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## THE BULLARY AS A NEW TYPE OF CARTULARY: THE EXAMPLE OF BECERRO III OF SAN MILLÁN DE LA COGOLLA<sup>1</sup>

*El Bulario, un nuevo tipo de cartulario: el ejemplo del Becerro III de San Millán de la Cogolla*

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**ABSTRACT:** Following the famous miscellaneous volume of 1993 dedicated to the study of cartularies, part of the historiographical attention on these manuscripts has focused on their typological diversity. This study aims to advance research in this specific area by investigating the emergence of cartularies devoted to the preservation of papal documents. Such manuscripts have been known as *bullaria* (or bullaries in English and *bularios* in Spanish) since the early Modern Age, the period of their maximum diffusion. In the Iberian Peninsula, there survive several exemplars from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that can be interpreted as precursors of this new typology. Due to its early chronology, the *Becerro III* of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla is an excellent starting point for this investigation. The study of this manuscript reveals that, despite its factitious nature, the monks' creation of a dossier of papal privileges which opens the manuscript can be recognised as a «proto-bullary», which anticipated by several centuries the definition and diffusion of a new type of cartulary.

*Keywords:* cartularies; bullaries; Becerro III; San Millán de la Cogolla.

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**RESUMEN:** Desde la famosa publicación sobre los cartularios del año 1993, parte de la atención de los investigadores sobre estos manuscritos se ha centrado en su diversidad tipológica. Este trabajo pretende avanzar en este aspecto específico indagando en el surgimiento de cartularios dedicados exclusiva o mayoritariamente a la conservación de documentos pontificios llamados Bularios desde época moderna, su período de máxima difusión. Para el caso de la Península Ibérica, se conservan varios ejemplares datados entre los siglos XIII y XIV que pueden ser interpretados como precursores de esta nueva tipología. Por su temprana cronología, el *Becerro III* del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla se convierte en un excelente punto de inicio para esta investigación. El estudio de este manuscrito revela que, pese a su carácter facticio, la creación por parte de los monjes emilianenses de un dossier de privilegios pontificios que inaugura su estructura puede ser percibido como un «protobulario», que se adelantaba en varios siglos a la definición y difusión de este nuevo tipo de cartulario.

*Palabras clave:* cartularios; bularios; Becerro III; San Millán de la Cogolla.

**SUMARIO:** 0 Introduction. 1 Bullaries in the Iberian Peninsula. 2 The *Becerro III* «alias Bullario» of San Millán de la Cogolla. 2.1 The manuscript. 2.2. Context and rationale. 3 Conclusions. 4 Works cited.

## 0 INTRODUCTION

The thirtieth anniversary of the famous publication on cartularies<sup>2</sup>, which brought together nearly thirty specialists in the study of those codices from historical, diplomatic and philological viewpoints is undoubtedly a moment to recall how it demonstrated their value as historical sources in themselves, above their mere interest as collections of documents. Multiple individual and collective initiatives have continued to show the importance of those written instruments through a wide variety of approaches that have considerably increased the possibilities of their use by researchers. The analysis of their contents, materiality, function and authorship, their inter-textual relationships with other sources, the options and problems in their edition and even the possibility of analysis through graphic models have encouraged a continuous interest in these manuscripts<sup>3</sup>.

It is evident that the attention paid to cartularies derives from wider reflections on the role of written texts in medieval society, as they are now interpreted as cultural products as well as means of social communication and instruments of ideological representation<sup>4</sup>. Within this renewed interest in written records, the study of cartularies has proved to be an especially fruitful field owing to the synergies that their very composition involved. Indeed, as collections of documents, these manuscripts can absorb the

<sup>2</sup> Guyotjeannin, Parisse and Morelle (eds.), *Les cartulaires*.

<sup>3</sup> Without aiming of exhaustivity: Le Blévec (dir.), *Les cartulaires méridionaux*; Rodríguez Díaz (coord.), *La escritura de la memoria*; Furtado (ed.), *From Chartes to Codex*; Chastang, «Cartulaires»; Escalona, «Two Graphical Models»; Lamazou-Duplan (coord.), *Les cartulaires médiévaux*; Agúndez San Miguel, «Estudio»; Tucker, *Reading and Shaping*.

<sup>4</sup> Escalona (coord.), *Chartes et cartulaires*, 11.

individual authority of each of their components. They also reinforce that same authority by investing their contents with a shared discourse articulated around the historiographical project which justified their production and which could be altered or updated with relative ease. On the one hand, the value of written records as instruments of social construction, capable of guaranteeing legal action and allowing it to go beyond the limits of human memory, favoured the origin of cartularies; on the other hand, it has also led to novel interpretations of these collections as guarantors of authority and creators of memory. In the study of medieval charters, those that were issued by popes have always enjoyed special recognition because they give access to one of the highest authorities of the time<sup>5</sup>. Papal documents have been the object of a long tradition of scholarly investigations due to their influence on the development of writing and the regions. As an institution with universal aspirations, the papacy managed to make of these documents one of the principle means of communication and authority, capable of being perceived as a factor of integration in an otherwise politically fragmented Western Christendom. Thus, as Paul Bertrand has pointed out<sup>6</sup>, because of their high value and as a logical consequence of the Gregorian Reform and Councils of the Lateran IV (1215) and Lyon II (1274), papal privileges and other documents began to be regarded as «quasi-sacred defences» whose preservation, unlike that of other types of documents, was safeguarded with special care. Some of these documents have reached the present day in their original version, but many others are known as summaries in papal registers or through the copies preserved in cartularies. Together with royal, comital and episcopal privileges, the preservation of papal documents among the folios (especially the opening ones) of ecclesiastical cartularies was quite frequent because of their value as evidence of the main benefactors and privileges of the institution producing the manuscript. The growing importance of papal authority favoured, in the last centuries of the Middle Ages and especially at the start of the Modern Age, the spread of a new type of manuscript known as *bullarium* and conceived as an instrument that specialised in the preservation of documents issued by the papacy and its representatives in favour of a specific institution.

The present study aims to advance research on cartularies by investigating the appearance of this new typology of manuscripts devoted exclusively or mainly to the preservation of papal documents<sup>7</sup>. The spread of *bullaria* through different European kingdoms is characteristic of the first centuries of the Modern Age. However, as an exception, in the Iberian Peninsula, several codices can be viewed as precursors of this

<sup>5</sup> Without aiming to be exhaustive, some collective initiatives for the edition of papal sources include the following: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* Göttingen Science Academy, *Les Registres des Papes du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* and *Les Registres et Lettres des Papes du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* de la Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, whose endeavour began in the late nineteenth century, *Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana* of the Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica and *Monumenta Hispaniae Pontificia* of the University of León. For a brief state of the art on papal diplomas covering the last three centuries, see Domínguez Sánchez, *El primer manual*, 10-20.

