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PROTOCOLARTULARIES: ON THE ORIGINS OF THE CARTULARY GENRE IN CASTILE¹

Protocartularios: sobre los orígenes de los cartularios en Castilla

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ABSTRACT: In a number of complex codices from different Castilian monastic archives there are tantalising glimpses of early cartularies in Visigothic script that predate in some cases what is generally regarded as the first of its kind in Castile, the *Becerro Gótico* of Cardeña (1086). The best-known cases come from the factitious *Becerro Gótico* codex of Valpuedra where there are two multi-folio sequences from the mid-eleventh century, while one is a monothematic dossier referring to Buezo, the larger sequence of twenty-two folios can be understood as the precursor of the genre in Castile. From the same century are two deteriorated folios conserved at the end of the San Millán *Bulario* which, despite such exiguous remains, also seem to coincide with a broad-ranging cartulary that predates the lost San Millán *Gótico*. Finally, from Santo Domingo de la Calzada we have two further examples which, while slightly later (mid-twelfth century), underline just how widely established this methodology was across Castile from relatively early.

Keywords: cartularies; Castile; monastic archives; Visigothic script.

RESUMEN: En una serie de códices facticios de diferentes archivos monásticos castellanos hay sugerentes atisbos de tempranos cartularios en escritura visigótica que, en algunos casos, son anteriores a lo que generalmente se considera el primero ejemplo del género en Castilla, el *Becerro Gótico* de Cardeña (1086). Los casos más conocidos proceden del códice facticio del *Becerro Gótico* de Valpuedra donde existen dos secuencias largas de mediados del siglo XI; mientras que una es un dossier monotemático referido a Buezo, una

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secuencia aun mayor de veintidós folios puede entenderse como el precursor del género en Castilla. Del mismo siglo se conservan dos folios deteriorados al final del San Millán *Bulario* que, pese a tan exigüos restos, también parecen coincidir con un ambicioso cartulario anterior al perdido San Millán *Gótico*. Finalmente, de Santo Domingo de la Calzada tenemos dos ejemplos más que, si bien son un poco posteriores (mediados del siglo XII), subrayan cuán ampliamente establecida estaba esta metodología en Castilla desde relativamente temprano.

Palabras clave: cartularios; Castilla; archivos monásticos; escritura visigótica.

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0 INTRODUCTION

It is usually considered that the story of the Castilian cartulary begins with the *Becerro Gótico* of Cardaña², a monumental work created around 1086 and perhaps best understood in relation to the creation of the new powerful diocese of Burgos ca. 1070 and the desire for the monastery to assert its own identity in parallel with that of the emerging diocese for which it had previously served as seat. The Cardaña volume towers over any rivals, not just as the first, but also as by far the largest Castilian cartulary for over a century and the most aesthetically accomplished, too. Thereafter we see a trickle of cartularies, one of the earliest in Valvanera around 1115³, another early one, ca. 1135, in Arlanza⁴. However, the next comparable volume in size will take over a hundred years to emerge, in San Millán (ca. 1195) and it is only subsequently, in the first half of the thirteenth century, that the genre really takes off in Castile (Aguilar, ca. 1216; Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 1217-22; Froncea, ca. 1225; Valpuesta *Galicano*, 1236; Treviño ca. 1250?)⁵. There are, of course, other relatively early cartularies if we look further afield, Sahagún for example from around 1110 but, in Castile, Cardaña seemingly stands alone.

Muddying the waters somewhat are other cartularies that share the *Gótico* label. This adjective necessarily marks a relatively early chronology as it refers to a graphic model, Visigothic script, which was progressively superseded by Caroline minuscule from the

² Fernández Flórez and Serna Serna, *Becerro Gótico de Cardaña*.

³ Surprisingly, given that it is such an early example of the genre, this cartulary has barely been studied since the 1951 edition by Lucas Álvarez, «Libro Becerro».

⁴ Unfortunately, it was lost during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), but painstaking reconstruction from Serrano's partial edition reveals a genuine cartulary structure with an interesting protagonism conceded to charters by Fernando I, cf. Escalona and Azcárate Aguilar-Amat, «Una fuente casi perdida»; and Juárez, *Colección diplomática*, 277-9.

⁵ Rodríguez de Diego, *Colección diplomática Aguilar*; Peterson, «Cartularios de la Calzada»; Peterson, Sanz Fuentes and Serna Serna, *Cartulario de Froncea*; Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero Jiménez, *Los Becerros Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*; Cartulario de Treviño, <http://creloc.net/los-documentos/>

early twelfth century on. One such cartulary was composed at San Millán around 1115⁶. This coincides with a period of geopolitical crisis of particular intensity in the Upper Ebro valley, where San Millán's vast domains were concentrated, when the Urraca-Alfonso civil war shattered Castilian society, particularly along the Camino de Santiago, the artery for much of the warfare. This is detailed in the little known Villafranca *fuero* which describes how the people of the Montes de Oca sought refuge in a newly founded town⁷. This was not the only such urban initiative to emerge in this period. Belorado, for example, was founded in 1116 and posed a direct threat to San Millán's holdings at Pedroso and in a number of nearby villages whose inhabitants were attracted to the new town⁸. This combination of warfare and urban generation would surely have severely stressed the monastery's domain, and perhaps explains the creation of the San Millán *Gótico*. Unfortunately, the volume disappeared in the early nineteenth-century, so we don't really know whether it was a unitary and well-ordered volume along the lines of the Cardaña cartulary, but the structural evidence, in so far as it can be gleaned, points towards an anarchic volume as the result of diachronic composition, which only goes to underline the merits of the Cardaña pioneer.

The Valpuesta *Gótico* is much better known, particularly with regards to its candidature as the home of some of the earliest phrases recorded in Castilian, and it does, after all, have the advantage over its San Millán namesake of having survived. Nonetheless, if we compare it to the Cardaña *Gótico*, it loses out on most metrics: aesthetics, homogeneity, order, date of composition. Indeed, the Valpuesta *Gótico* has been correctly labelled a factitious or composite cartulary; in a sense not really a cartulary at all but a compendium of heterogeneous materials bound together at some uncertain date. It is, however, referred to as the *libro antiguo* in the colophon to the Valpuesta *Galicano*, composed in 1236, a reference that precludes the possibility that it is a much later compilation. Beyond this, Ruiz Asencio *et alii* prudently avoided speculating with regards to the likely date of composition⁹, but two questions should guide us. On the one hand, 99% of its contents are earlier than 1140; on the other hand, there is abundant use of the Caroline script, which only came to be used in Castile around that time. Indeed, the most prolific hand in the whole cartulary, labelled C1 by Ruiz Asencio *et alii*, is dated paleographically to the period 1120-40¹⁰. Scribes C3, C4, C5, C6, C9 and C12 are all estimated to be from this same period or slightly later, and, by contrast, hands from the second half of the twelfth century are responsible only for marginalia¹¹. Taking all this into account, it seems reasonable as a working hypothesis to think in terms of the volume as an essential-

⁶ Peterson, «*Becerro Gótico*».

⁷ *Memoria de la población de la ciudad de Oca por Urraca I de Castilla* (Archivo Histórico Nacional, clero-secular_regular, Car.719, N.1). It was published in *Documentos Medievais Portugueses*, 783, and has been analysed by Lacarra («Dos documentos») and Martínez Sopena («Concejos, tradición foral y memoria regia», 143-9).

