



## Miro, King of the Suevi (d. 583), and ecclesiastical identities in northwestern Hispania (eleventh-twelfth centuries)

Maria Joana Gomes & Francesco Renzi

To cite this article: Maria Joana Gomes & Francesco Renzi (2022) Miro, King of the Suevi (d. 583), and ecclesiastical identities in northwestern Hispania (eleventh-twelfth centuries), *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 14:3, 399-423, DOI: [10.1080/17546559.2022.2118347](https://doi.org/10.1080/17546559.2022.2118347)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17546559.2022.2118347>



Published online: 20 Sep 2022.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 60





View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



## Miro, King of the Suevi (d. 583), and ecclesiastical identities in northwestern Hispania (eleventh-twelfth centuries)\*

Maria Joana Gomes <sup>a</sup> and Francesco Renzi <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Universidade do Porto, SMELPS-Instituto de Filosofia, Portugal; <sup>b</sup>Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, Portugal

### ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to reveal aspects of the process of the writing of history and the reinvention of the religious past which became crucial strategic elements in the legitimisation of some of the most important ecclesiastical institutions of medieval Iberia. Focusing on two texts, the *Historia Compostellana* and the *Chronicon Iriense*, both produced in the diocese of Santiago de Compostela, and each fundamental in defending the rights and authority of this powerful Galician see, we analyse their portrayal of Miro, king of the Suevi (r. 570–583), to whom is attributed the ecclesiastical organisation of northwestern *Hispania*. Both texts present this king as a central figure of Galician political and religious identity. The rewriting in medieval Compostela of Miro's history is shown to be a key element in the disputes between that diocese and other Iberian episcopates, namely Braga, Toledo, Mondoñedo and Lugo.

### ARTICLE HISTORY


Received 17 July 2021  
Accepted 24 August 2022

### KEYWORDS

King Miro; Santiago de Compostela; *Chronicon Iriense*; *Historia Compostellana*; *Parrochiale Suevorum*; Suevi

## Introduction

Focusing on two important texts written in the diocese of Santiago de Compostela during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the *Historia Compostellana* (hereafter HC) and the *Chronicon Iriense* (hereafter CI), this paper seeks to highlight connections between writing, identity and memory in medieval Iberia. To that end, we examine the portrayal in these two works of Miro, king of the Suevi from 570 to 583, to whom is attributed the ecclesiastical organisation of northwestern *Hispania*. Since these sources retrieve this historical figure after centuries of silence and re-draw him in a manner far different from his previous late-antique and early medieval portraits, Miro's case is particularly revealing: in his latter incarnation, he is presented as a central figure in Galician political and ecclesiastical identity. As will become clear, the HC and the CI offer an important window onto the operation of narrative connections between literary and diplomatic sources and the production and circulation of charters, cartularies and even forgeries. In this respect, the past is far more than a mere act of remembering or a collection of records (names, deeds and chronologies); rather, it becomes a living element that is continually

**CONTACT** Maria Joana Gomes  [mjgomes@letras.up.pt](mailto:mjgomes@letras.up.pt)

\*This work was supported by the Instituto de Filosofia-FLUP-Universidade do Porto, Via Panorâmica Edgar Cardoso, s/n, 4150-564, Porto, Portugal. All translations are the authors' unless otherwise noted. We would like to thank Dr. Jonathan Wilson (IEM-NOVA-FCSH, Lisbon) for the English revision of the text.

adapted and reinvented as a political and legal device for the resolution of contemporary problems. Indeed, the process of constructing the memory of Miro reveals the prerequisite of a complex and constant dialogue between the ancient past of the Suevi and the Visigoths, and the social environment and political aspirations of later medieval authors. We shall proceed by first briefly delineating the question of memory, identity and power in the context of medieval Iberia before moving on to consider the image of Miro as presented in late-antique sources. Following this, our analysis focuses on references to Miro contained in the HC and the CI. Finally, we present an interpretation of the contents of the HC and the CI in order to demonstrate their links to the political and ecclesiastical matrix of eleventh and twelfth century Iberia.