<sup>6</sup> Bertrand, *Documenting*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> New typologies of cartularies are still attracting scholarly attention, as can be seen in Cristina Carbonetti's article in this special issue. On the difficulties inherent in trying to define the cartulary «genre» and its different typologies, see the articles by Joanna Tucker and Robert Berkhofer, also in this issue

development. The manuscript known as *Becerro III* at the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, which was produced in the second half of the thirteenth century, represents an outstanding example of this gradual development of cartularies into instruments that specialised in the recognition of papal authority. The objective of the present study is to analyse the logic and strategies that articulate this codex to assess the possible reasons that led the monks of San Millán to create a third cartulary<sup>8</sup>. In this way, it aims to frame the production of a bullary at San Millán within the emergence and expansion of this new typology. This will be achieved by studying the architecture of the codex, which reflects the selection and organisation of texts before and after it was initiated, as evidence of the possible reasons that led to this new written project. It is also necessary to compare the structure and contents of this third manuscript with those of the earlier cartularies from San Millán, especially the *Becerro Galicano*, which is the only one of the two to have been preserved to this day. In this way, the present article will be a first approach not only to this specific bullary, which has received little historiographical attention<sup>9</sup>, but also to a general reflection on the emergence of these specialised cartularies in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages.

## 1 BULLARIES IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

The medieval papacy was the only institution with universal aspirations in a Europe divided into regions and kingdoms, the only one capable of becoming a spiritual and cultural centre as well as a driving force behind processes of integration and innovation<sup>10</sup>. Together with legates and general councils, the documents issued by the papal chancery were important representations of the pope's authority and they became one of the main forms of medieval communication. As stated by Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, papal privileges and the other documents issued by the papal chancery exercised a lasting influence on the development of writing and the uses of chanceries and scribes in various European kingdoms because of their extraordinary quantitative and qualitative importance<sup>11</sup>. Epistolary connections between the Roman pontiff and the territories of western Christendom are known from a very early date. In Spain, these contacts on public and ecclesiastical matters date back to the middle of the third century, although the first on ecclesiastical discipline took place in the year 385 when Pope Siricius wrote to Bishop Himerius in Tarragona about the acceptance of new clergy and their moral conduct. The next contact we know of concerning the suppression of heresy took place in 447, when Pope Leo I wrote his letter *Quam laudibiliter* to Bishop Turibius of Astorga about the readmission into the Church of repentant followers of Priscillianism<sup>12</sup>. We also know of the

<sup>8</sup> On the earlier two cartularies produced at San Millán in the twelfth century, see below text corresponding to note 34.

<sup>9</sup> Claudio García Turza and Francisco Javier García Turza provide a brief description of this manuscript in their study *Una nueva visión*, 37-8.

<sup>10</sup> Herbers, «Las relaciones ibéricas», 13.

<sup>11</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, «Documentación eclesiástica», 180; Sanz Fuentes, «Influencia», 81-90.

<sup>12</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, «Documentación eclesiástica», 188.

letter which Archbishop Ascanio of Tarragona, with the support of some other bishops in his province, sent to Pope Hilarius in 463 or 464 accusing Bishop Silvano of Calahorra of conducting illicit episcopal consecrations<sup>13</sup>.

The eighth-century settlement of Muslim populations in the Iberian Peninsula led—in the words of Thomas Deswarte—to reciprocal ignorance between the Iberian Christian kingdoms and the pope in Rome<sup>14</sup>. Thus, from that time to the eleventh century, the Roman pontiff held ecclesiological and ideological power but his jurisdictional capacity in this region was minimal. Except for Catalonia, which had traditionally enjoyed closer contacts with the rest of Europe, it was only after the eleventh century that documentary contacts with Rome became increasingly frequent<sup>15</sup>. From the mid-eleventh century, the number of papal documents in Spanish archives increases until the time when, as Santiago Domínguez points out<sup>16</sup>, in the thirteenth century, a document was addressed from the papal chancery to the Iberian kingdoms every three days on average. The work of the papal legates in Hispania was constant from the mid-eleventh century onwards<sup>17</sup>, in the same way as the Roman curia was a frequent destination for procurers and agents of Iberian kings, bishops and clergy<sup>18</sup>.

This intensification in the documentary relations between the Roman pontiff and the Iberian Christian territories was a direct consequence of the growth and steady specialisation of the papal chancery<sup>19</sup>. This was the centre of public communication *par excellence* in Europe, at least until the mid-seventeenth century, since every decision of the Pope and other authorities in the Holy See was subsequently materialised in a document issued there<sup>20</sup>. According to Patrick Zutshi, already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the papal chancery had a virtual monopoly on documents issued in the name of the pope, but from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was the only office devoted to that function<sup>21</sup>. Not only was it the largest and most complex department in the Roman curia but also the one with the most contacts with individuals and institutions outside Rome because of the petitions that arrived from all Latin Christendom to request a wide array of concessions or to query legal matters<sup>22</sup>. The activity of the chancery increased spectacularly from the twelfth century onwards because of the growing number of petitions, which reflects the trend towards more matters becoming monopolised by Rome.

<sup>13</sup> Barrenas Alonso, «Calahorra», 157-8.

<sup>14</sup> Deswarte, *Une Chrétienté*, 21-4.

<sup>15</sup> A fundamental study on this topic is Domínguez Sánchez and Herbers, *Roma y la Península Ibérica*.

<sup>16</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, «Documentación eclesiástica», 380-1. For the diocese of León, this author recorded 641 documents issued by the Roman curia from the late eleventh century to the late thirteenth century. As Paul Bertrand states, «in many religious houses belonging to the new orders of the thirteenth century, as in ancient Cistercian, Cluniac, or canonical foundations, the preponderance of these *bullae* in their charter collections is remarkable. Where by chance diplomatic documents have survived from mendicant houses' archives of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they consist mostly, if not almost exclusively, of papal bulls», p. 26. On this topic see also Barret, *La mémoire*, 147-51.

<sup>17</sup> Fleisch, «Legados papales».

<sup>18</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, *Los procuradores*.

<sup>19</sup> Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters*, 11-27.

<sup>20</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, «Documentación eclesiástica», 188.

<sup>21</sup> Zutshi, *The Avignon*, 4.

<sup>22</sup> On the role of the petitions that reached Rome, see Johrendt, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen*.

The monastic reform contributed to this since it was what allowed the papacy to extend its influence across Europe by ensuring the protection of monasteries and making them exempt from diocese authority<sup>23</sup>.

This increasing volume of communications with the Holy See meant that ecclesiastical institutions gradually replaced royal diplomas with papal privileges as instruments guaranteeing their rights. Thus, papal documents began to be perceived as virtually «quasi-sacred defences» of ecclesiastical privileges whose preservation was prolonged infinitely through their careful custody in cathedral, monastic and palace treasures and archives<sup>24</sup>. In addition, the original documents, which must have been often used to defend rights and prerogatives, were systematically reproduced individually and collectively, in notary copies, *vidimus*, cartularies etc. In this way, monasteries and cathedrals kept a «back-up copy» of the papal charters with which to guarantee their exemptions and privileges.