⁸ *Becerro Galicano Digital*, doc. 387.

⁹ Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero Jiménez, *Beceros Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*, 42.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 94.

¹¹ There is also one very early Caroline hand (C10), understood to be non-Castilian which is responsible for a single original text dated to 1093, *ibidem*, 98-104.

ly mid-twelfth-century composition. Again, we should stress that it is barely a cartulary in the strict sense, but rather an ensemble of diverse materials brought together in one volume, but the number of different scribes working on this material in the second quarter of the twelfth century does indicate an interest in copying originals into book format. However, what really interest us are the origins of this heterogeneous material.

For, alongside, and sometimes even incorporated within these volumes, are sections in Visigothic script that predate the better-known cartularies, on occasions just one or two folios, on others whole quires. Similar dossiers have been observed before, though the terminology applicable to what are essentially heterogeneous documentary collections is still to be defined: *precartulaires*, *pancartes*, *microcartularios*, or even simply lists (*retablas*) have all been employed for different cases¹². *Microcartularies* is a useful neologism, however, in one of our cases from the Valpuesta *Gótico* we are dealing with a significant work of some twenty-two folios, while in other cases we have fragments whose original dimensions are hard to gauge. Accordingly, given that all the cases reviewed here predate better-known cartularies subsequently produced in the same institutions, I prefer to call them *protocartularies* as their chronology is their defining characteristic. In this article I propose to analyse a series of cases datable to the period 1030-1160. In all instances the dossiers have survived incorporated into larger composite codices. I will study five such cases: two from the *Becerro Gótico* of Valpuesta, another two contained within *Cartulario 1* from Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and a fifth case in which mere fragments have been preserved as end-pages to the *Bulario* of San Millán de la Cogolla.

The theoretical framework for this study is the principle that each text, in our case protocartulary, is treated as an object worthy of study in its own right. This approach, pioneered in France¹³, has progressively been adopted in Spain where it can now be considered the dominant methodology. Moreover, studies of individual cartularies are increasingly accompanied by comparative approaches looking at the genre more broadly¹⁴, as we will attempt to do here. Identification of strata and analysis of documentary genesis are key procedures, and «the text» is now restored as the «unit of meaning»¹⁵. However, when we are dealing with composite volumes, as is the case here, this raises a new issue: defining what «the text» / «unit of meaning» is. In the case of Santo Domingo *Cartulario 1*, the codex's present format is the result of accidental mis-binding perhaps as recently as the twentieth century. Is this present accidental format really the unit of meaning, or the protocartularies that we are teasing out from the host codex? Surely, the latter. By contrast, the Valpuesta V1 protocartulary opens the Valpuesta *Gótico*, and so surely should be regarded as an intrinsic part of the twelfth-century composite volume, as well as being a unit of meaning in its own right. We would thus here have two such units, one embedded within the other, and each understandable within its own context.

¹² Bertrand, Bourlet and Hélyar, «Typologie des cartulaires»; Escalona, «Antes de los cartularios».

¹³ Guyotjeannin, Morelle and Parisse, *Les cartulaires*; Chastang, «L'archéologie du texte médiéval».

¹⁴ Azcárate *et al.*, «Volver a nacer»; García de Cortázar and Agúndez San Miguel, «Escritura monástica».

¹⁵ «La restitution du texte comme unité de sens», Chastang, «L'archéologie du texte médiéval», #19.

1 THE BUEZO DOSSIER (VALPUESTA *GÓTICO*, FF. 82-92)¹⁶

Among the heterogenous material bound together in the Valpuesta *Gótico* there is one particularly incongruous dossier (ff. 82r-92r), the first of our Castilian protocartularies. I am referring to a dozen charters all dated to the same year, 950, and all referring to a church at Buezo near Briviesca which otherwise goes unrecorded in the Valpuesta documentation. Here there are several puzzles stretching over two hundred years: why such an extraordinary volume of documentation was produced in an otherwise insignificant church in the mid-tenth century; why this material was copied into book format by scribe V17 in the mid-eleventh century¹⁷; and why, given the apparent lack of institutional links between the two churches, it came to be included in the Valpuesta *Gótico* in the mid-twelfth century.

Buezo dossier	Date	Folios in <i>Becerro Gótico</i>	Nº in Ruiz Asencio edition	Document contents (sellers & donors)
1	950, April	82r	27	Anderquina & Nuño
2	950, June, 1	82v-83r	28	Sanzone
3	950, June, 10	83v	29	Bona & her son Velasco
4	950, March, 25	84r-v	23	Placenti & Muñata
5	950, March, 18	85r-v	21	Paterno & Anderazo
6	950, March, 18	86r-87r	22	Siseberto
7	950, April, 4	87r-88r	25	Ciezo & Flaina
8	950, Feb., 25	88v-89r	20	Tello Muñoz & Vandilo
9	950, March, 29	89v-90r	24	Ciezo & Flaina
10	950, April, 17	90r-91r	26	Vela & his son Placenti
11	950, August, 18	91r-92r	30	Juan & Cara
12	[950]	92r-v	31	Fruela & María

Table 1. The Buezo dossier (based on Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero, *Becerras Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*).

The first question seems to be related to the aftermath of a devastating fire that ravaged the area around Buezo in June 949¹⁸. As regards the third question, we can only surmise that this material had found its way into the Valpuesta archive by then and thus fell within the compilatory dynamic which led to the creation of the *Gótico*. By 1236, when the Valpuesta *Galicano* came to be composed, the irrelevance of this material to Valpuesta's core interests had been recognized and accordingly these texts were excluded from the later cartulary. The contrast is instructive.

What interests us here, though, is the second question, i.e., the mid-eleventh-century dynamic. Ruiz Asencio refers to this dossier in terms of two self-contained quires

¹⁶ Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Códices*, #1166, *Becerro Gótico de Valpuesta*, 113 folios.

¹⁷ Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero Jiménez, *Becerras Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*, 86.

¹⁸ Peterson, «El gran incendio».

«presented in cartulary form»¹⁹. In other words, if we forget for now about its subsequent inclusion into the Valpuesta *Gótico*, what we have here is the first of our Castilian protocartularies, a dossier created around a single theme approximately a century after the originals were composed. We note that around this time Valpuesta was being actively promoted by García III of Navarre (r. 1035-54) as the seat of a bishopric which would extend beyond Valpuesta's traditional area of influence, i.e., its more or less immediate hinterland, south as far as the Bureba which is where Buezo is²⁰. This initiative would then be truncated after García's death at the battle of Atapuerca in 1054, bringing to an end both Navarrese control of the Bureba and Valpuesta's projection so far south. Geopolitics then provides us with a timeframe for this initiative (ca. 1040-1054) which coincides with the approximate chronology offered by paleographical analysis (mid-eleventh century). Given that the V17 scribe goes otherwise unrecorded in the *Gótico* during a period when several other scribes were at work in the monastery (V1, V2, V3 ...)²¹, we might further surmise that he was local to the Bureba, although perhaps commissioned by Valpuesta to collate materials from this area. However, this still fails to explain why only the Buezo material has been so transmitted when we perceive a tendency towards inclusivity and even exhaustivity in the composition of the codex. This implies no other material was so collated or had survived. Nonetheless, what does appear to be the case is that in the mid-eleventh century a scribe in the Bureba, probably a local, though with notably accomplished handwriting according to Ruiz Asencio, was copying original materials into book format. This then predates the Cardeña *Gótico* but, as we will see, it is not the only case.