### **Power, identity, and the art of writing in medieval Iberia**

Building and imagining identities are both processes by which individuals or collective communities express affinities and differences within a given time and space. In that sense, identity is inherently a social and dialectic process, by which the different collective entities or institutions affirm their specificity towards others.<sup>1</sup> Inevitably, there is also a relationship between identity and power which is often mediated by the evocation and preservation of past events. If it is accepted that the process of building memory is simultaneously an action of constructing identity,<sup>2</sup> then the act of remembrance can be expected to play a key role in attempts to attain or regain power. Remembering the past – whether through oral transmission or written records – presents an opportunity for interpreting and controlling the present.<sup>3</sup> Like the two edges of a sword, memory and identity become important assets when the legitimacy of a position is at issue. To comprehend how these twin components can play a role in gaining the advantage in any power struggle, two elements must be ascertained: the reasons giving rise to the conflict; and the operative devices a specific community or group seeks to use in order to obtain or maintain its political or social position.<sup>4</sup> In such circumstances, written texts are especially advantageous propaganda tools because they permit the preservation of a specific historical vision. More enduring in time and space than orality, written sources possess the capacity to avoid the obvious pitfalls of the merely spoken word.<sup>5</sup>

Certainly, medieval Iberian ecclesiastical institutions were by no means indifferent to this practice<sup>6</sup> and, as a helpful preliminary to a more detailed analysis of the presentation of King Miro in eleventh- and twelfth-century Galician historiography, three principal aspects of the medieval conceptualisation of memory and identity will briefly be expounded as follows. Firstly, it is essential to consider identity and memory in the medieval context from a collective perspective.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, and especially where an ecclesiastical institution is concerned, reconstruction of historical memory is closely connected to

<sup>1</sup>Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, esp. 9–36, 191–209.

<sup>2</sup>See Nora, “Entre Mémoire et Histoire,” I: XVIII–XXV.

<sup>3</sup>Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, 259–86. For a critical review of this concept see Ricoeur, “Histoire et mémoire: l’écriture de l’histoire,” 731–47. With a focus on the Middle Ages see Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 23–47, 134–57.

<sup>4</sup>Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 234: “Texts are one important medium of this social memory-bank, the archival *scrinia* available to all.”

<sup>5</sup>Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 134.

<sup>6</sup>*Gesta episcoporum. Gesta abbatum*, I: 7–13, 42–57.

<sup>7</sup>Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 234.

the process of “territorialisation” of ecclesiastical power – attempts made by bishops and abbots to delineate the extent – for example, by fixing geographical boundaries – of the territory over which they exercised their authority.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, during the early Middle Ages, whilst bishops controlled some specific points of their dioceses, territorial continuity among diocesan parishes, churches, monasteries and lands had not yet come into being.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, this dynamic affected Western European dioceses and monasteries and impacted strongly on relations between bishops, local political authorities and the papacy. This is one reason why historiographical works produced by medieval ecclesiastical institutions were often linked to the defence of their jurisdictional rights. Thirdly, it is necessary to consider the relationships between institutions and people. Bishops, abbots and abbesses, kings, queens and aristocrats, and other lay social groups, affected the operational capacity of each institution in religious, political, social, or patrimonial spheres. Indeed, neither bishoprics nor monasteries could be considered “islands” unto themselves.<sup>10</sup> Matters including the foundation of a church or a monastery, past and present religious affiliation, possession or custody of relics, connection to a saint or other prominent patron figure, were all items in a cultural repository that were ready for deployment as part of an advocacy and narrative strategy in the construction of identity and the delineation in territorial space of an ecclesiastical institution.<sup>11</sup>

These same problems profoundly affected the formation of Iberian dioceses. Here, the processes of identity building and territorialisation were further complicated by the Islamic conquest of the early eighth century which had wrought considerable havoc on local episcopal structures and networks.<sup>12</sup> At this time several important Visigothic metropolitan dioceses, including Braga, Toledo and Mérida had been brought under Muslim rule. Some bishoprics disappeared completely whilst others were transferred to safer locations or incorporated into other dioceses.<sup>13</sup> Later, as the northern Christian kingdoms began to expand southward, other bishoprics rose to the fore with some, including Oviedo, León and Iria-Santiago de Compostela winning special status on account of their close connections to political power.<sup>14</sup> Increasing encroachment over the lands of Al-Andalus in the so-called *Reconquista*<sup>15</sup> inevitably led to the retrieval of regions embraced by the old Visigothic sees which were eventually restored. However, some of the “restored” bishoprics had continued to exist after the Islamic conquest under the direction of local clergy, maintaining a functioning administrative and ecclesiastical continuity despite episcopal vacancies and internal conflicts.<sup>16</sup> This would soon become a major source of conflict since episcopal restorations had powerful religious and