This copying process was especially beneficial for the preservation of the bulls sent to Hispania from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, the time when the oldest privileges of this type were issued in favour of ecclesiastical institutions in the Iberian Peninsula<sup>25</sup>. Unfortunately, many of the original documents have been lost, and only 25% of the charters sent by the papal chancery to the Hispanic kingdoms have been preserved, as explained by Santiago Domínguez Sánchez<sup>26</sup>. Their copies in cartularies therefore fulfilled the function of instruments guaranteeing rights, which has permitted the survival of a large part of this documentary heritage. Indeed, as the author says, «in Hispania, cartularies are a source of great importance for the localisation of missing papal diplomas»<sup>27</sup>. However, he also remarks, it is necessary to make a critical study of all the documents copied in a cartulary because, even though some of them are signed by a notary, these copies are not as faithful as those of other documentary types because of the liberties that the copiers allowed themselves.

The preservation of papal documents in the first folios of cartularies is a frequent pattern in the composition of these collections in the Hispanic kingdoms, especially from the twelfth century onwards<sup>28</sup>. Nonetheless, parallel to the increasing strengthening of papal authority and the growing documentary production of the papal chancery, it became necessary to gather papal privileges in specialised collections which came to be called *bullaria*. However, as Paul Bertrand states<sup>29</sup>, the term «bullaire» used by Franco-phone historians really pertains to the Modern Age. It has two meanings, as it can refer to a modern edition of papal bulls or to a manuscript in which papal documents issued

<sup>23</sup> Deswarte, *Une chrétienté*, 20.

<sup>24</sup> Bertrand, *Documenting*, 24. A good example of the legal authority and solemn nature of papal documents is found in the decretals of Gregory IX. Domínguez Sánchez, «Obispos y cabildos», 16-9.

<sup>25</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, «Las bulas», 92.

<sup>26</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, *La colección de pergaminos*, 103.

<sup>27</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, «Los cartularios», 64.

<sup>28</sup> Sirantoine, «Letters».

<sup>29</sup> Bertrand, *Documenting*, 25. According to this scholar, «in many mendicant houses' archives, these bulls had pride of place, for they were characteristic documentary attributes of mendicant religious orders (...) If the mendicants preserved them, it was clearly to safeguard the house, to use them as proofs in the event of conflict and to guarantee their immunities, especially against the secular clergy» (25-6).

for a specific institution were copied. The typology of *bullaria* developed in modern centuries when the task of compiling and editing medieval papal diplomas became widespread. This huge labour was carried out by Catholic historians from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, above all as a response to the aspirations of Lutheran historians to assimilate reformed protestant churches with early Christianity<sup>30</sup>. According to Santiago Domínguez, in addition to the ambition of the positions of the Church, in the eighteenth century some religious orders felt the need to present as authentic the charters that justified their privileges, exemptions and properties: «For that purpose, by resorting to the approval and certification of copies signed by notaries, ecclesiastical judges or even kings, they carefully collected in dedicated volumes the bulls and royal diplomas that demonstrated and ratified their possessions and exemptions»<sup>31</sup>. It should be noted that this type of initiative was not only taken by monastic orders and cathedral sees, since other institutions also proceeded to «cartularies» papal documents. In Hispania, the Complutense University began the composition of the first of its bullaries in the mid-sixteenth century. The aim was to gather the bulls and briefs relating to the properties and privileges of the Colegio Mayor of San Ildefonso in Alcalá de Henares<sup>32</sup>. Therefore, with the term «bullary» one can refer both to compilations by modern authors, generally arranged in chronological order and relating to one or more popes, and to manuscripts which take the form of specialised cartularies created by the institutions that had received the relevant privileges. With reference to the first meaning, it can be noted that the edition of general bullaries of the Church or of bullaries belonging to different religious orders has been a long endeavour which is still bearing fruit<sup>33</sup>. As for the origin of bullaries as specialised cartularies, it would seem that no attempt has been made so far to study the emergence and spread of this typology of manuscripts. This article is a first step in that direction focusing on an exemplar from the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, which, because of its early date, represents an ideal starting point.

## 2 THE *BECCERRO III* «ALIAS BULLARIO» OF SAN MILLÁN DE LA COGOLLA

The monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla has attracted a great deal of attention from medievalists, not only because of the history of its famous founder, but also because

<sup>30</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, *El primer manual*, 24-30. An excellent summary of this typology is in Ortolan, *Bulnaire*, cols. 1243-1255. Another resource to find references and links to collections of papal documents, of both the Middle Ages and the Modern Age is: <https://guides.nyu.edu/medieval-and-renaissance-studies/finding-papal-documents#s-lg-box-5637355>

<sup>31</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, *El primer manual*, 25.

<sup>32</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional. UNIVERSIDADES, L.1095.

<sup>33</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, *El primer manual*, 25. As this scholar remarks, these bullaries do not only contain papal bulls and briefs but also include decrees of the Holy Congregations that emerged after the reform of the pontifical curia with Sixtus V (1588). One of the first major examples of this typology was compiled by Antonio Carafa and published in 1591 with the title *Epistolae decretales summorum pontificum* (3. Vols.) The continuation of this type of endeavour can be still observed in several national projects such as Anglia Pontificia, Gallia Pontificia, Germania Pontificia, Italia Pontificia and Hispania Pontificia.



of the large volume of written sources produced by its scriptorium<sup>34</sup>. Within that outstanding written production, the archival activities of the monks included a labour of multiple cartularisation projects which are particularly relevant to the present study<sup>35</sup>. Thus, in the twelfth century, two cartularies were created: the *Becerro Gótico*, now lost, which was produced in about 1115 with additions throughout the twelfth century, and the *Becerro Galicano*, which has been dated to 1195<sup>36</sup>. This work of copying and compiling the deeds and privileges of the monastery was completed in the thirteenth century with the production of a third cartulary, whose original corpus reveals a special interest in papal documents. The rationale behind the composition of this codex and the study of its context of production may be of use to unravel the intentions of the monastery community in carrying out this innovative project.

## 2.1 *The manuscript*

The *Becerro III* is kept in the archive of the monastery with the shelfmark A 2bis. It is now inside modern covers, 31 by 22 cm in size. On the front cover, the title *Becerro III de San Millán* is printed in golden letters while on the back cover appears *allias Bullario*. Pages from some hymnal were used as flyleaves and on one of them, in modern handwriting, it says: «The present book returned to the Monastery of San Millán on 24 January 1881». The note is in itself quite revealing about the effects of the expropriation process on the monastery scriptorium. The Benedictine monks were definitively expelled from the monastery in 1835, after two previous attempts in 1809 and 1820. The lack of solvency of the potential buyers led to the introduction of a community of Augustinians in 1878 under the rule of Toribio Minguella. He is known for his achievements as the author of the first Tagalog grammar, as bishop of Puerto Rico, senator, and member of the Royal Academy of History. Minguella also supervised the restoration of the monastic buildings at San Millán and the archive; parts of the latter's collection had been safeguarded by townspeople, who saved the *Becerro Galicano* and the *Bullario* during the expropriation process, while the first monastic cartulary, the *Becerro Gótico*, was not so fortunate<sup>37</sup>.

The *Becerro III* now consists of 87 folios, without counting those that have been cut out, or the index, which lists 159 texts<sup>38</sup>. The signs of validation (e.g. monograms, *benevalete* ...) of the papal documents were not usually copied. A first series of Roman numbers in black ink framed in green ink appears at the top of the folios as far as folio 56, although some of them are unnumbered<sup>39</sup>. After folio 59, a second numbering is in

<sup>34</sup> García de Cortázar, «La construcción»; García Turza, «San Millán».