2 THE VALPUESTA V1 PROTOCOLARITY (VALPUESTA *GÓTICO* FF. 1-22)²²

The Valpuesta *Gótico* is a tremendously complex codex, to which materials were added over a long period, and in which in which Ruiz Asencio *et alii* have identified over thirty different hands, approximately a third in Caroline script, the rest in Visigothic stretching back from the early-twelfth to the tenth century. This begs the question of whether, in the style of the Buezo dossier, there are other early cartularies to be found within the complex stratigraphy of the codex. The answer would seem to be affirmative, as indeed has been recognized before²³.

¹⁹ Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero Jiménez, *Becerras Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*, 86.

²⁰ This is detailed in the foundation charter for Santa María de Nájera (Rodríguez, *Colección diplomática Rioja*, doc. 13, 1052), where a diocese centred on Valpuesta reaching as far south as Monasterio de Rodilla and the Arlanzón river is demarcated: *determinavi illum etiam episcopatum qui est de Sancto Martino de Zabarra usque in Rotellam et Aslanzonem et Pozam, ex alia uero parte ex Alaue terminis usque in Arrepan et Cutelium Castrum in Asturiis cum monasterio eiusdem episcopatus nomine Uallepositam*.

²¹ Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero Jiménez, *Becerras Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*, 68.

²² Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Códices*, #1166, *Becerro Gótico de Valpuesta*, 113 folios.

²³ Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero Jiménez, *Becerras Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*, 59: «el Becerro Gótico de Valpuesta [...] está formado por la reunión facticia de varios grupos de documentos, algunos de los cuales presentan forma de cartulario clásico».

Among the multitude of hands contributing to the volume, the most prolific of all is scribe C1. Writing in a Caroline script between 1120-40, according to Ruiz Asencio, he is responsible for some twenty-six folios in three main blocks (ff. 30r-48v, 64r-69v, 105v-108v), copying texts exclusively from the first half of the twelfth century. We might then perhaps even regard him as the intellectual author of the factitious volume in so far as he brings up-to-date the record and might have also been behind the collation of the earlier compositions into this one volume. He certainly makes no attempt to copy anew the older material.

However, our interest centres on possible earlier initiatives. Most significantly, one such enterprise seemingly corresponds with the volume's second most prolific hand, a scribe labelled V1 by Ruiz Asencio and author of a cartulary «commissioned in the eleventh century»²⁴. This is a reference to the first twenty-two folios, among which there are no texts later than 1019 (Table 2). The sequence is neither chronological nor really an attempt at an institutional history, as it opens not with the well-known 804 foundation text²⁵ but rather with two otherwise relatively insignificant texts from the early-tenth century²⁶. In a sense then, rather than an ordered and carefully planned cartulary, this is best understood as an administrative safety copy, and perhaps reflects the structure of the Valpuesta archive.

If we consider the texts which appear from folio 23 onwards, we can refine Ruiz Asencio's approximative chronology some more. After V1 had finished his protocartulary, the quire was filled by two more Visigothic hands (V3 & V5) before the late addition of the forged 804 royal confirmation in a false Visigothic from the mid-twelfth. V3 is dated by Ruiz Asencio to the second third of the eleventh century and has a scattering of contributions across the codex, the latest being 1070. However, what is interesting is the date of the document he introduced on folio 23, i.e., immediately after V1 had finished: 1038. Although this does not furnish us with a solid *ante quem* dating for V1's work, since he could have been working after 1038, we note that he copied nothing later than 1019. If then V1 was writing between 1019 and 1038, as we hypothesise, this was a singularly interesting period in geopolitical terms for the area around Valpuesta with, successively: the royal patronage of the neighbouring diocese of Álava around 1025 as documented in the *Reja*²⁷; the expansion of Sancho III of Navarre westwards into Castile around 1028; on Sancho's death, the partition of the realm between his sons in 1035; followed by a possible further modification following the battle of Tamarón in 1037.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 44, 60 (whence the quote): «cartulario mandado hacer en el siglo XI».

²⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 1. The purported royal confirmation, also with a date of 804, (*ibidem*, doc. 2) is entirely missing from this protocartulary. It is in a mid-twelfth-century hand, and yet in Visigothic script, so is best understood as an imitation forgery made at the time of composition of the factitious cartulary and tacked on to the end of this V1 protocartulary.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, docs. 10, 11.

²⁷ *Becerro Galicano Digital*, doc. 583. A census dated to 1025 which details payments in kind, generally in iron bars hence the *Reja* name, made by hundreds of Alavese communities to the dean of San Millán. Given that dean is a figure more readily associated with diocesan hierarchy than with monastic roles and that at this time the abbots of San Millán were also bishops of Álava, we surmise that the document records an attempt to endow the bishopric.

Valpuesta V1 proto-cartulary	Date	Folios in Valpuesta <i>Gótico</i>	# Ruiz Asencio edition	Document contents
1	911	1r-v	10	Analso's donation to Valpuesta
2	919	1v-2v	11	On S ^a María del Puerto
3	957?	2v-3r	34	A priest named Tello enters Valpuesta
4	864	3r-4r	3	Donation to S ^a María de Tudela
5	967	4v	38	Vermudo enters Valpuesta
6	929	4v-5v	12	Donation by bishop Diego
7	929-935?	5v	15	Gugina enters Valpuesta
8	935	5v-6r	14	Purchase by bishop Diego in Leciñana
9	939	6r-v	16	Purchase by bishop Diego in Leciñana
10	956	6v-7r	33	Severo recognises Valpuesta's ownership of a house in Pando
11	929	7r-8r	13	Purchase by Severo in Pando
12	[903]	8r-v	9	Analso finances a purchase in Quejo
13	939	9r	17	Gift of a <i>sorticella</i> to Severo
14	968	9r-v	42	Tello donates a vineyard in Vallejo
15	940	9v-10v	18	On houses built by Diego in Villambrosa
16	957-958	11r-v	35	Vermudo donates a vineyard in Pobajas
17	804	11v-12v	1	Bishop Juan's founding <i>presura</i>
18	966	12v-13r	37	Purchase by Muño Asurez in Pobajas
19	1019	13r	48	Nuño donates a black cow
*V2	1035-54	13r	61	Muño enters in Valpuesta
20	968	13v	40	Bishop Diego's nephew Tello enters Valpuesta
21	973	13v-14r	45	Alfonso enters Valpuesta
22	984-995	14r-v	47	Multitudinous donation de Valpuesta
23	865	14v-15v	4	Donation to Saints Cosme & Damian
24	875	15v-16r	5	Emérito enters Saints Cosme & Damian
25	960-961?	16r-v	36	Purchase by Muño in Vallejo
26	[951]?	16v-17r	32	A priest named Tello enters Valpuesta
27	945	17r-v	19	A priest named Tello enters Valpuesta
28	971	17v-18r	44	Muño confirms his father Tello's donation
29	975	18r-19r	46	Purchase by abbot Álvaro in Alcedo
30	894	19r-20v	6	Bishop Fredulfo founds San Román de Pobajas
*V3	1069	20v	72	Donation by Oveco in San Millán
*V4	1044	20bis	53	Donation by Diego de Revenga
31	940	21r-22r	18	On houses built by Diego in Villambrosa
32	[951]?	22r-v	32	A priest named Tello enters Valpuesta
*V3	1038	23r-v	50	A priest named Diego enters Valpuesta
*V5	900	24r-25v	7	Guisando donates to Orbañanos
*V6	804	26r-28r	2	Alfonso II confirms bishop Juan's <i>presura</i>

Table 2. The Valpuesta V1 protocartulary (based on Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero, *Becerras Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*; late additions are shaded and marked by asterisks, V2, 3, 4 etc. indicating the scribe).