<sup>8</sup>See Lauwers, *Naissance du Cimetière*, 34; Iogna-Prat, *La Maison-Dieu*, 216. More recently and with different conclusions, Mazel, *L'évêque et le territoire*, 91–306. For a general overview of the Iberian Peninsula see Mansilla Reoyo, *Geografía eclesíastica de España*; Calleja Puerta, *La formación de la red parroquial*; Amaral, *Formação e desenvolvimento*; Marques, *Da Representação Documental à Materialidade do Espaço*; Pérez, “Infra limites Legionensis episcopatus,” 35–62.

<sup>9</sup>Mattoso, *Identificação de um País*, II:177; Amaral, “Organização eclesíastica,” 320.

<sup>10</sup>Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega*, 72; Reglero de la Fuente, “Los obispos y sus sedes,” 195–288.

<sup>11</sup>For a general overview on this topic see Brown, *Il culto dei santi*, 9–31, 122–42.

<sup>12</sup>Henriet, “Territoires, espaces symboliques,” 287–307; Vones, “Restauration ou bouleversement?”

<sup>13</sup>Linehan, *History and the Historians*, 111–12; Cal Pardo, *Episcopologio Mindoniense*, 23–29; Amaral, “Formação e desenvolvimento,” 165, 224.

<sup>14</sup>Reglero de la Fuente, “Los obispos y sus sedes,” 197–206; Henriet, “Territoires, espaces symboliques,” 287–92.

<sup>15</sup>On the origin and use of this term, today deeply debated by scholars, see Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista*, 41–76; Barton and Portass, *Beyond the Reconquista*.

<sup>16</sup>Marques, “A autoridade episcopal,” 176.

political implications not only for the Church but also for the Iberian Christian monarchs who had often played a key role in the restoration process such as in the cases of Braga (1070–1071), Coimbra (1080) and Toledo (1086).<sup>17</sup> These re-established dioceses promptly claimed their ancient rights and a return to the old Suevic or Visigothic ecclesiastical hierarchy of the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>18</sup>

Yet the world had changed prodigiously since the Suevi and Visigoths had held sway, both the ecclesiastical and political geography had undergone substantial transformation along with relations between principal Iberian actors. In addition, there was now a new and potent agency at work in the Peninsula. The reigns of Popes Alexander II (1061–1073) and Gregory VII (1073–1085) had witnessed the growth of the influence of Rome in Iberian affairs which, increasingly for many Iberian bishoprics, now became the major source of legitimacy and authority.<sup>19</sup> Typical of the problems arising at this time is the case of the Galician see of Iria-Santiago de Compostela. Santiago had inherited the bishopric of Iria-Flavia and consequently, for many early twelfth-century observers, a return to the “ancient” order could only mean submission to the authority of Braga. Indeed, Braga had been the seat of the archiepiscopal metropolitan see of *Gallaecia* under Suevic and Visigothic rule and it was on this basis that the sainted bishop Gerald of Braga (d. 1108) had been allowed to claim metropolitan status in 1100–1101.<sup>20</sup> Importantly, *Gallaecia*, both as a Roman province and as a late-antique/early-medieval kingdom, had occupied a far larger territory than modern Galicia and had embraced in the south a vast region which extended as far as the Duero River and the city of Oporto.<sup>21</sup> By the beginning of the twelfth century, the area between the rivers Miño and Duero had come to be part of the County of Portucale and, arguably after 1140, it became the newly established kingdom of Portugal. In the upshot, the ecclesiastical province of Braga found itself straddling two separate polities – León-Castile and Portugal.<sup>22</sup> It was not long before the issue of independence from Braga became a major preoccupation for the clerics of Compostela, even though by around 1100 Santiago was already without question more powerful than its rival.<sup>23</sup>