<sup>35</sup> For an exhaustive treatment of modern historiography on the charters of San Millán, see Peterson, «Reescribiendo», 655-6.

<sup>36</sup> Peterson, «La arquitectura», «El Becerro Gótico» and «Reescribiendo». About the *Becerro Galicano* see the digital edition: *Becerro Galicano Digital* ([www.ehu.eus/galicano](http://www.ehu.eus/galicano), accessed 02/09/2023).

<sup>37</sup> Peterson, «El Becerro Gótico», 149.

<sup>38</sup> The last folio of the Index was re-used later by several different hands to include two inventories.

<sup>39</sup> Folios 7, 22, 23 and 24 are not numbered. The decoration with green ink disappears between folios 45 and 47 and again between folios 51 and 56.



modern handwriting in Arabic numerals. The index, which takes up a folio and a half, is titled *incipiunt tituli privilegiorum*, and contains 84 entries. It is written in Caroline script in two columns in black ink, while the folio number of each document is given in red ink. This index only lists the documents copied as far as folio 56, and it is up to this point that, not without some irregularities, the decoration is maintained with black and red ink for the illuminated initials.

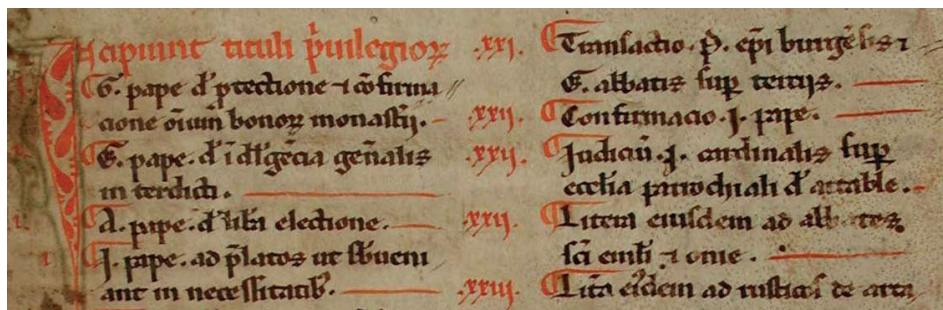


Figure 1. Index.

From folio 1 to folio 56, the codex is arranged in a single column in Caroline script, with 34 or 35 lines per folio, except for some folios on which texts were added later. It is clear that not enough space was left for the rubrics, as they sometimes extend to the margins of the texts. This form of presentation differs from the *Becerro Galicano*, whose appearance is much tidier and cleaner and, except for *Los Votos de San Millán*, is written in two columns, and only uses red ink in its decorations. In its structure, *Becerro III* is made up of 12 quires as summarised in Table 1.

Quire	Folios	Quire typology	Remarks
1 <sup>st</sup>	1-8	Quaternion	Catchword
2 <sup>nd</sup>	9-16	Quaternion	Catchword
3 <sup>rd</sup>	17-24	Quaternion	Catchword
4 <sup>th</sup>	25-32	Quaternion	Catchword
5 <sup>th</sup>	33-40	Quaternion	Catchword
6 <sup>th</sup>	41-48	Quaternion	Catchword
7 <sup>th</sup>	49-56	Quaternion	
8 <sup>th</sup>	57-62	Ternion	Three folios have been cut
9 <sup>th</sup>	63-72	Quinion	
10 <sup>th</sup>	73-78	Ternion	
11 <sup>th</sup>	79-84	Ternion	Two folios have been cut Blank folio 85
12 <sup>th</sup>	86-87	Binion	Visigothic handwriting

Table 1. Codicological structure.

In both its formal appearance and its current structure, the codex seems in reality to be a factitious cartulary. A coherent codicological organisation can be observed up to folio 56; within the seven quaternions containing these folios, papal documents appear between folio 1 and folio 25, which are the texts justifying the definition of the manuscript as a bullary<sup>40</sup>. The remaining folios (26-56) contain a miscellaneous section, a feature which can also be observed in the *Becerro Galicano*<sup>41</sup>. From folio 57 onwards, the material structure of the codex is more diverse, although a certain rationale can be perceived in the organisation of its contents, as shown in Table 2.

Within the proposed structure, which agrees with the codicology itself, four independent units can be observed:

1. (Folios 1r-56v). The bullary itself extends as far as folio 25 verso and is organised in thematic sections. This is followed by a large miscellaneous dossier with no apparent thematic, chronological or topographic logic. However, in this miscellaneous section, some short documentary dossiers deal with Fonzeleche (ff. 25v-34r), Vallarta (ff. 34v-35v) and the church of Santa María de Tera (35v-37r). This ordering of these charters in the manuscript may reflect the organisation of the monastic archive.

2. (Folios 57r- 62v). This portion of the manuscript contains a coherent section entirely dedicated to San Millán's conflict with the diocese of Calahorra. Several of the charters appearing here have raised doubts about their authenticity; this is the case for the bull of Pope Innocent III of 1199, also copied in the second and fourth folios of the same manuscript and which will be discussed below, and for two charters referring to the translation of the relics of St Aemilian in 1030 and 1053<sup>42</sup>. The importance of these suspicious documents on the translation of the patron saint is due to the role they have played in the foundational myth of the monastery of Yuso following the miraculous event that indicated it as the place chosen by the saint himself for his burial; furthermore, they also refer to the alleged renunciation of several bishops of their rights on the first fruits and other payments known as *tercias* owed by the churches controlled by San Millán<sup>43</sup>. The use that in the first half of the thirteenth century the monks made of the recovery of the memory of Aemilian as a tool of prestige and legitimisation is seen in the composition of three books devoted to that topic: the *Translatio*, the *Liber miraculorum ipsius*, and the poem of the *Life of St Aemilian* by Gonzalo de Berceo<sup>44</sup>. The importance of the jurisdictional dispute between the monastery and the episcopal see of Calahorra

<sup>40</sup> There survive several cartularies produced in the cathedral of Toledo during the thirteenth century, which can also be described as «bullaria». Especially relevant is manuscript BCT 42-21, comprising sixty-eight folios which contain seventy-nine papal bulls. Sirantoine, «Cartularization», 176-86.

<sup>41</sup> Peterson, «Reescribiendo», 676.

<sup>42</sup> Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario*, nº 193 and 288. On the apocryphal nature of these records, see Dutton in his edition of Berceo, *Vida de san Millán*, 52-7. On the other hand, Gonzalo Martínez does not question the authenticity of the 1053 record: Gonzalo Martínez, «Monasterio de San Millán». *Becerro Galicano Digital*, doc. 34 ([www.chu.eus/galicano/idX](http://www.chu.eus/galicano/idX) accessed 13/09/2023). It should be noted that these two charters contradict each other and only the first one was also copied in the *Becerro Galicano*.

<sup>43</sup> Ilzarbe López, «Hagiografía». *Tercias* is the term used to refer to a payment calculated as two ninths of tithes. García de Cortázar, «De los diezmos».

<sup>44</sup> Asensio Jiménez, *Libro de Traslación*; García de Cortázar, «La construcción», 471-3.