Moreover, from 1037 a new bishop by the name of Atón appears in Valpuesta,²⁸. In other words, the chronology for V1's activity that emerges from the cartulary (1019-38) coincides roughly with a period of geopolitical and perhaps institutional uncertainty (1025-37), which might explain V1's interest in creating said volume. The fact that a number of mid-eleventh century scribes (V2, V3, V4, V5) make additions to V1's cartulary suggests that his work was finished towards the end of this period of upheaval. Hence, we hypothesise that, around 1025-38, coinciding with a period of geopolitical upheaval and diocesan reorganization, V1 copied the monastery's earliest documents into book form over some twenty-two folios leaving us a protocartulary antedating the *Cardeña Gótico* by half a century, but whose nature and chronology have been somewhat obscured by later additions and by the chronological reordering of the material in modern editions²⁹. If we combine this observation of in-house activity at Valpuesta with the evidence of an approximately contemporary more wide-ranging initiative (i.e. the Buezo dossier), the most economical hypothesis is that this combined programme reflects the monastery's changing institutional role in the second quarter of the eleventh century, when it was briefly promoted by García III to be the episcopal see responsible for an area stretching from the Arlanzón river to the Cantabrian sea. Despite the meticulous analysis undertaken by Ruiz Asencio and his team, particularly with regards to the codicological and paleographical aspects, there is still work to be done on the stratigraphy of this singularly complex volume, particularly with reference to the tenth-century fragments in book-format found on folios 109-112 (scribes V19, V20, V21 and V22)³⁰. This, however, is a task beyond the scope of this paper, and for now we limit ourselves to affirming that embryonic cartularies were being created in Valpuesta by the mid-eleventh century and, accordingly, precedents for the great *Cardeña* cartulary start to come into focus.

3 THE *BULARIO* MISCELLANY (SAN MILLÁN *BULARIO*, FF. 86-87)³¹

San Millán de la Cogolla lies some fifty miles south-east of Valpuesta on the historical border between Navarre and Castile and received patronage from monarchs from both sides eager to use the abbey as a vehicle for controlling these frontier lands. As in Valpuesta, in the mid-eleventh century San Millán too was controlled by the Navarrese monarchy and was also chosen as an episcopal seat, in this case for the bishops of both Álava and those of the nearby city of Nájera. San Millán's *Becerro Galicano*, which we referred to in our introduction, was composed around 1195 and drew heavily, though not exclusively, on the earlier cartulary known as the *Becerro Gótico* (ca. 1115). Although the San Millán *Gótico* disappeared in the nineteenth century, we have a good idea of its contents and indeed structure thanks to the notes taken by the monastery's archivist at

²⁸ Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero Jiménez, *Becerras Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*, doc. 51.

²⁹ Escalona («Antes de los cartularios», 158) seemingly recognizes this but, focusing as he does on earlier materials, doesn't further develop the idea.

³⁰ Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi and Herrero Jiménez, *Becerras Gótico y Galicano de Valpuesta*, 90-3.

³¹ Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, Archive, #A2bis.

the end of the eighteenth century, Plácido Romero, and these reveal the existence of material in the *Galicano* absent from the *Gótico*. What then were the other sources?

At the end of a third San Millán cartulary, the hitherto little-studied thirteenth-century volume known as the *Bulario* (since papal bulls feature prominently in it), there are two folios in an unmistakably Visigothic hand, a script which necessarily predates the volume by a century or more³². In this particular case, it is an authentic *visigótica redonda* from the eleventh century, with no signs of being a late imitation, indicating that two stray genuinely early folios have been incorporated at the end of the *Bulario*³³. The structural role of these two folios within the codex, is unclear. Situated as they are at the end of the volume, it is tempting to think in terms of a protective function, as indeed Romero did³⁴. However, in its current format, the *Bulario's* contents are well protected by heavy wooden covers and thick parchment leaves taken from a choirbook or equivalent and, in this context, it is hard to see what these two flimsy and deteriorated folios add. Moreover, there are no equivalent 'protective' folios at the beginning of the volume.

<i>Bulario</i> miscellany	Date	Folios in <i>Bulario</i>	Nº in Becerro Galicano Digital	Document contents
1	946	86r	43	Royal donation (García Sánchez I) of Cordobín, Barberana and Barberanilla
2	[971]	86r-v	44	Confirmation of the above by Sancho Garcés II
3	947	86v	522	Count Fernán González donates the monastery of San Esteban de Salcedo
4	1024	87r-v	90	Inventory of San Millán's possessions in and around Nájera

Table 3. The *Bulario* miscellany.

On these two folios we encounter a heterogeneous mix of material (Table 3). The Salcedo charter that closes folio 86v lacks its end, while the Nájera inventory that opens folio 87r lacks its beginning. In other words, there is no continuity between the two folios. Nonetheless they are in the same hand and of roughly the same dimensions and, accordingly, we should assume they come from the same volume. Despite these formal similarities, the contents are radically different though: on folio 86, we have tenth-century prestige charters from both Castile and Navarre; on folio 87 an eleventh-century inventory of possessions around the city of Nájera. That such disparate materials are being copied into book-form suggests that, once again, we are contemplating fragments of a cartulary. Furthermore, although the sample size of two is admittedly miniscule, the charters seem to have been ordered chronologically —the most economical explanation for a 947 Castilian charter following a 946 Navarrese one— a methodology uncommon in other early Castilian cartularies which are generally ordered topographically. Such

³² For a detailed description of the San Millán *Bulario* see the article by Leticia Agúndez in this same volume. It transpires that the *Bulario* too is in fact a composite codex.

³³ My thanks to José Antonio Fernández Flórez for this paleographical evaluation.

³⁴ Romero, *Colección Minguella*, doc. 40; «se halla por aforro».

reordering, if it is not merely a coincidence, suggests a planned cartulary, embracing both charters and inventories, not random notes.

Are these two folios in fact fragments from the missing San Millán *Gótico*, separated from it before Romero took his notes? There are a couple of arguments against this. Firstly, and most significantly, Romero, who was able to consult the *Gótico* and knew it well, indicates an alternative provenance, when on other occasions he provides precise information on location within said tome³⁵. Secondly, our reconstruction of the *Gótico*, based on Romero's notes, indicates that there would have been more material on any given *Gótico* folio than what we encounter with these *Bulario* folios, again indicating that that they come from elsewhere³⁶. Given this alongside the fact that they did find their way into the *Galicano*, it would seem reasonable to suppose that we are observing a fragment of one of San Millán's hitherto unrecorded other sources.

