks, and a large part of the citizenry' entered the archepiscopal palace on 10 August 1136 as the archbishop slept. To the acquiescence of some in the chapter, they came armed with 'darts, clubs, swords, and arrows', shouting threats and demands, and smashing things as they went. As the situation intensified, the elderly Diego was awakened in his bed; at about the same time the ostensible instigator of the revolt, one Guillermo Seguín (*Vilielmus Siginidis*), frustrated at not being able to reach the archbishop's chambers, grabbed a cleric in the fray, held him by the hair, and struck him on the back of the head with his sword. Eventually, one of the canons allied to Diego (there were several hiding with him including Pedro Marcio) put a cloak over the archbishop's head and led him across the cathedral plaza and into the cathedral church itself. Pelted with stones from above, Diego and his canons made it into the cathedral before barricading themselves within the shrine of St James (under the altar) for protection. Eventually, and after Diego's assailants had pillaged the church, the violence died down as other canons and burghers from the city intervened to stop the chaos. HC III.47.1-4. The reference to *epulones* was a classical one with the office of *epulo* being (in ancient Rome) that concerned with providing banquets for the Capitoline deities and (in later times) for helping organise public entertainment. In this context (particularly considering its juxtaposition to 'gluttons and drunks' it was likely being used disparagingly against those with an undue concern on the pleasures of the body and, by implication, not with matters of the soul. See: Oskar Seyffert, 'A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities. Mythology, Religion, Literature, and Art', in *Epulones* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1909), 221. For a discussion of the 1136 rebellion, see: Seasholtz, 'Money and Morality on the Pilgrim Roads to Santiago de Compostela, 1078-1211', 217-22.

¹⁵⁵ HC III.49.1-2.

1116/1117, so too Pedro Marcio had to live alongside those who instigated the violence in 1136.¹⁵⁶ As Fletcher has noted, and despite Guillermo Segúin's apparent punishment and denunciation at the council at Burgos, 1136 did not mark his permanent removal from Compostela as he would later be appointed *villicus* on lands within the city's dominions, which suggests that the members of the citizenry who were involved in the 1136 plot were, like some of the canons, still operating in and around Compostela at the time Pedro Marcio was writing – a fact that likely would have encouraged self-censorship.¹⁵⁷

In the storyworlds of Regstra I and II, the cathedral chapter primarily served as an administrative body and a well of talent on which Diego could rely; as the HC often makes clear, it is from the chapter that Diego drew his diplomats, candidates for episcopal sees, and the writers and compilers of the HC themselves.¹⁵⁸ During the first twenty-five years of Diego's rule there had been some discontent within the chapter (in response to Diego's 1102 expansion of the chapter and during the 1116/1117 insurrection) but the general impression one gets from the first two *registra* is that as an institution it remained mostly loyal to Diego through this period.

In the earlier parts of Pedro Marcio's storyworld, this situation endures and while new figures rose to prominence in the chapter and older ones faded away, the community retained its role as the archbishop's primary body of support. However, from the first chapter of Book III, curious events and oblique references start to appear which hint at acrimony behind the scenes. Textually, the precursor of this downturn (and perhaps its immediate historical cause) was the

¹⁵⁶ See above for Gerald's self-censorship: 164-165.

¹⁵⁷ Guillermo Segúin was appointed *villicus* shortly after Diego's death (1141-42) and again several years later (1149-59) Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 189;

¹⁵⁸ Munio Alfonso and Hugh are prime examples in this regard, having been asked to fulfil each of these duties.

1127/1128 royal extortion in which Alfonso extracted huge sums of money from Compostela's city and see. According to Pedro Marcio's narration of the event, Diego had to levy money from the chapter to pay this ransom.¹⁵⁹ And while Pedro Marcio did write that the chapter were desperate to retain Diego and that they were relieved he remained, it is likely that they would have resented paying and that some of them would have partially blamed Diego.¹⁶⁰ It is surely not a coincidence that among the privileges that Alfonso granted Compostela in the wake of his extortion was the extremely valuable assurance that the Compostelan chapter could, in all future elections, elect their own archbishop without royal interference.¹⁶¹ Although such non-interference was technically an ancient right of the see, and although the Latin West had just spent half a century fighting with itself over lay investiture, monarchs still sought to impose themselves on episcopal elections.¹⁶² Furthermore, given Compostela's wealth and influence one must conclude that this privilege was bought at considerable expense and effort on Diego's part, perhaps with a view to calming a restive chapter. If one accepts this thesis, then the 1129 privilege would represent the first point at which capitular disquiet became evident in Registrum III. Its inclusion by Pedro Marcio also shows that the document was important to Diego's memory, perhaps as a memento of the work he did for his chapter.

Shortly after the royal privilege, discontent in the chapter starts to become more apparent. In the opening chapter of Book III, there appears a set of texts that are structurally similar to the 1125 *mea culpa* in that they lay out the nature of the problem that had to be solved before

¹⁵⁹ Initially Diego raised money from pilgrims, the chapter, the city's burghers (some given and some lent) while also contributing some from his own pocket. This was not enough however and so he then had to turn to the nobility within his dominions and ultimately the peasantry beneath them, II.86.6.

¹⁶⁰ According to Pedro Marcio, when the chapter heard that Diego might be removed from the see, they began to cry and said 'why father, do you want to abandon us? Why do you want to leave us desolate?' HC II.86.3.

¹⁶¹ Reglero de la Fuente, 'Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos', 220–30.

¹⁶² The papacy had a relative weakness in the Kingdom of León for some decades after Worms, Reilly, 'On Getting to Be a Bishop in León-Castile: The "Emperor" Alfonso VII and the Post-Gregorian Church', 38–39.

having Diego address it in direct speech.¹⁶³ The problem was, as Pedro Marcio articulated, the fact that the city's cathedral, despite it being forty-seven years since construction began, did not yet have a cloister; this meant that the canons lived elsewhere, a considerable embarrassment when one considers the wealth of the see.¹⁶⁴ It was a grievance that Pedro Marcio openly acknowledged. In his speech to the assembled chapter, Pedro Marcio has Diego acknowledge this fact, promise to resolve it, and appoint senior members of the chapter Pedro Elías and Pedro Gundesíndez to oversee the its construction.¹⁶⁵ Pedro Elías's appearance here is especially significant, both to this particular narrative and to *Registrum III* more broadly. While this has been presented as a rather cordial affair, with the historically loyal Pedro Elías helping his master, it was to Portela's mind more likely the papering over of a dispute led by Pedro Elías (as the dean the most senior member of the chapter) in which the instigator was given responsibility for the dispute's resolution.¹⁶⁶ Although barely perceptible, these texts likely represent the first manifestation of conflict between Compostela's two most powerful men.

The depiction also offers an insight into some of the historiographical constraints Pedro Marcio was working within as well as some of the ways he tried to adapt. First, he was, considering the pseudo-authorial nature of his work, at least partially bound to Gerald's prior conception; as such, he was required to write a biography that meshed with his predecessor's by celebrating the archbishop and his achievements.¹⁶⁷ And yet, while Pedro Marcio was willing to depart somewhat from the heroic, quasi-saintly image of Diego maintained through *Registrum II*, he could not depart too far lest the HC lose its internal coherence. Moreover, writing under

¹⁶³ HC III.1.

¹⁶⁴ HC III.1.

¹⁶⁵ HC III.1.

¹⁶⁶ HC III.1.

¹⁶⁷ Chapter Three of this thesis characterises *Registrum II* as being about glorifying in Diego's achievements.

Archbishop Pedro Elías as he was, who would almost certainly have had some editorial control, he was required to flatten out some of the differences between the incumbent and his predecessor so as to avoid disparaging his current master. The collision of these competing priorities resulted in a version of events that occluded the dispute and made it seem more congenial and cooperative than it likely was.