Guardian of the relics of Saint James the Apostle, Santiago had, from the ninth century, blossomed into a crucial centre for veneration and pilgrimage.<sup>24</sup> By the late eleventh century, this isolated bishopric in far-flung northwestern Iberia had seen an extraordinary improvement in its fortunes, and now enjoyed immense power and international prestige, with a substantial presence of transalpine clerics and burgeoning

<sup>17</sup>Costa, “A restauração da Diocese de Braga,” 18–19; Reilly, *King Alfonso VII*, 26; Amaral, “A restauração e Braga no contexto da Igreja Hispânica,” I: 305–08; Portela Silva, “The Making of Galicia,” 377–78; Álvarez Palenzuela, “Las cuestiones eclesíásticas y su influencia,” 315–16; Nieto Soria and Sanz Sancho, *La época medieval*, 76; Morujão, “A organização da diocese de Lamego,” 21; Ayala Martínez, *Órdenes militares*, 13.

<sup>18</sup>López Alsina, “El Parrochiale Suevum,” 107–09.

<sup>19</sup>Cantarella, *Gregorio VII*, 110–14; Ayala Martínez, *El pontificado en la Edad Media*, 138–53.

<sup>20</sup>Ubric, “The Church in the Suevic Kingdom,” 210–43; Amaral, “As sedes de Braga e Compostela,” 31.

<sup>21</sup>Baliñas Pérez, “De ‘Gallaecia’ a Galicia,” 31–51. For a general overview on Galician history in the Middle Ages see Isla Frez, “The Aristocracy and the Monarchy,” 251–80; Portela Silva, “The Making of Galicia,” 367–99; Falque Rey, “Galicia and the Galicians,” 400–28.

<sup>22</sup>Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, 102–14.

<sup>23</sup>An indicator of Compostela’s alarm over the restoration of the metropole of Braga is the expedition led by Gelmírez in 1102 to steal the relics from Braga, a “pious theft” intended to eliminate Braga as a possible competing pilgrimage centre in the region. See Vones, “Diego Xelmírez,” 103–04; Amaral, “As sedes de Braga e Compostela,” 33–34; López Alsina, *La ciudad de Compostela*, 63–65; Díaz Fernández, “Gelmírez’s ‘Pious Robbery,’” 160.

<sup>24</sup>Rucquoi, “*Hospites seu Peregrini*,” 29–30; Lay, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal*, 37–100.

relations with the highly influential abbey of Cluny.<sup>25</sup> In 1095, the privileged status of Compostela was highlighted when Pope Urban II (1088–1099) granted to Bishop Dalmatius (1094–1095), a former Cluniac monk, the transference of the diocese of Iria Flavia (at that time suppressed) to the *Locus Sanctus*, the shrine of Saint James, located a little to the northeast.<sup>26</sup> Further, Urban granted Compostela exemption from all archiepiscopal authority such that, thereafter, the diocese was answerable only to Rome.<sup>27</sup> A further boon was to come in 1120 under bishop/archbishop Diego Gelmírez (1100–1140) when Compostela obtained the metropolitan rights of the extinct see of Mérida, metropolitan capital of the antique province of *Lusitania*.<sup>28</sup> This truly spectacular ascendancy sparked the resentment of a good many less fortunate Iberian dioceses and nettled important political players.<sup>29</sup> In the ensuing confrontations, the past was to prove a powerful weapon for Compostela in culling several important diplomatic victories. Charters, chronicles, hagiographies and even pilgrims' and travellers' guides were produced recounting the history of the foundation of Santiago and the deeds of its bishops and archbishops, most of these being manufactured during the incumbency of the most famous of them all, Diego Gelmírez.<sup>30</sup>

In an attempt to gain a deeper appreciation of this re-writing of the past, two of these texts, the abovementioned HC and the CI, will be considered with special focus on the episode of the foundation of Iria-Flavia, a narrative in which the invigorated figure of King Miro of the Suevi (d. 583) is presented as playing a central role. In seeking an answer to the crucial question as to why, following centuries of oblivion, the Suevic past should be revived in twelfth-century Iberian historiography and in connection with Iria-Flavia specifically, we shall examine the compositional frameworks and structures of both texts and analyse the passages featuring the Suevic kings. As a useful foregrounding for this process, let us first briefly consider references concerning Miro in early sources.