One of the most striking differences that emerge when the San Millán *Galicano* is compared to its lost *Gótico* precursor is the incorporation of abundant mid-eleventh-century material absent from the *Gótico* that refers to the Nájera area. We postulate that this material was related to the period (roughly 1028-1065) when the abbots of San Millán doubled up as bishops of Nájera and acquired significant interests around the city³⁷. San Millán would lose its role as episcopal seat first to Nájera and then Calahorra, the latter only recovered from the Muslims in 1045. In a similar way to the hypothetical inspiration behind the Cardena *Gótico* which we aired in the introduction, we suspect that San Millán was eager to distinguish its own possessions in and around Nájera from those belonging to the bishop, and this would explain the 1024 inventory, a significant date as it was immediately prior to San Millán's episcopal period which would complicate enormously the question of proprietary rights.

However, what we have here is seemingly something much more ambitious than a simple dossier referring to San Millán's possessions around Nájera. While we might understand the 946 Cordobín charter in this light, as this is a village close to Nájera, the presence of the Salcedo charter, referring to a monastery some fifty kilometres to the north-west, points to a more wide-ranging volume that moreover seems to have been planned rather than accumulated *ad hoc*. Why this volume existed in parallel to the *Gótico* is unclear, nor can we know whether its contents were entirely different or if it is mere coincidence that the three texts preserved here are absent from said volume, but what we do seem to have here is evidence of another eleventh-century protocartulary.

In another Salcedo document, a lengthy inventory comprising dozens of abbreviated donations followed by a witness list in which most of the donors' names are repeated, Julio Escalona observed variations in spelling across the twin apparitions of the names [*Ad*]ulfus / *Alfas* and *Abbatias* / *Abbatius*³⁸. He attributed the anomaly to confusion be-

³⁵ Romero, *Colección Minguella*, doc. 40.

³⁶ Peterson, «*Becerro Gótico*», 156.

³⁷ Peterson and García Izquierdo, «The Abbot-Bishops of San Millán and Calahorra».

³⁸ Escalona, «Antes de los cartularios», 162; the inventory is *Becerro Galicano Digital*, doc. 523. In addition to this observation, in the same text we see the phenomenon repeated with the name *Mauruta* / *Maurata*. Escalona also commented on potential confusion between capital H / N in the names *Hunnio* / *Nunnio*, but this seems to be the result of faulty transcription in the edition he was handling (Ant. Ubieta Arteta, *Cartulario de San Millán*, docs. 62 & 204), as the name is consistently represented as *Hunnio* in the *Becerro Galicano*.

tween the letters a / u which are virtually indistinguishable in Visigothic script, with the implication being that the *Galicano* scribe was working from an original in said script³⁹. The source might of course be simply the San Millán *Gótico*, and as Romero neither transcribed nor commented on this type of inventory we can't know for sure, although we find no obvious place for it in our reconstruction⁴⁰. The geographic coincidence with the *Bulario* miscellany, however, points towards a tantalizing alternative: that this Salcedo inventory with Visigothic traits came from the same source. If this hypothesis were correct, this protocartulary would comprise an impressive range of documents in both geography and format, for alongside prestige diplomas from both Castilian and Navarrese traditions, we would now have a Castilian inventory to match the Nájera one. In other words, it is possible that we are contemplating here fragments of an ambitious, ordered and wide-ranging late-eleventh-century cartulary from San Millán.

4 THE SANTO DOMINGO MICROCARTULARY (SANTO DOMINGO *CARTULARIO I*, FF. 11R-13R)⁴¹

In contrast to both San Millán and Valpuesta, the church at Santo Domingo was a relatively late foundation, only coming into being in the early-twelfth century shortly before the death of its eponymous founder in 1109. Clearly then we are not going to encounter anything as early as the preceding cases, but what we will see is, relative to the youth of the church, an extraordinarily precocious adoption of the cartulary methodology with two examples from the mid twelfth century.

Firstly, what we will refer to as the Santo Domingo microcartulary. This is perhaps the least known of our cases, but is a perfect, if embryonic, example of an early Castilian cartulary. Today it is conserved as folios 11r-13r of a composite volume which Agustín Ubieto labelled *Cartulario I*⁴². In the same volume is also to be found the Salinas cartulary which we will come to shortly. In codicological terms, this embryonic cartulary occupies the first two folios of a six-folio quire, the remaining space filled with miscellaneous texts.

It opens with the heading *Hic incipit liber donorum Sancti Dominici* («Here begins the book of donations of Santo Domingo»; Figure 1) in a transitional script between Visigothic and Caroline styles that situates us necessarily in the mid-twelfth century⁴³. In this case it seems accurate to talk in terms of a microcartulary as it consists of just

³⁹ Escalona, «Antes de los cartularios», 162: «me hacen aventurar que el copista del Becerro Galicano pudo trabajar con un original en letra visigótica».

⁴⁰ Peterson, «*Becerro Gótico*».

⁴¹ Archivo de la Catedral de Santo Domingo de la Calzada, *Cartulario* #1, 56 folios.

⁴² Ubieto Arteta, *Cartularios de la Calzada*, 6. Although recognising the intervention of different hands in the codex, Ubieto assigned them all to the mid-thirteenth century and accordingly did not seem to be aware of the factitious nature of the volume or, indeed, the presence of this twelfth-century hand. Some earlier commentators had flagged the existence of these anomalous fragments, cf. Poves, «Los fragmentos de códices visigóticos».

⁴³ My thanks to Ainoa Castro for this evaluation.

S ^o Domingo microcartulary	Date	Folios in <i>Cartulario 1</i>	Ref in Ubierto edition	Document contents
1	1120	11r-11v	1	donation by Sancha Sánchez
2	[1124]	11v-12r	6	Alfonso I takes S ^o Domingo under his protection
3	1125	12r	7	Alfonso I grants S ^o Domingo the village of Jubarte
4	1133	12v-13r	9	Alfonso I grants S ^o Domingo all the royal possessions in Bañares

Table 4. The Santo Domingo microcartulary.

four documents (Table 4), and if the first follows immediately from the general *incipit*, the other three are introduced sequentially as *secundum testamentum*, *tercia descriptio donorum*, and *quarta descriptio* (Figure 2). This stylistic coherence complements the paleographical evidence and contrasts starkly with the clumsy miscellany of documents that fill up the remaining four folios of the quire in a variety of hands and styles. These sequential epigraphs are moreover highly stylized, with large ornate initial letters much more aesthetically satisfying than elsewhere in the codex. We might add that the sequential headings suggest that the intention here was more ambitious than copying just these four documents.

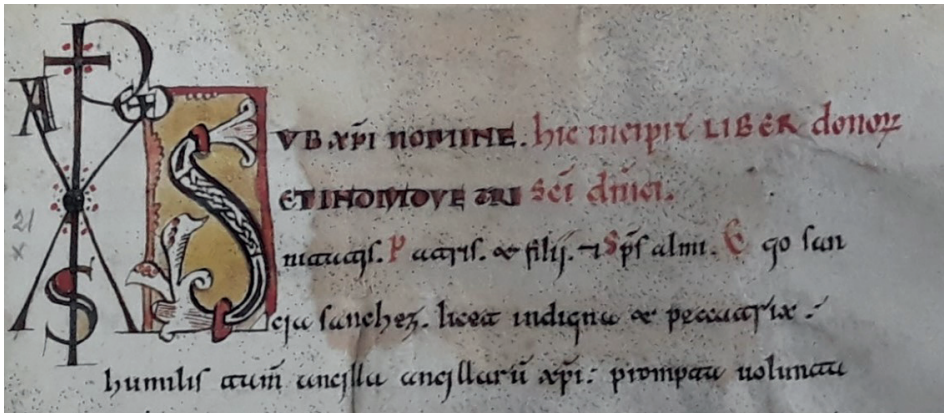


Figure 1. The *incipit* of the Santo Domingo microcartulary.