To this end Pedro Marcio also included within Registrum III a couple of texts that sought to support that collegiate spirit (or at least) sought to demonstrate to his contemporaries that Diego did work to assuage their differences. The first of these, which appears at the end of Book II, was likely a later addition meant to further support this end, since it was dated to 1123 (and so five years out of the text's chronology).¹⁶⁸ It contains within it a record that preserved and protected the incomes of the chapter, which were the primary means by which they sustained themselves and maintained their operational independence from the archbishop.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, if one considers that (as Diego decreed in 1113) clerics were no longer permitted to earn money in the service of laypersons, one soon realises the importance of these revenue streams to the chapter.¹⁷⁰ As Fletcher has observed, the procedures and ratios according to which a see's temporal incomes were divided between bishop and chapter had not been standardised by 1100 and would only move towards formalisation gradually over the next century and a half, so creating an ambiguity that necessarily led to disagreements between the interested parties.¹⁷¹ Even after formal agreements had been reached between chapter and bishop, arguments could erupt periodically if the chapter felt they deserved a larger share, as happened with the bishop of Astorga and his chapter in 1129 and with Bishop Diego of León

¹⁶⁸ HC II.94.

¹⁶⁹ Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 149.

¹⁷⁰ See above: 178-179.

¹⁷¹ Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 148-49.

and his in 1116.¹⁷² Like much else in the twelfth century these were the growing pains of two institutions that were both dependent on one another and in flux, developing and learning in real time how to accommodate each other's interests.¹⁷³ Read in this light, then, and considering the fact of the 1123 text's later interpolation by Pedro Marcio, one could understand the document's inclusion as being used to evidence, as with Diego's move to build the cloisters, the archbishop's benevolence towards his chapter. This in turn likely reflects a chapter that was at that time growing frustration at not receiving (what they thought was) a fair share of the church's incomes.

A later chapter of Registrum III, which concerns the restoration and improvement of various church buildings, would appear to fulfil a similar function, detailing Diego's various achievements in that regard (most notably his 1102 reforms) while also comparing him favourably with his predecessor bishops of Iria-Compostela.¹⁷⁴ It also recorded the 1134 completion of the cloister that the chapter had been demanding, as well as the restoration of the old church and cloister at Iria (which had become somewhat moribund since the transfer of the episcopal see in 1095), so demonstrating Diego's seriousness in addressing capitular demands.¹⁷⁵ Pedro Marcio was putting together his case for Diego's defence.

There occurred in 1135 however an event whose inclusion in Registrum III upsets the narrative of co-operation while also shedding light on the real state of archiepiscopal-capitular relations. According to the chapters that relate the story (and the story is narrated twice in separate chapters) Bernard, Diego's 1127 appointment to the royal chancery and the compiler of *Tumbo*

¹⁷² Reglero de la Fuente, 'Los Obispos y Sus Sedes En Los Reinos Hispánicos', 267.

¹⁷³ As the archiepiscopacy grew as an institution so too did the chapter as it would continue to do for the next century or so, Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, 148–50.

¹⁷⁴ HC III.36.1.

¹⁷⁵ HC III.36.2-3.

A, was imprisoned by Diego for conspiring against the king.¹⁷⁶ The precise sequence of events is hard to unpick because Pedro Marcio was clearly choosing his words carefully, writing that Diego imprisoned Bernard alongside Pedro Elías at the king's behest and with great sadness; later however, after intervention from the papal legate Guy, he was forced to release them and return their possessions and wealth.¹⁷⁷ While this is hard to make sense of, Fletcher believed that the story was largely a confection and that what actually happened was that Diego, frustrated at his limited contact with Bernard at the royal court, whom Diego had placed there with the express wish of maintaining influence with Alfonso, had lashed out at his treasurer and had disposed of him until forced to reverse his decision when Guy intervened.¹⁷⁸ While this is difficult to prove, it is the case that the story has dark corners and that Pedro Marcio was concealing something from the reader. Pedro Elías's role is especially significant as the events surrounding (and rationale for) his imprisonment and release are almost entirely occluded, with Pedro Marcio stating only that the dean was imprisoned along with Bernard, that Diego was sad to imprison him on account of their long-standing relationship, and that he was later freed.¹⁷⁹ It is probable that the dark corners in the narrative were hiding Pedro Elías's involvement in some activity that Diego seriously disapproved of. Furthermore, it is also likely that Bernard and Pedro Elías worked together and that whatever was being hidden from the reader was the work of a broader group working against the archbishop's wishes. Portela's opinion is that the two men had become centres of organised opposition within the chapter and that they must have done something serious to elicit such a response, having previously been among his closest allies.¹⁸⁰ The fact that Pedro Elías received rather flat write up compared

¹⁷⁶ HC III.32, 39.1-5.

¹⁷⁷ HC III.39.3-5.

¹⁷⁸ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 280.

¹⁷⁹ HC III.39.2-4.

¹⁸⁰ Portela, *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065-1140), El Báculo y La Ballesta*, 255-58.

with his ally Bernard also suggests that self-censorship was at play. If nothing else here, Pedro Marcio succeeded in muddying the waters for future historians.

The climax of Registrum III and the chapter's involvement in it is the point at which the outlines of the capitular divides become a little sharper and the point at which Pedro Elías's rationale for authorising the completion of the HC becomes a little clearer. In his account of the 1136 murder attempt, Pedro Marcio remarked how the rabble of laypersons who perpetrated it were led by the canons *maiores*, that is, the senior members of the chapter who had been raised and educated by Diego since youth.¹⁸¹ These senior members of the chapter were contrasted with a group of canons who remained faithful to Diego, many of whom, like Pedro Marcio himself, were apparently present with Diego on that day; he refers to them as the *honeste canonici*.¹⁸² While Pedro Marcio does not name any names here, certain things can be inferred about the composition of the groups. Aside from Pedro Marcio it is hard to identify any persons from the latter group. One could perhaps infer from the labelling of the other group as the *maiores* that they were younger than their mutinous colleagues. In the former group one could place Arias Muniz, whose death allowed Pedro Marcio to place him into Gerald's work, as well as Pedro Elías himself, the putative leader of an older faction who believed their time had come to oversee Compostela. One could perhaps add Pedro Anáyez to this list, indeed, as Reilly has noted, his appointments to the of León in 1135 was ignored by the HC, a fact that suggests he had become estranged from the archbishop and that they were no longer aligned.¹⁸³ Once again, the anonymity is significant – Pedro Marcio could name those involved if they

¹⁸¹ HC III.46.

¹⁸² HC III.46.2.

¹⁸³ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 249.

were still around as he was writing, as many of them surely were – a fact supported by his willingness to criticise those, like Guillermo Seguíñ, who were not.¹⁸⁴

This is also then the likely reason for Pedro Elías's involvement in the compilation of Registrum III. Pedro Elías knew Diego better than most; he knew much of what he had achieved and that much of what he had inherited in 1140 was a result of the archbishop's efforts. He had also served him loyally for many years before turning against him. Whatever the personal issues between them in the 1130s he must still have admired Diego's accomplishments. Consequently, and especially considering the difficult situation he found himself in during his own archiepiscopacy, he wanted to use Diego's story to protect and exalt his see while also being careful to exonerate himself in Diego's downfall. It is also probable that, considering the endurance of the chapter's factions from Diego's rule and into Pedro Elías's, the new archbishop wished to write a history that somewhat set him apart from the infighting.¹⁸⁵ So, if one accepts Portela's thesis that Pedro Elías, as dean of the cathedral and most senior Compostelan after Diego, moved against him in 1136, as he had likely done several years earlier, we can understand why Pedro Elías the archbishop would want to erase much of that story from history – it was much better to shape and temper history to his own ends than to be damned by it. To reiterate, it is this imperative – the self-preservation of Pedro Elías – and its near-incompatibility with the traditional aims of the HC – the exaltation of Diego – that gives Registrum III its confused sense of purpose. Finally, it also Pedro Marcio's concealment of Pedro Elías's role in Diego's capitular misfortune and in the drafting of Registrum III that accounts for the various occlusions and dark corners present in this narrative.