### Miro in the late antique/early medieval texts

For the history of the Suevic kingdom (fifth–sixth centuries) the late antique sources are frustratingly threadbare with Hydatius of Chaves (d. 468/469) being one of the few historians contemporaneous with the arrival of the Suevi in the Iberian Northwest and long dead before Miro's rise to power.<sup>31</sup> Whilst, as we will see, twelfth-century

<sup>25</sup>On this topic, see Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino Francés y la Reforma," 115–22.

<sup>26</sup>On the history of Iria-Flavia, see Suárez Otero, "Iria Flavia," 277–80.

<sup>27</sup>López Alsina, *La ciudad de Compostela*, 67. On the general concept of exemption see Falkenstein, "La Papauté," 39–40, 64–141. On the specific case of the exempt dioceses, see Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, esp. 25–135; Benson, *Bishop-Elect*, 150–99.

<sup>28</sup>See Reilly, *Queen Urraca*, 243; *Tumbo B*, doc. 321; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, 35, 187–88. Whilst scholars have acknowledged the importance of this decision, they have paid less attention to the possible symbolism underlying the choice of Mérida by both Gelmírez and Calixtus II. As noted by Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 61–77 in reference to the *Chronica Subdita*, 98, paragraph 129, there is evidence of a cult of Saint James in Mérida from as early as the seventh century. From the fifth century, Mérida was an important centre for the Suevic kings, including Rechiar, dubbed "catholicus" by Hydatius of Chaves. Is it possible the choice of Mérida was a further attempt by Diego Gelmírez to connect Compostela with a legitimising Suevic past, presenting Santiago as heir to one of the first bishoprics and promoting the cult of Saint James? We venture these matters are deserving of further investigation.

<sup>29</sup>Branco, "Constructing Legitimacy," 34–35.

<sup>30</sup>Portela Silva, *Diego Gelmírez*, 4–65. See also Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 102.

<sup>31</sup>For an introduction to the Suevic presence in Gallaecia/Galicia see Kulikowski, "The Suevi in Gallaecia," 131–45.



Iberian texts make an essential point of Miro's Catholicism, the late antique/early medieval sources are much more ambiguous with relation to the identity of the first king of the Suevi to convert to Catholicism. Gregory of Tours (d. 594),<sup>32</sup> for example, in his *Historia Francorum*, had proposed Chararic (a king whose very existence has been doubted by Edward A. Thompson),<sup>33</sup> whilst Isidore of Seville (d. 636) considered Theodemir the first Catholic king of the Suevi.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, other authors including John of Biclar (d. 621) are elusive on the question.<sup>35</sup> As for Miro and his supposed Catholicism, the most that can be said is that he appears related to the conflicts between King Leovigild (d. 586) and his rebel son Hermenegild (d. 585), in the works of both John of Biclar and Isidore, which some scholars have interpreted as a religious clash between Catholics and Arians.<sup>36</sup> The arrival, settlement and dominion of Germanic peoples in Iberia were themes attracting substantial attention from historians during the early medieval period. These authors, however, tended to focus almost entirely on the Visigoths. This might have been due to the fact that late-antique/early-medieval texts gave the Visigothic monarchy a pronounced structural role in their works. These were the main sources for the Asturian authors, who stressed the role of the Visigoths in order to bolster the political legitimacy of the Asturian-Leonese kingdoms in the years following the Muslim Conquest on the Peninsula (711–714).<sup>37</sup> Indeed, in accordance with the Isidorian view, Christian historiographical production during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries speaks of the Visigoths as a collective community, *gens gothorum*, led by a ruling dynasty with lists of Visigothic kings featuring frequently in addition to appraisals of individual monarchs. King Reccared (d. 601), for example, who converted to Catholicism, was a lauded figure in the court of the Asturian king Alfonso III (d. 910).<sup>38</sup> However, Visigothic rulers not conforming to the desired model of kingship were sternly censured. Witiza (r. 702–710), for example, accused of oppressing the churches of his kingdom, sports a suitably dark profile in the sources,<sup>39</sup> whereas King Rodrigo (r. 710–711) blamed for the Visigothic defeat at Guadalete at the hands of the Muslim invaders, is often portrayed in the guise of the scoundrel *par excellence*.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, both positive and negative aspects of the Visigoths were to have long-lasting influence, not only surviving into later medieval<sup>41</sup> and modern historiographical works, but also continuing in the present day as prominent features in debates over Iberian identity.<sup>42</sup>