In terms of contents, as might be expected in the opening section of a cartulary, we have a number of significant institutional texts, in this case royal instruments, but rather surprisingly here they are preceded by a private donation which, while significant as being the earliest of all the texts in the Santo Domingo archive, is hardly extraordinary in any other sense. We note, however, that the other three texts, all charters issued

by Alfonso I of Aragón, are ordered chronologically and this perhaps explains why the Sancha Sánchez donation opens the volume (Table 4). In other words, once again, as suspected with the San Millán *Bulario* miscellany, chronological order seems to be the *modus operandi*, in contrast to the topographical sequences common in better-known Castilian cartularies such as the Cardeña *Gótico* or the San Millán *Galicano*. In Santo Domingo, moreover, this chronological reordering is repeated in twin early-thirteenth-century cartularies⁴⁴. The difference is perhaps in the geographical scale of the respective domains, with San Millán, for example, having a vast property empire that dwarfed Santo Domingo's possessions, concentrated in the main around the homonymous town.

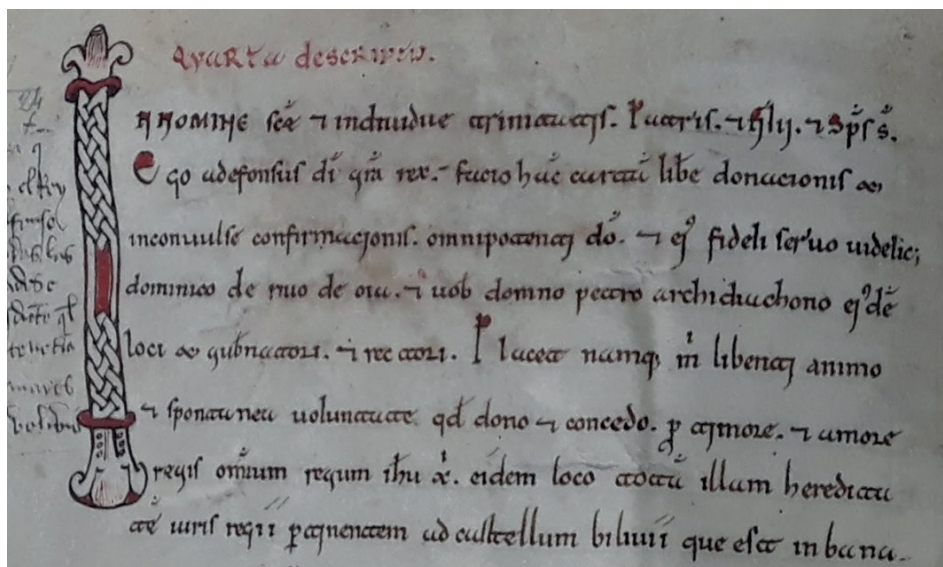


Figure 2. The fourth entry (*quarta descriptio*) of the Santo Domingo microcartulary.

Returning to the Santo Domingo microcartulary, I suspect that the identity of the royal donor, combined with the geopolitics of the period, explain both why the cartulary was begun and then promptly abandoned. The area around Santo Domingo, the Rioja Alta, had been controlled by Castile since its annexation by Alfonso VI in 1076 following the murder of the Navarrese monarch Sancho IV. On Alfonso VI's death in 1109, his realms passed to his daughter Urraca. She had been recently widowed, in 1107, but in 1110 remarried with Alfonso I of Aragón, known as 'el Batallador' for his martial, but not marital, prowess. For the marriage was short-lived and almost immediately dissolved into acrimonious warfare between the embittered couple. The Rioja Alta, though

⁴⁴ Peterson, «Los Cartularios de la Calzada».

disputed⁴⁵, remained under El Batallador's control until his death in September 1134, when it was rapidly repossessed by Alfonso VII of Castile, Urraca's son by her first husband, Raymond of Burgundy. Following the principle that cartularies often seem to be produced in periods of crisis⁴⁶, I suspect that this embryonic one was created around this time in an attempt to document the church's royal pedigree, but suddenly became rather awkward when the area was reclaimed by Alfonso VII from his hated stepfather. The latest document is dated to 1133, and there is no reference to Alfonso VII, even though in 1136 he would demarcate the town⁴⁷, so late 1134 or early 1135 seems the most likely period for its composition, a chronology supported *grosso modo* by the paleographic evidence of a transitional Visigothic-Caroline script.

If it is indeed from around 1135, one of the most remarkable aspects is just how young a community this was. This was no venerable monastery with origins shrouded in mystery which sought to set its past in writing, but rather a young church, its foundation traditionally associated with the period of the eponymous saint's death in 1109. Moreover, it seems to have had relatively little patrimony at this point, another reason for such a truncated initiative, though it had been, as we have seen, the beneficiary of some early royal largesse. This then is not a case of a great monastery with a huge endowment attempting to use the cartulary methodology to introduce order to a chaotic archive accumulated over the centuries, but rather a conscious decision to frame its narrative in book-form and chronological order. In this sense, it is fascinating to see how a fairly young community adopted a methodology hitherto almost invisible to us at such early dates.

5 THE SALINAS DOSSIER (SANTO DOMINGO *CARTULARIO I*, FF. 17R-25V)⁴⁸

Our final case study comes from the same codex in the Santo Domingo cathedral archive: labelled *Cartulario I* by Ubieto but in fact, once again, as we are seeing, a compendium of disparate material. This second Santo Domingo composition begins on folio 17r of said volume, immediately after the quire containing the microcartulary commented above (ff. 11r-16v), and consists of ten folios spread across two quires connected by a catchword at the bottom of folio 18v. These folios contain numerous late additions (Table 5), often introduced into large gaps whose significance we will return to shortly. Ignoring for now these additions and concentrating on the core material of these ten folios, it becomes apparent that the compilation is entirely concerned with donations made to Santo Domingo in the important salt-producing village of Salinas de Añana, hence the name given to this dossier.

⁴⁵ Indeed, the first royal instrument is dated synchronically to the siege of nearby Haro, in 1124, cf. Ubieto Arteta, *Cartularios de la Calzada*, 14, n. 14; Lema Pueyo, *Colección Diplomática Alfonso I*, doc. 128, n. 15.

⁴⁶ «los cartularios, mayoritariamente eclesiásticos, solían originarse en situaciones de crisis, en las que las instituciones, sintiéndose amenazadas por diferentes causas, fabricaban este tipo de libros para proyectar una determinada imagen al exterior», Rodríguez Díaz, «Los cartularios en España», 30

⁴⁷ Ubieto Arteta, *Cartularios de la Calzada*, doc. 11.

⁴⁸ Archivo de la Catedral de Santo Domingo de la Calzada, *Cartulario #1*, 56 folios.