¹⁸⁴ See above for discussion on Guillermo Seguíñ: 256-258.

¹⁸⁵ García Oro, *Iglesias de Santiago de Compostela y Tuy-Vigo*, 52.

Adapting to a Changing Ecclesiastical Order

Ecclesiastical issues were of paramount importance for Munio Alfonso, Gerald, and Hugh, particularly with respect to Rome. For each of them the exaltation of the church, via Roman patronage and at the expense of their peninsular rivals Toledo and Braga (as well as other less-esteemed sees), was a key historiographical aim and a subject for exposition. The original HC had been largely conceived as the official story of Compostela's rise through the Romanising ecclesiological order, while Gerald's celebration of the archiepiscopacy was the culmination of that earlier promise. Unfortunately for Pedro Marcio, this narrative was hard to maintain as, much like in the other spheres of Diego's life, Compostela's position within the Church had begun to fade by the mid-1120s. However, and contrary to the story of his relations with the crown and his subjects, Diego's status as a churchman proved more durable and as such, he was able to retain his prestige until the end. This meant that, when compared with the stories of Alfonso and Diego's subjects, Pedro Marcio's job was a little different and that he had more to work with when putting together his narrative. As ever, his rendering of events was complex, varied, and reflective of the times.

Callixtus's Last Gift to Compostela

As has been re-iterated several times in this thesis, one of the HC's primary aims through all its production phases was the communication and celebration of Compostela's close ties with Rome and the advertisement of the benefits this relationship brought. This was true for Munio and Gerald and applied to whichever pope or papacy they were writing about; a recognition of Compostela's formal subordination and political and doctrinal loyalty to Rome was a *sine qua non* for the HC's compilers and was the cornerstone of the ideology upon which the post-Irian episcopacy was built. It was not then a line from which Pedro Marcio would or could practically

abandon even if, as happened, papal relations degenerated in such a way that made this position harder to maintain.

Because Callixtus's papacy straddled the narrative boundaries of Registra II and III, Pedro Marcio was initially able to hold this line and continue reporting on some of the successes that Diego yielded from that most congenial pope. The first of these (placed within that transitional run of texts at the Registrum II and Registrum III boundary) is a letter from Callixtus asking Diego to intervene in Portugal where Teresa had recently imprisoned Paio, her archbishop of Braga.¹⁸⁶ The rationale for including this letter is straightforward in that it demonstrates Callixtus's trust in Diego, shows Diego to be politically influential, and hints at a certain seniority over Braga. It was a flattering letter that supported the HC's traditional metanarrative. Calixtus's second and final appearance in Registrum III is even better for Diego and Pedro Marcio. The story involves the second part of Diego's campaign for the archiepiscopacy in which he sought to make the 1120 translation of the metropolitinate from Mérida permanent.¹⁸⁷ According to the narrative, Diego sent Pedro Fulcón and Pedro Elías to Rome with a blessing of four hundred *aurei* for the papal curia to help facilitate the petition; their efforts were so successful that they returned to Compostela with the privilege unsealed by the pope (thus allowing them to make changes), whereupon Diego amended it, adding Salamanca, Ávila, and Coimbra to his list of suffragans before sending it back to Rome for confirmation.¹⁸⁸ This series of events and its culmination, which were arguably Diego's most historically significant, had obvious value for Pedro Marcio's *gesta* narrative.

¹⁸⁶ HC II.58; Pelayo Menéndez, or Paio Mendes as he is known to Portuguese history, was archbishop of Braga from 1118-1137, was a partisan of Afonso Henriques above his mother Teresa, and was a witness to what is considered by modern historians to be the birth of the kingdom of Portugal, Patrick J. O'Banion, 'What Has Iberia to Do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish Route to the Holy Land in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): 389. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 250.

¹⁸⁷ HC II.64.1-7.

¹⁸⁸ HC II.64.3-7. Note the repeated use of Diego's tactic to bribe the pope and curia with huge amounts of wealth. An aureus is a gold coin.

Diego and Honorius: A Difficult Relationship to Write

This era of papal benevolence would lapse upon Callixtus's death on 11 December 1124 as his successor Lambert of Ostia (Honorius II) would prove to be far less amenable to Compostelan interests. The first recorded exchange between Diego and Honorius II occurred in a letter dated 1 May 1125 in which Honorius instructed the archbishop not to block the appointment of the present incumbent of Salamanca, a suffragan of Diego's, to the vacant see of Toledo.¹⁸⁹ Notably frosty in tone, Honorius twice addressed Diego as *filius*, rather than the customary *frater*, a clear insult and assertion of rank.¹⁹⁰ The next two letters, while more courteous in form, addressing Diego properly as *frater*, were still palpably hostile. The first of these was a short, terse letter that rejected Diego's petition, the specifics of which were not mentioned, while also chastising him for his inappropriate use of the pallium, and reminding him that the pallium was a symbol of humility 'granted to you by ... the holy Roman Church'.¹⁹¹ Fletcher considered this a rebuke for wearing the pallium on feast days besides those prescribed in the 1105 privilege granted by Paschal II.¹⁹² The second letter, shorter than the first, warned Diego that Honorius had heard disturbing rumours about his conduct and, without detailing the allegations, reminded him to behave as the status of his office demanded.¹⁹³ This letter is followed by another from the chancellor of the Roman curia (one F. Frangipani) who, in a more polite tone, reiterates that the Petrine see could not accede to Compostela's requests but thanked Diego for another cache of 'blessings'.¹⁹⁴ This set of letters, which bears much unhappy news

¹⁸⁹ HC II.79. That suffragan being the future Archbishop Raymond, Bernard's successor at Toledo. Archbishop Raymond does not feature prominently in this thesis, but he was a prominent figure in mid-eleventh century Leonese-Castilian politics. For a study of the bishop's life, see: Ángel González Palencia, *El Arzobispo Don Raimundo de Toledo* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1942).

¹⁹⁰ HC II.79; this was first noted by Vones, Vones, *Die 'Historia Compostellana' Und Die Kirchenpolitik Des Nordwestspanischen Raumes. 1070-1130. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien Und Dem Papsttum Ze Beginn Des 12. Jahrhunderts.*, 472.

¹⁹¹ Dated 10 January 1126, HC II.83.2.

¹⁹² Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 215.

¹⁹³ Dated 13 July 1126, HC II.83.3.

¹⁹⁴ HC II.83.1, 4.

for Compostela, is preceded by a narrative section informing the reader of newly hostile sentiment in Rome, blaming it specifically on agitation and lies, something Pedro Marcio says originated with the sees of Braga and Toledo.¹⁹⁵

The final recorded exchanges from Honorius and his chancery comprise a an introductory commentary, a letter to Diego, a letter to Alfonso VII, and a letter to Archbishop Pelayo of Braga.¹⁹⁶ The first of these informs Diego of the arrival of Cardinal Humbert and his consideration of the archbishop of Braga's request to consecrate the bishop of Coimbra, despite the see falling under Compostela's jurisdiction; the second letter informs the king of the same thing.¹⁹⁷ In the third letter, Honorius politely informs Archbishop Pelayo that he cannot grant his petition as Coimbra was a suffragan of Compostela, having been placed under its authority with the transference of the metropolitan rank of Mérida several years earlier.¹⁹⁸ Significantly, the preface to these letters repeats the charge that the pope had been misled by Diego's rivals and detractors into mistrusting Compostela, one of the 'false' rumours being that Diego had been greeting pilgrims 'as if he were pope'.¹⁹⁹ Pedro Marcio also stated, again rather blandly, that he had sent 'benedictions' to the papal court to be shared out among its members, presumably ahead of its decision in this case.²⁰⁰

As a couple of the letters indicate, the cause of Honorius' contempt appears to be Compostela's supposed quasi-papal pretentions. Taken together, Diego's illicit use of the pallium, his

¹⁹⁵ HC II.83.1.