Units	Folio	Date	Description	Dossiers
1 <sup>th</sup>	1r	10 <sup>o</sup> año	G(regorius) pape de protectione et confirmacione omnium bonorum monasterii	1 <sup>o</sup> : papal privileges
	1r-1v	10 <sup>o</sup> año	G(regorius) pape de indulgentia generalis interdicti	
	1v	4 kal sept	A(lexander) pape de libera electione	
	1v-2r	1199	I(nocentius) pape ad prelatos ut subveniant in necessitatibus	
	2r-4v	1199	I(nocentius) pape de protectione et confirmatione omnium bonorum monasterii et de cuibusdam allis indulgentiis	
	4v-6r	1219	A(lexander) pape de eodem	
	6r	1216	S(parragus) archiepiscopi de indulgentia XL dierum in festibitibus sancti Petri et Sancti Emiliani	
	6r-6v	s.f.	Arzobispo Hugo – H(ugo) archiepiscopi de eodem	
	6v-7r	1163	Transactio Roderici episcopi super terciis et cenis	2 <sup>o</sup> : About Calahorra
	7r-8r	1164	Confirmacio H(ugo) archiepiscopi	
	8r	1199	Confirmacio I(nocentius) pape	
	8r-8v	1196	Confirmacio R archiepiscopi	
	8v-9r	1228	Compromisum I episcopi et I abatis super iuribus episcopalibus	
	9r-10r	1228	Sentencia arbitrorum	
	10r-11r	1244	Appellacio I abbatis de gravamine A episcopi	
	11r	1245	De procuratore episcopi et capituli	
	11r-11v	1246	Commissio vicis M petrus Archidiaconi	
	11v-18r	1245	Transactio ab episcopi et I Abbatis super iuribus episcopalibus	
	18r-19v	1246	Confirmacio P(etrus) arcchiepiscopus	
	19v-20r	1247	Confirmation I(nocentius) pape	
	20r-20v	1246	Litera a episcopi ad dominum papam	3 <sup>o</sup> : About Burgos
	20v-21r	1246	Litera iudicum testimonialis	
	21r-22r	1163	Trasnsactio P episcopi burgensis et G abbatis super tertiis	4 <sup>o</sup> : About Oña
	22r	1199	Confirmacio I(nocentius) pape	
	22r-22v	1155	Iudicium J(acintus) cardinalis super ecclesia parrochiali de Artable	
	22v-23r	1173	Litera eiusdem ab abbates sancti emiliani et onie	
	23r	s.f.	Litera eiusdem ad rusticos de Artable	
	23r-23v	III <sup>o</sup> kal. Sept	Confirmacio A(lexander) pape	
	23v	s.f.	Litera A(drianus) pape ad abbatem oniensis	
	23v-24r	s.f.	Litera G(regorius) cardinalis ad abbatem de Buyezo et ad archidiaconum de Salas super causa que vertebatur inter abbates santi emiliani et onie	
	24r-24v	1194	Conposicio facta per eodem	
	24v	1199	Confirmacio I(nocentius) papa	
	24v-25v	1215	Compromissum I abbatis et clericorum de Artable in arbitros super ecclesias sancte Marie et arbitrium eorudem	
	End of Bullary			
	25v-56v	1085-1279	Miscellaneous dossier	
2 <sup>th</sup>	57r-62v	1030-1163	Executive summary about Calahorra	
3 <sup>th</sup>	63r-72v	1285-1288	Sancho's IV microcartulary	
4 <sup>th</sup>	73r-82r	1220-1222	Chamberlain Pedro's microcartulary	About Badarán
	83v-84r	929	Donation of Santa María de Badarán	
	86r-87v	Visigothic Binion		

Table 2. Contents Structure.

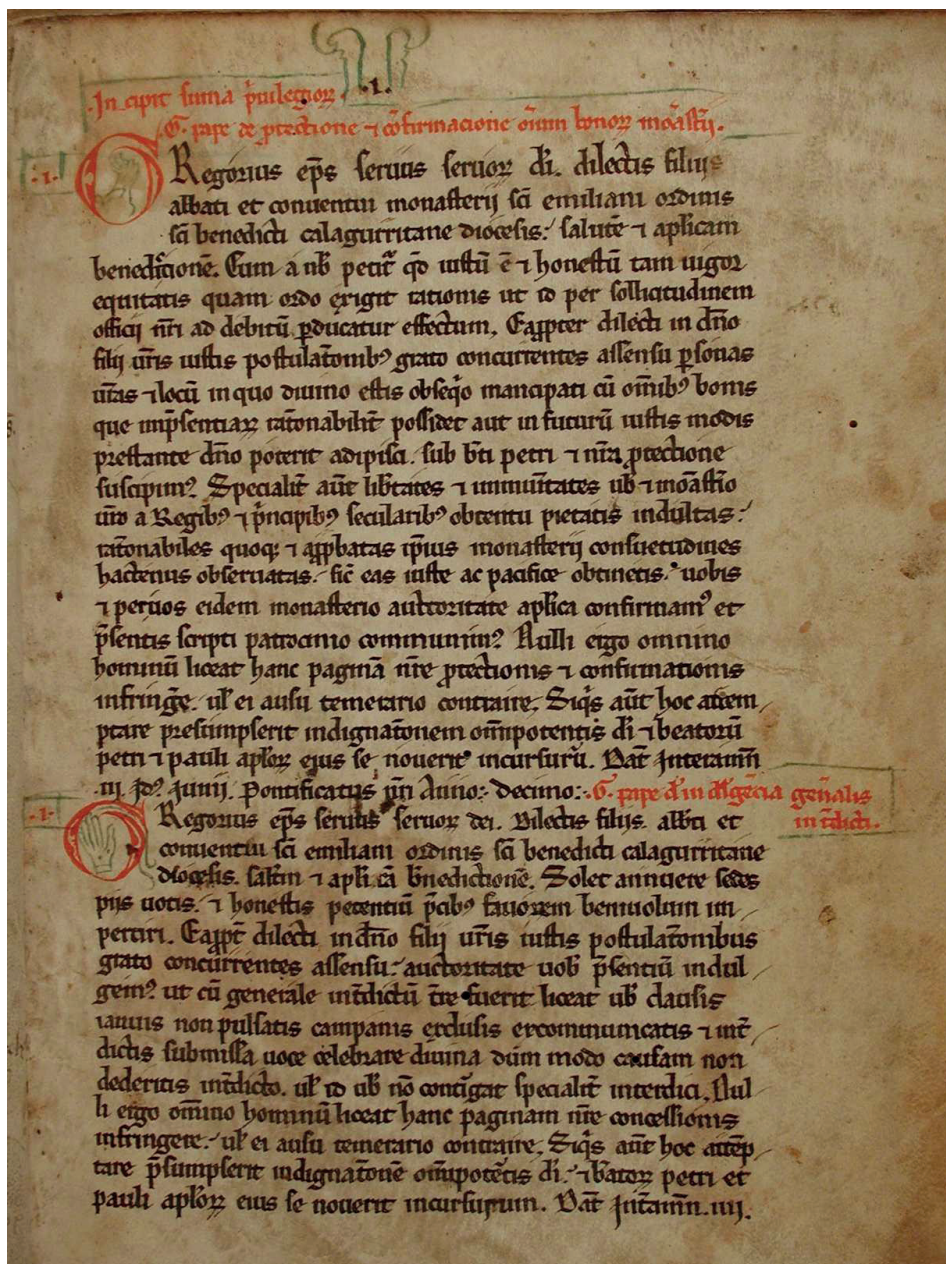


Figure 2. Folio 1r.



has been identified by David Peterson as the main reason for the production of the *Becerro Galicano*<sup>45</sup>. Indeed, this dossier may be regarded as an executive summary of the contents of the second cartulary regarding the rights of San Millán de Cogolla over the claims of Calahorra, together with a series of forgeries or interpolated documents in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The creation of this dossier may have been related to its presentation in the reopening of the lawsuit with the Calahorra See in 1228, in which, according to Dutton, the charters about the transalation of the relics were exhibited<sup>46</sup>.