Unfortunately, the first two folios of the first quire are missing, carefully cut away, and consequently here we have no *incipit* explaining the origins of the dossier. The first extant folio contains a series of individualised donations, generally of salt-pans. At the head of the folio there is the end of one such donation, suggesting that the preceding missing folios also contained this document type, at least in their latter part. On the second extant folio, however, this changes abruptly. After a rather incongruous and atypical heading '[I]n the year of the death of Count Ladrón' (*[I]n anno que mortuus est Comes Latro* – Figure 3), we have the start of a long list of hundreds of donations in kind made to Santo Domingo by people from the different villages around Salinas de Añana.

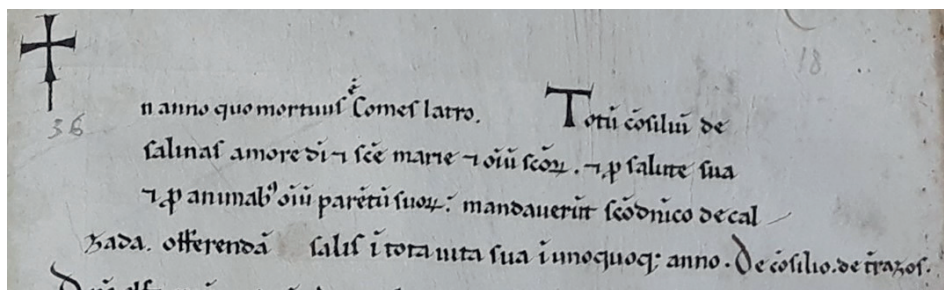


Figure 3. The reference to count Ladrón which precedes the Salinas council lists.

While it is not unusual in Castilian cartularies of this period to encounter references to interests in often quite distant salt-extraction centres, this dossier is extraordinary in its length, synchronicity and format. Elsewhere, we encounter more organic processes of gradual incrementation by acquisition or donation of interests in such centres⁴⁹, but here Santo Domingo, then still a relatively young church, is simultaneously receiving industrial quantities of salt from hundreds of different contributors. This begs the question why the people of Añana and neighbouring villages would decide to massively subsidise a young and distant church, with no tradition of links to Añana, and moreover commit to doing so on a yearly basis for the rest of their lives (*in tota vita sua in unoquoque anno*). This is never really explained, other than in the most generic terms of soul-saving: *pro salute sua et pro animabus omnium parentorum suorum*, as seen in the Figure 3 extract.

I suspect that the explanation lies in the aforementioned heading: *[I]n anno que mortuus est Comes Latro* (Figure 3). Historical references of this kind are not unknown in Castilian cartularies, but nor are they common, and on the rare occasions we encounter them they tend to be in dating clauses or as marginalia. Here, by contrast, the reference is clearly and anomalously intended as a heading, as the large space originally meant for the missing oversize initial 'T' demonstrates. This in turn indicates that what follows is in

⁴⁹ San Millán de la Cogolla, for example, over the centuries and in a number of different transactions would also acquire significant interests in Añana: *Becerro Galicano Digital*, docs. 530 (945), 532 (942), 523 (899-1035), 410 (1058), 546 (1075), 533 (1077), 278 (1096) y 294 (1085-1105). See also, García de Cortázar, *El dominio*, 89-90 and 280-3.

some sense subject to said epigraph. The count whose death is invoked at the top of folio 18r is Jimeno Íñiguez 'Ladrón'⁵⁰, father of the count Vela also mentioned in the dossier in a document dated 1157. The only other explicit date recorded in these folios is August 1156, while a further two donations mention the month, August again, but do not specify the year. Our last reference to Jimeno Ladrón in life dates to 12 August, 1155⁵¹, while his son Vela figures as *tenente* of Grañón in 1156⁵² and of Salinas de Añana in 1157. We suspect that Jimeno Ladrón died in the Summer of 1156 and that the whole dossier was inspired by this, the people of Añana, an area controlled by Ladrón for the best part of 30 years prior to this, making contributions to Santo Domingo in memory of the count.

As for the dossier itself, there are several aspects worth commenting. Firstly, we should insist on its mutilation, meaning we lack the first two folios, hypothetically similar in content to the first extant folio. In other words, we have here a proper cartulary that brings together different donations, though seemingly coinciding in both time and space, similar in this sense to the Buezo dossier. What is so singular about the Salinas dossier though is its second part: a multitudinous census complete with a set of rules explaining the dynamics for payment. In origin I believe this too was contemporary with the preceding donations, all shortly after the death of Count Ladrón, ca. 1156, but the sizeable gaps left between most of the village lists were, I suspect, left for the addition of updates. Indeed, although in the same hand, some of the lists show variations in letter size, ink intensity or internal order that suggest a diachronic process as the census was added to over time⁵³. Subtle stylistic differences between the lists, particularly with regards to the naming of wives (systematically named in some village lists, such as Fontes, but anonymised behind the *et uxor* formula in Terrazos, for example) point to an initial compilation phase in the field, followed by a formal writing-up, presumably in Santo Domingo given that the whole dossier is in the same hand⁵⁴.

Generally, the gaps came to be filled with extraneous texts in later hands (all of them characteristic of the early-thirteenth century) and concerned with other miscellaneous matters. In our reconstruction of the dossier (Table 5) these late additions have been shaded and marked with asterisks, and the fact that eight different scribes seem to have intervened in this process indicates that by 1200 the Salinas cartulary was being used as a notebook, and this in turn suggests that after a generation the original purpose and diachronic vocation of the census had been forgotten. In this context, that its contents were excluded from the three later cartularies that were composed in Santo Domingo between 1215 and 1255 comes as no surprise; it was seemingly no longer operative or significant.

⁵⁰ Traditionally known as *Ladrón Íñiguez* (Ayerbe, *Historia de los Guevara*, 69), Plata Montero (*Génesis*, 82) has however convincingly argued that he was in fact called *Jimeno Íñiguez «Ladrón»*, the latter being the family by-name rather than an otherwise unrecorded first name.

⁵¹ Martínez Díez, *Álava Medieval*, 114.

⁵² Álvarez Borge, *Cambios y alianzas*, 286, 470.

⁵³ It is the case above all with the Vitoria list where the last two thirds are in a different tone of ink and smaller letters. Most of the lists are structured with the larger contributions first, perhaps reflecting local social hierarchies, but at the end of the Terrazos list there are two anomalously large contributions which again perhaps indicate late additions.

⁵⁴ Once again, my thanks to Ainoa Castro for this and all other paleographical evaluations on the Salinas dossier.