Standing in marked contrast to this Visigothic predilection among early medieval chroniclers is their treatment of the Suevi. For example, the Asturian authors only recall them as the people vanquished by Leovigild.<sup>43</sup> Even so, the *Chronica Pseudo-*

<sup>32</sup>*Libri Historiarum X, Gregorii Turonensis Opera*, t. 1, part 1, 248.

<sup>33</sup>Thompson, "The Conversion of the Suevi," 88.

<sup>34</sup>Díaz, *El reino suevo*, 143–44; Thompson, "The Conversion of the Suevi," 89–92.

<sup>35</sup>João Biclarense, *Crónica*, 126; Díaz, *El reino*, 246.

<sup>36</sup>João Biclarense, *Crónica*, 126, 138; Isidore, *Historia Sueborum*, 303. See also our discussion below of the *Chronicon Iriense*.

<sup>37</sup>On this concept, Maravall, *El Concepto de España*, 299–326; Le Morvan, *Le mythe néo-wisigothique*.

<sup>38</sup>Escalona, "Family Memories. Inventing Alfonso I," 257.

<sup>39</sup>Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 175.

<sup>40</sup>Martin, "Un récit," 11–42.

<sup>41</sup>Le Morvan, *Le mythe néo-wisigothique*, 28–73; Prieto, "La ideología goticista," 123–45.

<sup>42</sup>Díaz, "Los godos como epopeya," 25–73.

<sup>43</sup>*Chronica Albeldensis*, 457; *Chronica de Alfonso III (Rotense)*, 392; *Chronica de Alfonso III (Ad Sebastianum)*, 393.

*Isidoriana*, a work produced in the Iberian north-east during the first half of the twelfth century,<sup>44</sup> preserves a late antique tradition according to which Miro, king of the Suevi, was militarily subdued during Leovigild's campaign in *Gallaecia*, probably a reference to Leovigild's successful campaign against Miro in 575, a decade before the definitive Visigothic conquest of the Suevic kingdom (585).<sup>45</sup> According to the *Pseudo-Isidoriana*, Miro had sought refuge in some unidentified mountains at the time of Leovigild's attack.<sup>46</sup> However, the Visigothic king managed to capture him by employing a ruse ("Leovigildus fraude suscepit captivum").<sup>47</sup> Some commentators have suggested a link between this version of events and the report of the defeat by Leovigild of another Suevic king, Audeca, which is provided by John of Biclar.<sup>48</sup> In our opinion, the account of the *Pseudo-Isidoriana* also recalls the exile of García II of Galicia (r. 1065–1071, d. 1091), by his brothers which is presented in various eleventh- and twelfth-century sources.<sup>49</sup> Certainly, the *leitmotif* common to all of these accounts is Gallaecian/Galician kings losing power (Miro; Audeca; García II) and being captured by ruse or exiled by Iberian kings coming from outside (Leovigild; Sancho II of Castile, d. 1072; Alfonso VI of León, d. 1109). Besides these thread-bare offerings, the early medieval sources contain no further explicit references to Suevic figures, neither kings nor otherwise. Then, following a silence of several generations, suddenly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, chronicles and charters are produced in the Iberian North-west imparting curious details concerning an otherwise forgotten Suevic past in which King Miro takes on a leading role. The HC and the CI each recall Miro, not merely in connection with convulsions inside the Suevic kingdom but affording him a central function expressly in the foundation of the dioceses of *Hispania* and especially that of Iria-Flavia.