3. (Folios 63r-72v) The third section is a quite homogeneous corpus in its material production, written only in black ink with some incomplete initials, including a series of diplomas granted by King Sancho IV of Castile from 1285 to 1288, together with one by Diego López de Haro in 1286 about the village of Grañón. The benevolent policy of the monarch towards the monastery is evident in this dossier as it includes specific privileges for protection and concessions, such as those referring to Tera, Tejadiello and Sajazarra, among other places. Others are of more general character, like one that alludes to the contents of the famous «Votos de San Millán» (ff. 63-64)<sup>47</sup>. In 1289 the king issued a confirmation *in extenso* of the famous forged privilege that implied the true recognition and triumph of the monastic community over the aspirations projected in that charter and which was used as the basis for future confirmations by other monarchs. Folios 69 recto to 72 verso were later reused between the late thirteenth and early fifteenth century, and contain, among other texts, a series of donations in Azofra and in Hormilla from private individuals to the monastery, and a list of properties in Villarica, Davaliello, San Asencio and Nájera.

4. (Folios 73r-87v) The fourth dossier is a less homogeneous one from the point of view of its materiality; it extends over several quires and contains texts with dates between 922 and 1222, some of which have been identified as forgeries. The criterion that gives coherence to this corpus is the acquisition and defence of a series of properties and rights of the monastery in the nearby town of Badarán, including the church of Santa María<sup>48</sup>. Within this dossier, a first section between folios 73 and 82 contains a number of purchases made by the monastery chamberlain, Pedro, from 1220 to 1222. As explained by Claudio García Turza and Javier García Turza, «owing to the vacillations in the graphic characteristics of its alphabet (little regularity in the lines, the letters of opposite curves do not merge together, use of both straight and uncial d, etc.), it may have been written at the same time as the operations that it records»<sup>49</sup>. A second section between folios 82v and 85v includes some blank folios (84v-85r-v), others that have been cut (between folios 82-83 and 84-85) and one (folio 82v) reused to copy the donation of Barrionuevo by King Alfonso VI in 1102. The remaining folios (86r-87v) contain a series of concessions and donations in favour of San Millán which took place in the tenth

<sup>45</sup> Peterson, «Reescribiendo», 680.

<sup>46</sup> Berceo, *Vida de san Millán*, 51 (ed. Dutton).

<sup>47</sup> Peterson, «Génesis».

<sup>48</sup> Regarding the importance of these areas in the construction of the monastic domain, see García de Cortázar's studies. García de Cortázar, «Aldea y comunidad» and «Una aldea».

<sup>49</sup> García Turza and García Turza, *Una nueva visión*, 38.

century. One of these charters was also preserved in the *Becerro Gótico* and most of them can also be found in the *Becerro Galicano*<sup>50</sup>. Among these texts an especially notable one was placed at the end of the ternion (folio 83-84r); this is the donation of Santa María de Badarán with all its estates and appurtenances by King García Sánchez I and his mother Queen Toda<sup>51</sup>. The inclusion of this final binion written in Visigothic script in the third cartulary is more difficult to explain; these folios did not act as flyleaves, as this was the function of the above-mentioned hymnal; nor do their contents present a clear connection with those of the preceding ternion. It is possible that their inclusion was due to an interest in preserving exceptionally old documents. The origin of the fourth and final dossier in the manuscript can probably be explained bearing in mind the monks' interests in the area of Badarán, especially regarding tithes and vineyards<sup>52</sup>.

It is quite likely that these quires were brought together in a single manuscript when it was being bound in modern times. The bullary, which up to folio 25 can be recognised as a coherent and specialised cartulary would have been augmented with other documentary dossiers mostly also made in the thirteenth century, (except for the Visigothic dossier), which functioned as micro-cartularies displaying a fairly well-defined chronological or thematic rationale. Of the charters now preserved in the *Becerro III*, only 16 are also in the *Becerro Galicano* and five were in the *Becerro Gótico*<sup>53</sup>. Most of these charters are in the final folios of the third codex and deal with the church of Santa María de Badarán. Two charters are repeated within the *Becerro III*: the one dated 1163 which establishes the agreement with the diocese of Calahorra (folios 6 and 57), also copied in the two previous cartularies, and the confirmation of the agreement by Archbishop Hugo of 1164 (folios 7-8 and 57-58), also in the *Galicano*<sup>54</sup>. Of the 159 texts on the folios of the codex, 86 have been edited, all dated before the thirteenth century<sup>55</sup>, therefore practically half of the charters remain unpublished.

## 2.2 Context and rationale

For the purposes of the present study, out of the four sections of the manuscript which have been described, only the first one, containing what can be identified properly as a bullary, will be studied in detail to reconstruct its production context and the possible reasons for its creation. The chronological framework of the charters in this section

<sup>50</sup> *Becerro Galicano Digital*, doc. 41, 43, 65 and 87 ([www.ehu.es/galicano/idX](http://www.ehu.es/galicano/idX) accessed 06/09/2023).

<sup>51</sup> Martínez Díez, «El monasterio de San Millán», 36.

<sup>52</sup> As García de Cortázar explains, the difficulties of the monks regarding this area only increased, as shown by the privilege of 15 May 1326 of King Alfonso XI of Castile. This informed that, owing to the abuses committed by local aristocrats, the abbot of San Millán had decided to bring together the inhabitants of Villagonzalo, Terrero, Villadolquit and Badarán in Badarán, which he ordered to protect with the construction of a surrounding fortification. García de Cortázar, «Aldea y comunidad», 191.

<sup>53</sup> *Becerro Galicano Digital*, doc. 10, 21, 34, 39, 43, 44, 53, 90, 522, 681, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737 and 738 ([www.ehu.es/galicano](http://www.ehu.es/galicano) accessed 08/09/2023)

<sup>54</sup> *Becerro Galicano Digital*, doc 737 ([www.ehu.es/galicano](http://www.ehu.es/galicano) - accessed 08/09/2023); Peterson, «El Becerro Gótico», 137.