Salinas dossier	Date	Folios in <i>Cartulario 1</i>	Ref in Ubieto edition	Document contents
1	-	17r	98	Muño Belasco donation
2	1156	17r-17v	15	Individual donations in third person
3	-	18r	17	Salinas council list
4	-	18r	17	Terrazos council list
5	-	18r-19v	17	Fuentes council list
*	-	19v	33	Urraca de Salinas donation
6	-	19v	18	Villacones council list
*	-	19v	131	Juan de Corporales purchase
7	-	20r	19	Villanueva council list
*	1194	20r	74	Juan de Aragón donation
8	-	20r-20v	20	Villa Ambrosa council list
*	c.1165	20v	48	Urbanisation of Santo Domingo
9	-	20v-21r	21	Orbo council list
*	c.1190	21r	79	Second phase of urbanisation
10	-	21r	22	S ^a María council list
11	-	21r-21v	22	Basquiñuelas council list
12	-	21v	23	Arbigano council list
*	1160	21v	35	Muño García donation
13	-	22r	24	Arreo council list
14	-	23r	25	Viloria council list
15	-	23r-23v	25	Lagos council list
*	1182	23v	50	Diego Arcediano donation
16	-	23v-24r	29	Rules for receiving salt
*	1162	24v	39	Sancho Endul donation
17	1156	25r	16	Martín Sánchez donation (in Terrazos)
*	-	25r	47	Sancho de Pino donation
18	1157	25v	32	Lope López donation (in Terrazos)
*	1136	25v-26r	11	Alfonso VII delimits S ^o Domingo
*	13 th C?	26v	105	Sancho Fornielos donation
*	13 th C?	26v	104	Sancho Fornielos donation

Table 5. The Salinas dossier (late additions are shaded and marked by asterisks).

6 CONCLUSIONS

These are but some preliminary notes to a work that is still to be written on the history of the cartulary in Castile. Until recently, the dominant methodology in Spanish medieval scholarship was to edit jointly all available documentation for any given institution. Logically and inevitably, such a *Colección Diplomática*, as the resulting volumes were frequently called, was ordered chronologically. This is a necessary methodology for institutions with multiple documentary sources but tends to obscure the nature of said source material. In some cases, when the principal source is overwhelmingly a single cartulary, this can lead to a miscomprehension of its contents, the case with early editions of the Cardeña *Gótico* or the San Millán *Galicano*⁵⁵. Fortunately, both of these have recently been blessed with exclusive editions of the cartularies that respect the original order⁵⁶.

However, what we are seeing here is a somewhat different phenomenon: all three of the supposed cartularies that house our examples are in fact composite codices incorporating heterogeneous material, a reality that, again, had been obscured by the *Colección Diplomática* methodology. What emerges then are a series of complex volumes containing layers of information that, with the important exception of the two Valpuesta cases, had gone almost entirely unnoticed until recently. Within these tomes are some tantalizing hints of earlier examples of cartularisation processes.

In effect, what we have here are two different dynamics. On the one hand, dossiers related to specific interests that subsequently were regarded as tangential to the core interests of the institution and accordingly excluded from later fully rationalised cartularies. This is the case with the Buezo and Salinas dossiers, respectively absent from the Valpuesta *Galicano* or the twin early-thirteenth-century cartularies of Santo Domingo. What these examples teach us is that from relatively early on, from the mid-eleventh century in the Buezo-Valpuesta case, book-format was being used to collate material on specific subjects. In the case of the Buezo dossier, this was done approximately a century after the original material was recorded, and that somebody decided to do so, long after the initial records had been made, points to a conscious programme of retrospective cartularisation. Why the sudden desire to make a copy of pre-existing material and why use book-format to do so are important questions which however it is difficult to do justice to in a paper of these dimensions. My intuition is that these are eminently practical solutions, and as such quite different from the curated institutional memories which we encounter in later cartularies, although both seem to emerge in response to uncertainty in the face of change. However, it seems unlikely that one answer would fit all these cases, and moreover, dealing as we are with such fragmentary remains and tentative chronologies, it seems prudent to set this question aside for a future occasion.

The Salinas case is rather different to the Buezo one, seemingly almost contemporary to events, although the combination of a unitary hand reproducing stylistic differences between sections suggests the book format was applied at Santo Domingo from

⁵⁵ Martínez Díez, *Colección documental Cardeña*; Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de San Millán*.

⁵⁶ Fernández Flórez and Serna Serna, *Becerro Gótico de Cardeña*, and the *Becerro Galicano Digital*, respectively.

notes taken earlier in the field. What is also interesting about this dossier is the abundant white-space originally left between entries, occasionally filled by updates, which suggests that the Salinas dossier was conceived as a diachronic accounting instrument rather than a record of historic acquisitions as a cartulary would be.

The other cases discussed can perhaps be regarded as the truer precedents of the Castilian cartulary. Having said that, the Santo Domingo protocartulary is of course half a century later than the Cardeña *Gótico*, and so serves only as an antecedent in the Calzada context and not more widely. Nonetheless, the clarity of the project is remarkable in such a young institution with at that time barely any patrimony worth recording. It is unclear where this precocious adherence to the cartularisation process comes from: was it, by 1135, a much more common methodology than the exiguous material remains that have survived have hitherto led us to believe, was there some outside influence at play here, or was the Calzada community singularly innovative? The examples presented here point towards the first possibility.

It is also interesting to observe in the Santo Domingo microcartulary a seemingly chronological ordering. This too would seem to be the case with the *Bulario* miscellany and here indeed we seem to have fragments of a cartulary which is both early and ambitious, and so a truer antecedent, or at least parallel, for Cardeña. That its contents seemingly comprise prestige donations from both Castilian and Navarrese traditions alongside inventories of miscellaneous possessions around both Nájera and Salcedo points towards an ambitious project which we should regard more as a protocartulary than a microcartulary, even though the extant remains are so frustratingly exiguous. Initial palaeographical analysis points to the eleventh century rather than the twelfth, and if this evaluation is confirmed it would be earlier than the San Millán *Gótico* and a true contemporary of the Cardeña volume.

But the most significant precedent is the Valpuesta V1 protocartulary, stretching over twenty-two folios in mid-eleventh-century Visigothic script. Its existence has been obscured by its incorporation into the Valpuesta *Gótico*, which of course it opens, and by the definition of the latter as a factitious codex. Nonetheless, here, as indeed was recognised by Ruiz Asencio *et alii*, we have a genuine mid-eleventh-century cartulary which serves as a worthy precedent for the Cardeña *Gótico*⁵⁷.

It is not a question, however, of trying to strip away from Cardeña its title as the first great Castilian cartulary. All of these protocartularies are in one sense or another flawed: the Buezo material is a monographic dossier; the V1 protocartulary lacks the order (institutional, topographical or chronological) one might expect from a genuine cartulary; the *Bulario* miscellany is too fragmentary for us to fully understand it; the Santo Domingo microcartulary is too embryonic as well, of course as being later than the Cardeña *Gótico*; as is the Salinas dossier, which, moreover, is also monographic in its focus. Nonetheless, these precedents, here considered together for the first time, offer a context for how and

⁵⁷ Further afield, Graham Barrett (*Text and Textuality*, 40) has recently described the opening 39 folios of San Juan de la Peña's *Libro Gótico*, with material from 948 to 1061, as «the oldest cartulary surviving from Iberia», a primacy our Valpuesta protocartulary, with a postulated origin in the period 1019-38, seemingly challenges.

when the *Cardeña Gótico* appeared; for it is not as isolated as had seemed to be the case. On the contrary, book-format dossiers and even protocartularies were seemingly being produced across Castile in dates earlier than we had realised until now and moreover for a range of purposes⁵⁸. In this context, the *Cardeña Gótico* still stands out, but no longer stands alone.

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⁵⁸ On the chronology of the broadening use of book format, hitherto restricted to the «sacred sphere» but from the eleventh century onwards spreading into everyday life, see Chastang, «L'archéologie du texte médiéval».

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