### **Historia Compostellana**

Produced between 1107 and 1149, the HC is a lengthy chronicle/cartulary compiled by five different authors and intended to celebrate the see of Santiago de Compostela and the deeds of bishop/archbishop Diego Gelmírez.<sup>50</sup> The history of the ancient bishopric of Iria-Flavia is dealt with in Book 1, composed 1107–1113<sup>51</sup> mainly by Munio, treasurer of Santiago de Compostela who, between 1112 and 1136, was bishop of Mondoñedo.<sup>52</sup> Here we read:

King Miro, of good memory, who by divine dispensation held the sceptre of the kingdom, was the first, inspired by divine grace, to establish pontifical sees in the provinces of *Hispania*

<sup>44</sup>*La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, 95–97.

<sup>45</sup>Díaz, *El reino*, 126, 246–48.

<sup>46</sup>*La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, 164: "a facies eius mirus suevorum rex fugiens montana conscendit" ("ahead of him [Leovigild], Miro king of the Suevi fled to the mountains").

<sup>47</sup>*La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, 164.

<sup>48</sup>*La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, 68.

<sup>49</sup>For an analysis of twelfth- and thirteenth-century versions of King García's arrest and its meaning see Gomes, "Erat simplicis ingenii."

<sup>50</sup>HC is transmitted in eighteen manuscripts. The earliest copy is from the early thirteenth century and the latest from the eighteenth century (*Historia Compostellana*, XXXIII-L). Recently, Souto Cabo, "Sobre a tradição manuscrita," 239–59, proposed a revision of the relationship among the manuscripts.

<sup>51</sup>*Historia Compostellana*, XX–XXI; *Historia Compostelana* (Spanish trans. 1994), 11–26. See also Reilly, "The *Historia Compostelana*: The Genesis and Composition," 78–85.

<sup>52</sup>Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, 61.



following the Roman norm and for the first time he elevated and raised to the episcopal dignity Andrew as bishop of Iria.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, Miro, a king introduced importantly as “of good memory” (*bone memorie*), is related to two actions: the nomination of Andrew as the first bishop of Iria, and the organisation of the bishoprics of *Hispania* in accordance with the Roman norm. Whilst the Roman norm is open to various interpretations, at the very least it establishes a connection with the Papacy and therefore with Roman Catholicism. At first blush, the passage could be taken as referring to some distant late antique past and the repudiation of heresy (Arianism or Priscillianism),<sup>54</sup> the persistence of which had provoked estrangement and mistrust between Iberia and the Roman Church during the sixth century.<sup>55</sup> Alternatively, the passage could indicate Miro’s commitment to Roman Catholicism consistent with some late antique sources which consider the Suevic king a supporter of the Catholic faction during the Visigothic conflicts.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, the HC appears to presuppose Miro’s Catholicism, without which it is difficult to see why he would establish the dioceses of Iberia according to the Roman norm. However, if Miro’s own personal convictions are not necessarily the issue, what does appear crucial is the notion of the adoption of the Roman/Catholic administrative regime and the foundation of the new diocese decidedly within that organisational framework. Consequently, the HC portrays Iria-Flavia as a diocese whose identity was from its initiation Roman/Catholic and therefore never tainted by the stain of heresy.<sup>57</sup> Of course, a Roman/Catholic identity could well be intended to enhance the standing of Compostela *vis-à-vis* its strongest opponents, Braga and Toledo, dioceses whose legitimacy was founded in the Suevic and Visigothic past. Indeed, the principal argument advanced by Toledo, when in 1088 it won from Urban II the primacy over all *Hispania*, was based on the notion that the diocese had held that status under Visigothic rule.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, as mentioned above, Braga based its legitimacy on its former status as a royal city (*urbs regia*) and centre of Suevic Catholicism, in addition to its association with another sainted bishop, Martin of Dume (d. 579), who was appointed archbishop of Braga in the sixth century.<sup>59</sup>