¹⁹⁶ HC III.10.1-3, 5. Although the letters are undated they likely pertain to 1128 or 1129, Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 509–10. These last correspondences also include a letter from Cardinal Haimeric, in which he signals his intent to send a legate *a latere* to Diego's lands, HC III.5.1-2.

¹⁹⁷ HC III.10.2-3.

¹⁹⁸ HC III.10.5.

¹⁹⁹ HC III.10.1.

²⁰⁰ HC III.10.1. 'Blessings' here being defined, as in the prior chapter, as a payment made to the curia for facilitating papal business, see above: 192, 194, 196.

receiving of pilgrims ‘as if he were pope’, and his interfering in Raymond’s investiture at Toledo, signal the actions of a man used to pushing the boundaries of his authority. During Callixtus’s papacy this might not have caused any consternation in Rome but under Honorius it certainly did.

Lambert’s choice of the name Honorius was indicative of the direction his papacy would take, recalling as it did the papacy of Honorius I (r.625-638), a follower of the visionary Gregory I (r.590-604); the former spent his papacy trying to enact the latter’s reforms.²⁰¹ The symbolic gesture was, as Enrico Veneziani has recently observed, a statement of intent, with Honorius’ six-year papacy being a primarily practical papacy, one less concerned with theological speculation and radical reform, and more concerned with making sure that existing rules were effectively implemented and followed at a local level.²⁰² One could understand why such a pope, more concerned with consolidation than innovation, would dislike Diego’s irreverent approach to ecclesiology and would try to put him in his place. Similarly, Diego’s failure to fulfil his obligations as a direct suffragan of Rome, specifically his duty to make the triannual *visitatio ad limina*, would not have ingratiated him with such a scrupulous pope.²⁰³

Another potential obstacle to positive relations with Honorius II was the pope’s own background. Unlike most of his predecessors with whom Diego had worked, Honorius was humble (rather than ducal) and a secular clergymen rather than regular clergymen, meaning that he came from outside the constituency to which Diego was naturally attached and within

²⁰¹ Fletcher hints that Honorius II saw his job as supporting Gregory VII’s ideas, much as Honorius I supported Gregory I’s, Fletcher, *Saint James’s Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 213.

²⁰² See: Enrico Veneziani, ‘Some Remarks on the Ecclesiology of Honorius II’s Papacy (1124-1130)’, *Rivista Di Storia Della Chiesa in Italia*, no. 1 (2018): 25–50.

²⁰³ I would like to thank Dr Veneziani for sending me an unfinished version of his upcoming publication, from which this observation was taken.

which he had strong contacts.²⁰⁴ Most notably in this regard Honorius's accession marked a break from a series of Cluniac popes with whom Diego had strong pre-existing ties and with whom he could easily do business.²⁰⁵ It is even possible that Lambert, who was likely made a cardinal-priest by Urban in 1099, might well have been one of the anti-Compostelan faction whom Abbot Hugh had warned Diego about some twenty-five years earlier, as he launched his first campaign for the archiepiscopacy.²⁰⁶ Whether he had held a long-standing grudge against Diego or not it is evident from the content of his letters and his decision to send Humbert to Iberia that he was not well-disposed to him by the 1120s. This reality was something Pedro Marcio had to handle when relating the Honorius relationship.

For all the six years of Honorius's papacy, Pedro Marcio included only six letters from his chancery to Diego. Considering the unflattering contents of what was retained, one can assume that there was little of use in the treasury from which Pedro Marcio could document this particular papal relationship. Looking over what was included, and considering Compostela's long-standing policy of demonstrating close papal ties and the benefits that such ties brought, it is difficult to see anything of value. While it makes sense to include the Braga-Coimbra judgement (the only judgement Honorius seems to have settled in Compostela's favour) most of the other letters seem to offer Diego and Compostela nothing but damaging allegations. Perhaps though, this is the purpose of these letters; to state to the reader well-known and contemporary charges so that they could be directly addressed, refuted, and disregarded as slander spread by malevolent actors. This was a tactic that had been used several times by Munio and Gerald when they were narrating unfavourable papal judgements, with each

²⁰⁴ Michael Ott, 'Pope Honorius II', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07456a.htm>.

²⁰⁵ Aside from the one-year papacy of Gelasius II (January 1118- January 1119), who Diego knew well from his time as papal legate in Hispania, all three popes (Urban II, Paschal II, and Callixtus II) from March 1088 to Honorius's accession in December 1124 had Cluniac backgrounds.

²⁰⁶ HC I.16.6; Horace Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, Vol 8 (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1925), 234.

claiming variously that Urban II, Paschal II, and Callixtus II had at times been unduly influenced by slander. It is also the case that Pedro Marcio had used the same tactic elsewhere when explaining other diplomatic difficulties, particularly in the case of King Alfonso. One could understand Pedro Marcio's depiction of the Honorius papacy then as being a piece of damage limitation, a brief account of what was attempted, why it failed, and because of whom, so absolving Diego from much of the blame for this difficult period of papal relations.

After Honorius's death there must have been much relief in Compostela a hope that in the next era of papal-Compostelan relations a more co-operative relationship would flower. For Pedro Marcio, who was writing eighteen years after the fact (after the conclusions of Diego's archiepiscopate and three more pontificates) such concerns were still relevant if of no immediate importance – for him what mattered was he had the requisite material for the continuation of his *registrum*. Fortunately for Pedro Marcio the papacy of the 1130s had, while not returning to the heady days of the Callixtus administration, been a period of relative calm and positive engagement. Consequently, when he came to weave in the final chapter of Diego's Roman adventure, he had something to work with.

A Pope, an Antipope, and an Archbishop: Diego's Last Victory and the Pontificate of Innocent II

Pedro Marcio tells us how, after the death of Honorius, Cardinal Gregory of Sant' Angelo was elected unanimously by a meeting of clerics in Rome as Innocent II, while another faction, backed by the powerful Perleoni family, elected their own.²⁰⁷ This was followed by a letter (10 April 1130) from that second papal pretender, Pedro Perleoni, then styling himself as

²⁰⁷ HC III.23.1.

Anacletus II.²⁰⁸ With the obvious intention of enlisting Diego to his cause, the letter flattered the archbishop and his see, noting his father's historical respect for the church of St James.²⁰⁹ Frippery aside, the business of the letter was a request to read publicly the contents of another document, which Anacletus had enclosed alongside it. That second document, which need not be recalled in full, described Anacletus's perspective on the schism, arguing that Innocent II's election was illegitimate on the grounds that it was conducted too quickly, without due process, and, with too few electors present.²¹⁰ It urges all who might listen to accept the validity of his pontificate, reject Innocent, and to consider him and his followers schismatics.²¹¹ This was the opening salvo in a series of letters that document the 1130 papal schism and the political manoeuvrings of the factions involved.

The next set of papal documents include a letter from Innocent (16 February 1131) in which he detailed the succession of lay rulers who had pledged to support him, namely King Louis VI of France, Henry I of England, and Emperor Lothar.²¹² While his address to Diego is completely respectful, it is less gushing than Anacletus's with Innocent employing a subtler approach in which he invited Diego to join the esteemed ranks of his followers, so inferring a high level of regard for Diego. It is followed by another letter, dated to the same day but addressed to Braga, in which Innocent chastised the archbishop of Braga for interfering in Coimbra.²¹³ There then follows four letters, seemingly linked only by the senders' affiliation with Cardinal Haimeric and perhaps an allegiance to Innocent (although this is not stated).²¹⁴

²⁰⁸ HC III.23.2.