<sup>55</sup> Ledesma Rubio, *Cartulario*; García Turza and García Turza, *Nueva visión*; Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario*.



suggests 1247 as the *terminus post quem*, although some of them are either only dated by the year of the pontificate or provide no chronological information at all. The charter of 1452 added on folio 37v, which mentions a procession with the bodies of St Aemilian and his maestro St Felices will not be taken into account, as it is an obvious later addition. However, if the miscellaneous dossier which follows on folios 26-56 is considered, the date would be moved forwards to 1279.

The decision to gather all the papal documents addressed to the monastery in a single dossier is the rationale behind the opening of this first corpus, most likely in response to the fact that no papal privileges had been included in either of the earlier cartularies produced by the same community. The main reason for their absence from the *Becerro Galicano*, made in c. 1195, is simply that they had not been granted (or forged) yet. As in the case of other monastic cartularies, the monks at San Millán could have added quires to the *Galicano* but, given the size, organisation criteria and rationale underlying the production of that cartulary, its re-opening for such a voluminous corpus would have involved a significant alteration of the previous work. Instead, the monks decided to repeat the endeavour by producing a third cartulary that would demonstrate the papal concessions and privileges that they had allegedly received since 1199. The policy of claiming papal protection began late at San Millán, if compared with examples from other Hispanic monasteries<sup>56</sup>. It was especially after the second quarter of the thirteenth century when relations with Rome began to be beneficial for this monastic community.

Since the twelfth century the monks had sought, and even fabricated, documentary guarantees as a way to gradually extract the monastic domain from the surrounding episcopal jurisdictions and avoid the interference of laymen in a context of economic difficulties which could have seriously harmed the integrity of the possessions of the monastery. In the face of these threats, the monastic community responded with a policy of defensive concentration of the domain between 1167 and 1226, as shown by García de Cortázar<sup>57</sup>. From the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the worsening situation led the monks to initiate an active search for papal protection in the form of a privilege of liberty and exemption as a new instrument of guarantee and authority. However, as García de Cortázar notes, the aim was not only to consolidate the success of San Millán in the dispute with the bishoprics of Calahorra and Burgos, or the monastery of Oña «but also to ensure the total integrity of all the monastic properties and, if possible, a jurisdiction over its domain completely exempt from ecclesiastical and secular authorities»<sup>58</sup>.

This aspiration was recognised in 1236 when Gregory IX received the monastery of San Millán under the protection of the Roman see with a document of protection and confirmation of its properties, and another of general indulgence, with which the bullary

<sup>56</sup> We can take as a point of reference, for example, the case of the monastery of Sahagún, which in the late eleventh century had earned the protection of Pope Gregory VI, which is reflected in the opening folios of the first cartulary produced by that community, the *Becerro Gótico*.

<sup>57</sup> García de Cortázar, *Dominio*, 327-37.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, 337.

opens<sup>59</sup>. The next great landmark in the Roman hopes of the monastery was granted by Pope Alexander IV with a document only dated *IIII Kalendas septembris*, which gave it the privilege of the free election of the abbot by the monks; this was also copied on the first folio of the manuscript. On 30 April 1259, the same pope issued a bull confirming the Roman protection that contained a detailed list of privileges and exemptions and which was an enlargement of the jurisdictional exemption of the monastery from the Bishop of Calahorra. It is copied between folios 4 and 6. As Luciano Serrano notes with reference to the degree of freedom granted in the papal bulls of exemption, the total exemption (*nullius*) in favour of the monastery only pertained to its properties within the diocese of Calahorra<sup>60</sup>.

Two bulls of Innocent III dated 1199 were copied between the two documents of Alexander IV. In the first, Innocent addressed the bishops and abbots, with special attention to the abbot of San Millán, to whom he pronounced rules to follow against those who challenged the security and properties of the monastery<sup>61</sup>. Some authors have raised doubts about the authenticity of the second bull, or at least some of its contents. This document, which acquires the form of a *pancarte*, does not mention explicitly the rights recognised in 1236 but it hints at them<sup>62</sup>. In fact, the relation of this bull with the famous forgery of the «Votos de San Millán», which it mentions in a final clause after the subscriptions, raises some suspicions, at least regarding this added portion<sup>63</sup>. The opening section of the manuscript, which reaches folio 6v, ends with the affirmation by the archbishop of Tarragona, Espárago de la Barca, previously bishop of Comminges and of Pamplona, of an indulgence of 40 days for the benefactors of the monastery on the festivities of St Peter and St Aemilian. The same indulgence had been previously granted by the archbishop of Tarragona, Hugo Cervelló (1164-1171); this appears in the manuscript immediately afterwards.

After this first section, the dispute with the bishopric of Calahorra occupies all the attention as far as folio 21. The agreement reached in 1163 between the two institutions for the receipt of tithes and *tercias* at corresponded to the monastery was an early triumph for the monks and originated a series of confirmations from Archbishop Raimundo of Tarragona in 1196 and by Pope Innocence III in 1199. It is not by chance that the need for these validations of the agreement reached thirty years earlier coincided with the production of the *Becerro Galicano*, whose contents also attest to the memory of the dispute. The sentence and the compromise reached in October 1228 demonstrate the re-opening of the lawsuit that, in the opinion of García de Cortázar<sup>64</sup>, was not so much about a conflict of jurisdictions, which was still rumbling on, but an aspiration towards the income from rural parishes. This problem was derived from the migration of

<sup>59</sup> These documents are unpublished.

<sup>60</sup> Serrano, *El obispado*, 277-8.

<sup>61</sup> Ledesma Rubio, *Cartulario*, n° 481.

<sup>62</sup> On the contents of this document, see Serrano, *El obispado*, 278-9.

<sup>63</sup> This bull was copied again on folios 59r-61v. About this bull, Luciano Serrano thought that the alleged original, still preserved in the monastery, is in fact an imitative copy of the second half of the thirteenth century. For more details, see CSM, XCIII, note 1, and Sainz Ripa, «Patrimonio».

<sup>64</sup> García de Cortázar, *El dominio*, 335-6.

inhabitants to the south, due to a process of repopulation of the territories gained from the Muslim powers: «As the income from other (villages) declined, there was not enough to balance the episcopal accounts, so they sought an increase by receiving the *tercias* from those towns that the 1163 agreement had ceded to San Millán»<sup>65</sup>. In 1246, a new sentence ratified the same year by Archbishop Pedro of Tarragona and the following year by Pope Innocence IV, recognised that, for 80 years, the monastery had exercised over the churches in question the right of clergy designation, their correction and substitution, ecclesiastical censure, knowledge of matrimonial causes and the exemption from attending diocesan synods, among other prerogatives. The papal confirmation of 1247 put an end to this dispute through a new acknowledgement of monastic rights over episcopal aspirations and it is the latest document in the section that contains the actual bullary as described above.