²⁰⁹ HC III.23.3.

²¹⁰ HC II.23.3-5.

²¹¹ HC II.23.5.

²¹² HC III.25.2.

²¹³ HC III.25.3.

²¹⁴ HC III.26.1-2, 27.2-3. Cardinal Haimeric, who Stroll describes as being a figure akin to Honorius's prime minister, was the only figure in the papal curia whom Diego appears to have maintained good relations, Mary Stroll, *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130*, vol. 8, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 111–20.

The first letter (undated) is jointly signed by the patriarch of Jerusalem and Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, who both thank Diego for his financial support while asking for more.²¹⁵ The next letter, also undated, is a simple expression of support from Peter the Venerable, evidently as part of an effort to keep him on side; it is followed by another letter from Innocent II inviting him to a council in Rheims. The last two letters of this set are from Haimeric and Humbert, who themselves pledge to support Diego and help him if he needs.²¹⁶ On 1 March 1133, Innocent sent two further letters, one to the bishops and one to the archbishops of Hispania, informing them of the removal of Pelayo of Oviedo from office.²¹⁷

Pedro Marcio returned to the issue of the papal schism with the inclusion of two more letters, one from Innocent and one from Anacletus, both of which were sent in 1133.²¹⁸ Innocent's letter is a little more urgent than his previous, pushing Diego to help his cause, appearing somewhat frustrated by a perceived lack of commitment.²¹⁹ Anacletus's letter is more procedural, updating the archbishop on his activities while continuing to try and flatter Diego into an alliance. While the letters themselves do not appear to be interpolated, they are prefaced by a short introduction which informs the reader of Pedro Marcio's, and by extension Diego's perspective, that Innocent was the legitimate pope.²²⁰ The previous letter from Anacletus is the last one hears from him prior to his death in 1138. The next set of papal correspondences in Registrum III are two letters, one from Innocent, dated December 1135, and one incomplete letter from cardinal Guy, legate *a latere*; the first of these is a reprimanding of Toledo for

²¹⁵ HC III.26.1.

²¹⁶ HC III.27.3-4.

²¹⁷ HC III.30.1-2. The bishop in question being the same Pelayo the Fabulist (r.1102-1130, 1142-1143) referred to in the introduction to this thesis, an ecclesiastic and writer, famous for creating his see an outlandishly implausible history, Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid, Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, 65-74.

²¹⁸ HC III.38.2-3.

²¹⁹ HC III.38.2.

²²⁰ HC III.38.1.

consecrating the bishop of León, a direct suffragan of Rome.²²¹ The penultimate letters, sent from Guido, Haimeric, and Innocent himself, came in the wake of Diego's assassination attempt, and offer solidarity and prayers; from the pope and Innocent at least, they seem genuinely horrified by what they had heard.²²² The final letter, undated but likely drafted in 1139, is an invitation to the Second Council of the Lateran.²²³ This council, which was attended by bishops and patriarchs from all across Christendom was a celebration of Innocent's triumph in the schism, one which Diego could not attend given his extreme infirmity; he would die within a year of receiving this letter.

If one steps back and observes this story of papal-Compostelan relations, as told by the correspondence of the 1130s, one is immediately struck by the limited extent to which Diego and Compostela feature within them. Diego is of course addressed in most of them, but he is not the story; rather, he is being drafted into a bigger dispute whose centre is far from Compostela. Three of the letters did benefit Pedro Marcio's narrative in ways more typical to the HC, specifically those papal rulings siding with Compostela in disputes over rivals in Toledo and Coimbra and that recording the deposition of Pelayo of Oviedo who, on account of Diego's ousting of him at Carrión in 1130, could not have been on good terms with Compostela. Most of the letters however narrated distant related events taking place in distant places. Such events had been covered before in the HC – Gerald related Callixtus's election in Cluny back in *Registrum II* – but in that instance the narrative was being used to provide background to Diego's campaign for the archiepiscopacy.²²⁴ This cannot be said for Pedro Marcio and his depictions of the disputed Anacletus/Innocent elections which have no obvious relevance for

²²¹ HC III.45.1-2.

²²² HC III.50.1-3; Guy himself appears to be lightly implicated in the assault, Reilly, 'On Getting to Be a Bishop in León-Castile: The "Emperor" Alfonso VII and the Post-Gregorian Church', 59.

²²³ HC III.52.

²²⁴ HC II.9. See above: 188.

the HC beyond them being important matters of Church business. Neither Munio nor Gerald detailed much of Paschal II's antipope travails nor was much made of the 1124 schism. It is important then, if one is to understand the significance to Pedro Marcio of these exchanges and the schism they relate to, to detail some of the issues that surrounded them.

In many ways, and like the schism immediately following Honorius's election in 1124, the 1130 schism was less about doctrine than it was about the urban politics of Rome and the continued struggle for dominance between the Frangipanis and the Perleonis, the city's two great aristocratic families.²²⁵ This fact is most clearly represented by the personage of Anacletus II himself who was, prior to taking his pontifical name, Pietro Peleoni.²²⁶ Among his followers he could count the majority of the cardinalate, the majority of Rome's aristocrats (barring the Frangipani), and the majority of the lower clergy.²²⁷ Innocent on the other hand, while retaining almost no support within Rome, had the support of most of the continent's Latin monarchs as well as a majority of the Church's transalpine ecclesiastics and abbots.²²⁸ It is significant to note that, as Robinson has demonstrated, the schismatic factions were not wholly politically defined and that there was an ideological dimension.²²⁹ As Robinson has related, the cardinalate was divided into groups: the 'new' cardinals, typically non-Italian and pro-Cisterican, and the 'old' cardinals who were rooted in the traditional monasticism of St Benedictine and the reform

²²⁵ Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 365.

²²⁶ The fact that Callixtus managed to maintain peace between the Frangipanis and Perleonis during his pontificate is testament to his political skill,

²²⁷ Mary Stroll, *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130*, vol. 8, *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 10–20.

²²⁸ Including, significantly, Bernard of Clairvaux. See the recent collection of essays on Innocent II's pontificate: Damian J. Smith and John Doran, *Pope Innocent II (1130-43), The World vs The City, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West* (London: Routledge, 2016).

²²⁹ Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, 71–73.

ideas of the early 1100s.²³⁰ Generally, the newer cardinals supported Innocent while the older supported Anacletus.

Naturally, Diego ought to have fallen into Anacletus's grouping along with the other colleagues of his generation; the fact he did not, as Fletcher has noted, was likely a strategic move.²³¹ It seems that Diego – still an astute if increasingly infirm operator – had chosen to back Innocent on the basis that he thought him more able to win. This was the correct judgement and, as his later invitation to the Second Lateran Council indicates, he was recognised by Innocent as one of his supporters and was rewarded with an offer to attend the Second Council of the Lateran.²³² Significantly, and as the quantity and date-range of the papal correspondences suggest, this was not a move he made quickly, choosing instead to hedge his bets, waiting to see who would win and to whom he should pledge his allegiance definitively. This was not a new tactic for Diego or for Compostela. As Klaus Herbers has remarked, Diego lived during an 'epoch of antipopes' and so had experiences of leveraging such situations to his advantage.²³³ As with Dalmacio, who had secured his historic privileges from Urban at Clermont in 1095 (a time when Urban was fighting off Antipope Clement III), Diego had used the relative poverty of the Callixtus II curia, banished from Rome by Antipope Gregory VIII, to help winkle the metropolitanate out of the pope in 1120.²³⁴

²³⁰ Robinson, 71–72; Franz-Josef Schmale, *Studien Zum Schisma Des Jahres 1130. Forschungen Zur Kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte Und Zum Kirchenrecht* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1961), 43, 56–57, 79–82.

²³¹ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, 217.

²³² HC III.56; Falque, *Historia Compostelana*, 599. Paul Kehr and Damian Smith have argued that no other bishopric in Iberia was considering aligning with Anacletus, which suggests that securing unanimity through Gelmírez's backing might have been an Innocentine priority, Paul Kehr, 'El Papado y Los Reinos de Navarra y Aragón Hasta Mediados Del Siglo XII', *Estudios de Edad Media de La Corona de Aragón* 2 (1946): 157–58; Damian J. Smith, 'The Men Who Would Be Kings', in *Pope Innocent II (1130-43), The World vs The City*, ed. Damian J. Smith and John Doran, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (London: Routledge, 2016), 185–86.

²³³ Herbers, 'El Papado En El Tiempo de Gelmírez, Constancia y Variación', 92.

²³⁴ Herbers, 75–92. See also above: 193.

As much as Pedro Marcio had tried to hide the fact of Diego's prevarication from his readers by retroactively appending commentary to Anacletus's correspondence (which indicated a preference for Innocent) he was unsuccessful in concealing Diego's machinations. What was ultimately important however was that Diego did eventually pick the winning side. While this new papacy did not yield many major benefits for Compostela, it did gift Pedro Marcio the prize of a positive relationship that could lift the papal narrative in the wake of the Honorius years. From the perspective of 1148 a strong link to Innocent, who had died some five years earlier, was perhaps especially important given that he had aided Pedro Elías in his investiture dispute with Alfonso eight years earlier. Additionally, the appearance of stability in good relations through the Diego and Pedro Elías archiepiscopates worked to provide important continuity between the two men's administrations – a fact that was especially important considering the acrimonious mode of the archiepiscopal transition and Pedro Elías's desire to appropriate Diego's past. Finally, and since the present pope was Eugenius III, an acolyte of Innocent and first Cistercian pontiff, the brandishing of an historical connection with his papal faction could work to serve Compostela's ambitions going forward.²³⁵

The papal letters of the 1130s also had positive implications for the memory of Diego's reputation. Regarding his construction of Diego's *gesta* narrative, the schism, and the resulting petitions for support from eminent Church contemporaries, the letters gave Pedro Marcio the chance to make Diego look like an international churchman. By going against Anacletus in the HC, even if his rejection was slower and more tentative than the text would like us to believe, Pedro Marcio was able to place Diego on the right side of history – an important point when one considers that the endurance of Diego's reputation was a signal aim of the HC as a whole.

²³⁵ For a recent study on the papacy of Eugenius III, see: Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt and Andrew Jotischky, eds., *Pope Eugenius III (1145-1153): The First Cistercian Pope – Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

Conclusion

When Pedro Marcio started work on the completion of Diego's life he would have first read through the existing manuscript of the HC; there he would have seen a story of early promise and its latter fulfilment – a tale with a happy ending. Unfortunately for him and for Diego's memory, his appendage to this work would not be able to provide such a satisfactory conclusion given the history of the intervening years. Through his work, Pedro Marcio tried to balance the imperatives laid out by his predecessors, the need to approximate reality, and the instructions of Pedro Elías at whose behest he was working. He opted for a middle ground between his two predecessors' approaches, retaining Gerald's narrative focus while also increasing the proportion of integrated documentation, a defensive act that perhaps betrayed the contemporary insecurity of the see. On top of this he tweaked Gerald's contribution a little, inserting documents and names in certain places, adding a scheme of rubrication, a *monitus*, and synthesising the result into a three-book scheme. Thematically, he followed Gerald in telling Diego's story through his interactions with the relevant lay, clerical, seigneurial, and extra-seigneurial factions of his day. This provided a palpable degree of continuity with what came before.

In some ways, his *registrum* worked as his predecessors' had, advertising favourable rulings from popes and privileges from the king. In other instances, hamstrung by the nature of the events he was relating, this was not possible, as with accounts concerning the chapter, the citizenry, and most of all, Alfonso. Often, he was willing to show Diego's weakness in a way Gerald never would have dared, likely because his portrayals of these weaknesses exposed the viciousness of the old man's enemies, so defending his memory against those who might still slander him.

Throughout *Registrum III* Archbishop Pedro Elías's influence is present, if ghostly, behind what Pedro Marcio wrote. And while the new archbishop's motives are difficult to discern, it is likely that he had commissioned *Registrum III* with the intention of producing a history that was both able to exploit Diego's achievements while also eliding his own role in his predecessor's misfortune. So too he had sought to encourage more lay donations and to use Diego's considerable reputation to consolidate the status of his see. Had Pedro Marcio reported events fully it is likely that the new archbishop would have been revealed as Diego's chief internal adversary in the 1130s. Such imperatives can be faintly perceived in the renderings of the capitular disputes, and his attempted murder in 1136.

As a single unit Pedro Marcio's HC, that which one finds in printed editions, has a degree of coherence with its clear, overarching tripartite structure and its continuous narration of Diego's forty-eight-year church career.²³⁶ To this end, Pedro Marcio successfully completed the laudatory history that his predecessors started, narrated the key events of Diego's rule, and did not diverge too far from their broad aims.

This is not to say however, that Pedro Marcio's HC was a truly coherent, unified piece of work. It was noted in the conclusion to the Chapter Three that Gerald's HC had a palimpsestic quality, that the HC's intermediate author chose to recontextualise rather than assimilate Munio's work, and that the HC's prior conception was retained within it, so leaving its historical development on display. Despite this, Chapter Three argued, Gerald's HC worked reasonably well as a thematic and argumentative whole – this cannot be said of Pedro Marcio's product. While Pedro Marcio did attempt to integrate what came before, mimicking some of his predecessors'

²³⁶ With that caveat that this text was mediated both via Falque and the HC's long manuscript tradition.

techniques and writing anonymously, it was his iteration of the work that lends the present HC its signal incoherence.

In the first instance, he did not substantially reformulate the work of his predecessors meaning that, once again, those previous iterations of the HC sat within his own, so adding an extra palimpsestic layer. For a reader in the late 1140s, four decades removed from Munio's context and three decades removed from Gerald's, many of those earlier conceptions' priorities would have seemed irrelevant and anachronistic. In one sense this was a positive as the textual manoeuvrings of Munio and Gerald (such as the elision of prior foundation narratives and the retrospective teleology imposed on the archiepiscopacy) were settled and so could rest within the text as undisputed historical accounts. In other instances, such as in Pedro Marcio's attempts to explain deteriorating royal-Compostelan relations and chapter disputes, Munio and Gerald's prior coyness and visible omissions made Registrum III's narrative difficult to reconcile with what came before. Moreover, and adding to this sense of incoherence, Pedro Marcio's structure, while superficially logical, was poorly executed: the seams between the *registra* are visible, several of the headings are misleading (or simply erroneous), and his novel tripartite structure was insufficiently justified. To some extent, this lack of unity was a product of Registrum III's divergent production context and the novel pressures that worked on the text, pressures that were specific to Pedro Elías's archiepiscopacy and not Diego's. This particular bias gives Pedro Marcio's HC a certain discordancy, as the priorities of a Pedro Elías-influenced Registrum III clash with what came before.

Mitigating circumstances aside, perhaps the main reason for the HC's lack of overall unity is Pedro Marcio's lack of a clear historiographical vision. His work, unlike that of Munio and

Gerald, is reactive rather than proactive and seems more concerned with salvaging the past than with building a new one for the future.