The theme of this section continues over two more folios (21-22) with the agreement reached with the Burgos see regarding the receipt of *tercias* in 1163, of which a copy was made also in the two earlier cartularies. The agreement was ratified by Pope Innocence III in 1199. According to this pact, Abbot García ceded all the monastic possessions in Villasilos and Cítores together with 200 maravedis and in exchange retained the right to receive the *tercias* of all its churches in the diocese of Burgos. The monastery of San Millán did not belong to that diocese, but was two kilometres from its eastern boundary and its domain extended inside it. According to the forgery about the relic translation of 1030, the bishop of Burgos was one of those that had renounced their right to that income. As well as this documentary fiction, the bullary preserves the memory of the bishop's claims, especially about the *tercias* from Ribaredondo although, unlike the lawsuit with Calahorra, this jurisdictional conflict did not last long<sup>66</sup>. The last thematic section in the *Bullario* refers to the prolonged dispute with the abbot of the monastery of San Salvador de Oña about the rights of Artable, a town over which there was a double jurisdiction because the town itself depended on the abbot of Oña and the church on the abbot of San Millán. This conflict began in 1155 with the intervention of Cardinal Giacinto, the future Pope Celestine III, and despite the abbatial renunciation of 1209, it continued until 1215 because of resistance from the townspeople themselves<sup>67</sup>.

As García de Cortázar points out<sup>68</sup>, recourse to papal authority was a new and efficient way to protect the monastic domain from the systematic attacks of secular and ecclesiastical authorities. He maintains that these difficulties emerged out of the economic

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, 336.

<sup>66</sup> It is necessary to point out that the organisation of the documentary block referring to the disputes about the receipt of the *tercias* and other rights can also be seen in the miscellaneous section. To be precise, between folios 35 and 37, which contain the documents about the church of Santa María de Tera, that is the object of the dispute with the diocese of Osma. García de Cortázar, *El dominio*, 316. As this scholar notes, the case of Santa María de Tera is complicated because the abbot of San Millán had given it on loan to Bishop Miguel of Tarragona before 1122, while Osma claimed its jurisdiction. To guarantee their rights, the monks forged two documents, one attributed to King García Sánchez dated 927 and the other to Alfonso VI dated 1106.

<sup>67</sup> García de Cortázar, *El dominio*, 315-7.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, 338.

and social tensions caused in Castille by the progressive re-conquest and re-population of the south of the Iberian Peninsula, and by the impact on the rural economy of the introduction of wages and monetary circulation. Appealing to papal mediation as the highest authority was also coherent with the steadily increasing interventions of the Roman pontiff in the affairs of the Iberian Christian kingdoms, which is especially evident in the thirteenth century through the growing number of papal documents related to inter-diocesan and intra-diocesan disputes arising from the Christian advance across the peninsula and as a reflection of the Fourth Lateran Council<sup>69</sup>. The reception of documents from the papal curia and other ecclesiastical authorities was a fairly efficient strategy in the first four decades of the thirteenth<sup>70</sup>, during which the monastic community was able to preserve the integrity of its properties. To achieve this, together with papal favour, the monks at San Millán unfurled an ambitious campaign to recover and bring up to date the memory of their patron saint, which materialised in hagiographic works and documentary forgeries, most clearly seen in the famous «Votos de San Millán» and the charters on the relics translation<sup>71</sup>.

Indeed, according to Luis Javier Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, «from the mid-thirteenth century, monastic lordships tended, in any of their models, to maintain a fierce struggle between the erosion and conservation of their property»<sup>72</sup>. The example of San Millán de la Cogolla did not escape from that steady deterioration, as shown in the fifteenth century by the difficulties surrounding abbatial election<sup>73</sup>. To address the difficulties that characterised the second half of the thirteenth century, some Benedictine monasteries resorted to written texts as an instrument of defence and took up again or brought up to date their earlier cartularisation endeavours<sup>74</sup>. These new examples, unlike their predecessors, were organised in defensive dossiers that emphasised the disputes and the immediate needs of jurisdictional defence of the institution, as occurred with the *Bullario* of San Millán de la Cogolla.

### 3 CONCLUSIONS

As the above study has shown, the factitious character of the third cartulary at San Millán de la Cogolla reveals that the actual *Bullario* only occupies the first 25 folios of the manuscript, which is a relatively small corpus if compared with the great bullaria of the Modern Age. However, like the proto-cartularies studied by David Peterson in this

<sup>69</sup> Domínguez Sánchez, «Documentación eclesiástica», 380; Linehan, *La Iglesia española*. It must be acknowledged that the more frequent papal interventions in the Iberian Peninsula were also due to the increasing demands of the monarchy. See Villarroel González, «Reyes».

<sup>70</sup> García de Cortázar, *El dominio*, 338 defines it as «a period of general euphoria in Castile».

<sup>71</sup> García de Cortázar, «La construcción», 471-3. The scholar maintains that the period from 1225 to 1240 can be seen as a third stage in the construction of the institutional memory of the monastery, based on the prestige of its patron saint and the defence of its domain.

<sup>72</sup> Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, «El señorío monástico», 243.

<sup>73</sup> Diago Hernando, «Inestabilidad», 143-5.

<sup>74</sup> Agúndez San Miguel, «Estudio», 50-3.

special issue, which can be seen as the initial stage in the production of the great Castilian cartularies, the *Bullario* of San Millán de la Cogolla can be regarded as a thirteenth-century precursor in the development of the genre towards a new, more specialised typology. The composition of this micro-cartulary can be seen as another written manifestation of the defensive policy embraced by the monks from the middle of the century. It was a new project that not only completed the earlier cartularisation enterprise of the twelfth-century monastic scriptorium, but was also complemented with the production of other dossiers or micro-cartularies, governed by a thematic or chronological criterion, such as the ones devoted to King Sancho IV and the church of Badarán.

Unlike its predecessors, the *Becerro Gótico* and the *Becerro Galicano*, which had based their discourse on royal and comital support, the *Bullario* became the reflection of papal protection as a new resource for the monks' aspiration to defend their rights and privileges. The gathering of almost exclusively papal documents in a single cartulary responded to the absence of this document typology in the monastic community's earlier projects and was made possible by the outstanding number of such diplomas which were issued in less than half a century. It might be thought that obtaining and keeping these papal bulls in the monastic archive would have been effective enough as a mechanism of guarantee, as it indeed seems to have been the case during the first half of the thirteenth century. However, differently from loose single sheets, the copying of this corpus of documents in a new cartulary allowed the monks to provide a deliberate and irreproachable narrative of the triumphs of the monastery over all the claims of its most serious competitors, furthermore, strengthened by the addition of several forgeries. The instrumentalisation of papal authority demonstrated by this *bullarium* is a revealing sign of the gradual intervention of Rome in the affairs of the Iberian kingdoms, as a reflection of the intensified centralism of the papacy, but also as a symptom of the growing demands on the Roman chancery of an hitherto peripheral region, resulting from a new geographical and jurisdictional situation.

The *Bullario* of San Millán de la Cogolla is currently one of the first known examples of such specialised cartularies in the Iberian Peninsula. For the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries other examples from Toledo Cathedral and the Augustine Order in Portugal may be studied as pioneers in this progressive specialisation, especially considering the high number of papal bulls preserved in some of these manuscripts. The identification of these micro-cartularies or dossiers devoted exclusively or mainly to the preservation of papal documents in factitious manuscripts may be the first step in the recognition of the emergence of this new typology which would become most common in the Modern Age. The example from San Millán should therefore not be seen as an exception but rather as the earliest evidence for the production of «proto-bullaries» that anticipated by several centuries the definition and diffusion of a new type of cartulary.

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