In producing this thesis, my aim has been, in each of the chapters, to distil and relate the historiographical essences of each of the HC's component *registra*. This job has been most difficult in Chapter Four because Registrum III did not have much of an historiographical essence beyond putting a positive spin on Diego's years of decline. In contrast to Munio's Romanising reorientation and Gerald's triumphalist celebration, Registrum III (and so Pedro Marcio's HC) had no unifying positive vision, only a wish to end Diego's story in as benevolent a way as he could.

Despite this, Pedro Marcio's job was probably impossible. While he achieved some of what he set out to do, the dissonance of his project's competing aims was always likely to produce an imperfect work. Nonetheless, Pedro Marcio can be credited with finishing and reorganising the HC into its semi-coherent final form and so is ultimately responsible for relaying the remarkable life of Diego Gelmírez down the centuries.

Conclusion

The central objectives of the thesis were to advance understanding of the HC as a piece of historiography, to elucidate the rationales behind each of its conceptions, to evaluate the coherence of the HC as a whole, and to uncover the socio-politics of the Compostelan see between 1108-1148. My method in achieving these objectives was narratological in that I moved away from traditional ‘text as source’ approaches and focussed instead on the text as a piece of twelfth-century Iberian literature, foregrounding ideas such as genre, authorship, intended audience, and production context in my analysis. I also organised my study around the texts’ three *registra*, so aligning my investigation with its breaks in authorship and phases of production.

Achieving these aims required that I understood why each *registrum* was conceived, how they were meant to work as persuasive texts, and the socio-political pressures that operated on them. It also required an evaluation of how each conception of the HC integrated its predecessor, and how coherent each conception was as a whole. As a window into the past, the HC is hugely important owing to its contemporaneous production, the rarity of its subject matter, and its testimony to the transformations of the early twelfth century. Through a close reading of the HC’s three *registra*, and a contextualisation of its many themes and authorial perspectives, this thesis has made informed inferences about the world behind the HC and the various people, events, and ideas that informed its production.

Chapter One discussed Munio’s Registrum I and his conception of the HC which were one and the same. I characterised the chapter as something close to a traditional *registrum*, augmented with narrative elements meant to guide the reader to certain conclusions.

Written between 1109-1110 and narrating the years 1088-1109, Registrum I was conceived in a period of chaos in which the certainties of the first decade of the twelfth century had begun to unravel. Alfonso VI and Raymond of Burgundy had died, the Infanta Urraca had become queen and had married Alfonso of Aragon, threatening Compostela's stability. Borne of this context, Registrum I was defensive and sought to find security in its recent past. In Chapter One, I detailed how its thematic focuses betrayed a desperate desire to use Rome as an anchor and as a platform to advance itself further at the expense of its peninsular rivals who were also jostling for advancement. In this way, Munio betrayed a sensitivity to issues such as lay investiture and showcased Compostela's desire to renew, build, and acquire honours, privileges, and wealth. Chapter Two shows how Compostela in the early 1100s was willing to push the limits of legality and propriety when it stole the relics from Braga in a move that revealed the see's commitment and belief in their reforming project.

Although an original compilation, Registrum I brought in many pre-existing documents and narrative accounts, and recontextualised them to tell a story, chief among them Hugh's *furta sacra* (detailed in Chapter Two) which was repurposed from its quasi-liturgical, pre-HC context to become part of Munio's pro-Diego apologetic. Functionally, it moved from trying to establish the saints within Compostela's community to attempting to establish their translations within Diego's record. The same can be said of the *registrum's* many letters, privileges, and donations. In this way, integrated documents were subordinated to the aims of Registrum I, which I argued were the literary refoundation of Compostela, the legitimization of Diego's episcopacy, and the demonstration of Diego's competency as a reforming bishop. He achieved this via the careful reformulation of pre-existing Jacobean foundation myths, the promotion of Diego as a virtuous figure, and the aggressive documenting and defending of Diego's early achievements.

This Rome-facing refoundation of Compostela's past, which cast Diego as the agent of change, was achieved by the careful reformulation, repackaging, and deliberate forgetting of certain parts of Iria-Compostela's past. Many of these deliberate omissions would have been visible to a readership familiar with Jacobean writings. Like Hugh however, whose *furta sacra* narrative might seem dishonest to modern eyes, a sympathetic audience would have acknowledged that these textual changes were made with the greater good of the see in mind. Later in the HC's life, these omissions would become less apparent, meaning that the reformulated accounts would become less contested elements of the see's historical memory. Although Munio had one eye on posterity, Registrum I was produced with Compostela's recently expanded chapter in mind, offering a new vision of the past and a template for the future. The intention was to show those new, more reform-minded canons that Diego was the man to take them forward. In this way, Registrum I was not just the start of the HC but also the foundation document of a reforming textual community at Compostela.

Chapter Three concerned Gerald's Registrum II and his iteration of the HC, a markedly different conception from Munio's. Gerald's work, which was more narrative heavy, was also tonally, thematically, and structurally distinct. I argued that Gerald's HC was preoccupied with glorifying and celebrating Diego's rule. He sought to do this through polemical storytelling, constructing a bipolar world of good and evil, and by depicting Diego as an agent of light, characterising the archbishop with reference to three *gesta* elements (Diego the leader, Diego the shepherd, and Diego the churchman). I also noted that Gerald's HC felt more complete than Munio's in that its narrative threads were concluded by a series of miracle narratives at the end of Registrum II.

Compiled at the very height of Diego's powers (1121-1124) and relating some of the most tumultuous years of Diego's rule as well as some of his calmest (1109-1124), *Registrum II* was a work born of comfort, complacency, and self-satisfaction. In Chapter Three I noted how Gerald's use of rich narrative and description allowed for much contextual analysis. Gerald's thematic focuses revealed a preoccupation with the high politics of Urraca's reign, particularly the chaos of her early years. His articulation of Diego's views on the relationship between the laity and the clergy show a familiarity with the reform ideals of the day and the social prescriptions of the Peace of God movement. He also relates something of the concern with which Compostela viewed the practice of coercive lordship and the deleterious effects that unscrupulous officials and knights were having on the. His narration of Church events show a familiarity with the various schisms of the day and Compostela's historical ability to exploit them. While Muslim characters do not feature prominently anywhere in the HC, they do appear in one of *Registrum II*'s miracle narratives. They appear in such a flat and idealised way so as to suggest that Gerald knew little about Islam or that he only intended to make such a portrayal. Of the four authors considered in this thesis, Gerald was the most technically gifted, employing his rhetorical skills and literary abilities to craft long passages of prose and direct speech and to organise them effectively into coherent narrative groups, bookended by supporting documentation. As with his decrees and miracle narratives, which were recontextualised and subverted to polemical ends, everything in *Registrum II* served to build his world of light and dark, and to cast Diego as Compostela's saviour. In the miracle narratives themselves Gerald even implies Diego's sanctity.

I also discussed Gerald's minimal approach to integrating *Registrum I*, noting how he recontextualised Munio's work with prologues and within his bipartite scheme rather than by rewriting or substantially editing it. This had the effect of retaining *Registrum I* within Gerald's

HC and making the whole feel less coherent. Nevertheless, and because of the HC's compilatory nature, I argued that this did not upset Gerald's conception too much as Registrum I's storyworld still meshes with what comes after, even if the transition stands out enough to take the reader out of the story. Moreover, Gerald's recontextualization was executed with sufficient competence so that Registrum I still contributed to Gerald's overarching aims and argumentation.

Gerald's HC was also written with a Compostelan audience in mind with a view to providing its community with a glorious story of which they could be proud, and around which they could unite. Moreover, in appropriating Registrum I and its early history of Diego's rule, Gerald was able to show promises fulfilled and validate the claims of the Gelmirian project, satisfying Diego himself.

Chapter Four covered Pedro Marcio's Registrum III and his conception of the HC, that which one encounters today.²³⁷ I argued that Registrum III was an essentially defensive work, meant to protect Diego's memory in the wake of his difficult later rule. With respect to composition, it represents a mid-point between the conceptions of Munio and Gerald, containing less documentation than the former but more than the latter. The chapter argued that Pedro Marcio's HC was, unlike his predecessors, more reactive than proactive, lacking a literary vision, and preoccupied with 'firefighting' rather than creating a positive story. It was mainly concerned with asserting the righteousness of Diego's actions in his relations with the various factions of the day, and with protecting his glorious, if contested, memory. Like Registrum I Registrum

²³⁷ Acknowledging of course, the fact that it was mediated through a manuscript transition and edited by Falque for a modern critical edition.

III feels unfinished, although in Pedro Marcio's case this was less by design than it was a reflection of a difficult task.

Put together several years after Diego Gelmírez's death (1145-1148) and covering the years of the former archbishop's decline, Pedro Marcio's *Registrum III* touches on some newer phenomena that began to emerge towards the middle of the twelfth century and to which Compostela struggled to respond. In Chapter Four I remarked how Diego's slow marginalisation at the royal court highlighted the crown's shift in focus from the northwest of the peninsula to Castile and Al-Andalus in the centre and south. Similarly, Chapter Four discussed how Pedro Marcio's handling of seigniorial issues hinted at the growing power of the burghers in the city, a phenomenon that was occurring contemporaneously across the Latin West. Capitular discontent, which reared its head at around 1130, was a long-standing concern that only began to reach critical mass by the end of Diego's rule. Pedro Elías's influence over the HC and his long, hidden campaign for the archiepiscopacy is perhaps the most significant hidden socio-political in the whole of the HC. In Church affairs a new generation of reformers had become ascendent but Diego, managing one last diplomatic trick, sided with the victor and was able to secure himself an invite to the Second Council of the Lateran, a gathering he was too ill to attend.

Pedro Marcio's essential aim was to pick up from Gerald and finish Diego's celebratory life story. Unfortunately for him however, this was not an easy task. Weighed down by the twin burdens of an unhelpful recent past and a now incongruous literacy inheritance, Pedro Marcio's attempts to triangulate and tell a coherent story was ultimately unsuccessful. Much of *Registrum III* involves Pedro Marcio attempting to explain away, 'spin', or simply hide embarrassing incidents from the reader. Unlike Gerald and Munio however, his portrayals often

have a resigned air and one gets the sense of an archiepiscopacy in decline. Pedro Marcio was more successful in recording Compostela's various acquisitions and privileges, even interpolating parts of Registrum II to make it more robust in this regard.

Like Gerald with Registrum I, so Pedro Marcio's approach to incorporating prior conceptions was to recontextualise them into his own, adding a *monitus*, several interpolations, rubrics, and a new tripartite structure. Unlike Gerald however, Pedro Marcio's attempts at integration were fatally constrained by prior narratives which clashed so obviously with his own. Similarly, his tripartite structure was poorly justified and his rubrication often inaccurate.

Much of this incoherence can be attributed to Pedro Marcio's intended audience – it was a very different readership by the late 1140s. Indeed, not only did Pedro Marcio have to reconcile Diego's recent decline with his earlier glories, but he also had to accommodate the priorities of Archbishop Pedro Elías and his supporters in the chapter. Consequently, and predictably, this created a muddle of priorities which reveal themselves in the text. One cannot imagine that Pedro Marcio, who had been a partisan of Diego, would have been happy with his final product. Finally, one comes to the crucial question – how should the HC be understood? I have argued in this thesis that the explicit three-book division that maps onto Diego's life presents a misleading literary unity, one whose superficiality becomes clear as soon as one goes below its surface. Fundamentally, the HC is a palimpsestic text, formed of three layers, each of which reflect divergent styles, approaches, priorities, and historical contexts. It is, by nature, polyphonic, representing not one unified narratorial voice but several. The HC *is* change. It is not truly one text nor is it three – it was a living document, a compilation of curated texts whose editorial direction shifted over time. Future historians need to be mindful of this fact, especially when drawing generalisations.

In the introduction to this thesis I also outlined several research areas to which this thesis has relevance, specifically Iberian medievalism, history of the twelfth century, the study of medieval historiography and archival practice, and the study of the HC itself. In fulfilling its objectives, the present thesis has contributed to each of them, as is detailed below.

For historians of medieval Iberia my key contribution is to further emphasise the distinctiveness of Galicia, or more specifically Diego's patrimony within Galicia, as a distinct cultural and governmental unit. The story of Diego Gelmírez is not really the story of a 'Spanish' bishop, nor even a story of a Leonese-Castilian or Galician bishop, but of the bishop of Santiago de Compostela and its dominions. Similarly, the HC does not put forward a range of 'Spanish', Leonese-Castilian, or Galician perspectives, but a Compostelan perspective that was first and foremost pertinent to the priorities of its see. And while commonalities can be made between the stories of other Iberian bishops, their historiographers, and Diego and the HC, one has to be careful not to make generalisations between groups and institutions whose differences were often more significant than their similarities. If one looks closely at any categorical unit one will find unseen diversity that renders the generalising category problematic and, in some instances, redundant. In this respect, my thesis puts forward an argument for the value of studying the particular with respect to the whole.

Regarding the study of the twelfth century as a period of change, my thesis has given a detailed account of how a 'peripheral see' only a hundred kilometres from Finisterre ('the end of the world'), navigated and exploited the twelfth century's various transformations. With respect to Church reform, my whole thesis has shown how the HC's authors used history to accommodate, justify, and communicate Compostela's embracing of reform ideas. It has also shown how, over the forty years of the HC's production, these newly-adopted ideas were

internalised to become reflexively part of the see's worldview. With respect to the rise of the burgher class and the lower nobility, Chapter Three and Four show how historiographers could change their approach to depicting them as circumstances and perceptions shifted. My contribution in this regard is to provide a detailed example of how this 'peripheral' see engaged with and was affected by the transformations of the twelfth century.

As has been noted in the introduction to this thesis, the HC is the first recorded example of a serial record from the Iberian Peninsula. My thesis has shown how this type of text, ultra-Pyrenean in origin, was utilised in this Compostelan context. It has demonstrated how the HC's authors made full use of the format's flexibility so as to achieve their historiographical aims. Chapters One, Three, and Four have shown how this elastic type of history could be adapted to the various argumentative needs and stylistic preferences of the compiler. Similarly, Chapters One, Two, and Three have shown how serial records could accommodate integrated texts of various genres (specifically *translationes*, *inventiones*, *furta sacra*, and *miracula*). Those same chapters have demonstrated how a creatively minded historiographer could bend such genres to accord with the serial record's broader ends. My key contribution in this regard is to provide a detailed breakdown of this text, its subtexts, and the ways in which they act and interact. In this way my study could provide a template for comparable studies on other near-contemporary Iberian serial records.

Finally, concerning the study of the HC itself, my thesis builds on the work of scholars without whom my research would not have been possible. In this regard Emma Falque deserves special praise for making the HC accessible and for providing much of the linguistic and structural framework on which my study rests. Similarly, Fernando López Alsina provided the theory of production that allowed my person-centric study to be undertaken. Where I have departed from

them, and where I have contributed to the scholarship, is that I have not only described what was written, when, and by whom but that I have fleshed out the how and the why. I have described how the HC's four authors went about their task of writing Diego's biography, the various narrative strategies they employed, to what ends they wrote, the pressures under which they wrote it and, crucially, the extent to which they converged and differed in their approaches. The result is a study that exhibits the literary breadth and depth that together the HC's authors collaborated in creating.

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