What is beyond doubt is that the eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed the reorganisation of the Iberian Church, bringing it into increasing alignment with some of the ideals of the Roman pontiffs. This process began with the actions of Fernando I of León-Castile (d. 1065), and the Councils of Coyanza (1055) and Compostela (1061 and 1063), a period often characterised by the growing influences of, and competition between, Cluny and Rome.<sup>60</sup> The two acts of King Miro – raising of Andrew to bishop and the organisation of the bishoprics – and the adherence to “Roman norms” find parallels with the introduction of the Roman Rite into Iberia promoted by King Alfonso VI and Pope Gregory VII.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, Book 1 of the HC reports the elevation

<sup>53</sup>HC, Liber I, cap. I, 8 “... Miro bone memorie rex divina dispensatione regni scepra suscipiens primus Pontificales sedes per Hispanie prouincias iuxta Romane ecclesie normam, diuina gratia inspirante, constituit et Andream in episcopum eligens Hiriensi cathedra primitus sublimauit.”

<sup>54</sup>See Jorge, “The Lusitanian Episcopate.”

<sup>55</sup>Deswarte, *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape*, 177–349.

<sup>56</sup>On this topic see Isla Frez, “Las relaciones entre el reino visigodo y los reyes merovingios,” 11–32.

<sup>57</sup>Gomes, *O rei na escrita*, 151–52.

<sup>58</sup>See Henriët, “Political Struggle,” 293–94; Torija Rodríguez, “La primacía de las Españas,” 11–14.

<sup>59</sup>Branco, “St. Martin,” 63–98.

<sup>60</sup>On this last aspect, see Carl, *A Bishopric between Three Kingdoms*, 55. See also López Alsina, “El Parrochiale Suevum,” 107.

<sup>61</sup>Soto Rábanos, “Introducción del rito romano,” 161–74.

of Diego Peláez to the episcopal throne of Iria-Compostela (1070-1088) in very similar terms to those employed when recounting the deeds of Miro. In fact, both passages of the HC clearly refer to the adoption of Roman dispositions, defined as *lex Romana* (Roman law), when Andrew and Diego Peláez are elevated to the episcopate.<sup>62</sup> Additionally, the use of the term *sedes* in connection with the “Roman norm” is a possible indication that the source intends to forge a link with an eleventh or twelfth century reality.<sup>63</sup> In the Suevic Kingdom, the word *sedes* did not mean exclusively an ecclesiastical centre as it did during the central Middle Ages.<sup>64</sup> In fifth- and sixth-century Iberia, *sedes* was also used to denote a *settlement* and, indeed, was used to refer to the dwelling place of the Suevic kings.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, the use of the formula “*rex dispensatione divina*”<sup>66</sup> (indicating a king under the protection of God) is rather more common in medieval Western European usage than during the Suevic period.<sup>67</sup> In the Acts of the first two Councils of Braga, celebrated in 561 and 572, Suevic kings are merely referred to as being “the most glorious” (*gloriosissimi*). However, Suevic sources are relatively scant, and caution is called-for when examining these *formulae*.<sup>68</sup>

It can scarcely be doubted that this reconstructed foundation of Compostela under the Roman/Catholic orthodoxy could only boost the aspirations of Diego Gelmírez in his bid to win papal promotion to archbishop. Indeed, it is unlikely to be coincidence that Book 1 of the HC was produced in the years immediately preceding negotiations with Rome for the archiepiscopal title. The treasurer Munio and his associates were therefore careful to include several re-writings of the past in order to build the purest possible image of Compostela, rehabilitating its more controversial moments, from the antique Suevic past to more recent, twelfth-century, events such as Gelmírez’s dubious appropriation of relics from Braga, portrayed in Book 1 of the HC as a “pious theft” (*pío latrocinio*).<sup>69</sup> Thus, it would appear that these frequently highly anachronistic references to the Suevic past may well be telling us more about the contemporary realities of the times in which they were written, than the times to which they purport to refer.

### Chronicon Iriense

Miro assumes a still greater prominence in the CI. This short chronicle recounts the history of Iria-Flavia and its bishops up to the tenth century.<sup>70</sup> Whilst scholars have advanced various hypotheses as to the date of the text’s production, some placing it in

<sup>62</sup>HC, Lib. I, Cap. II, 12: “... in eadem cathedra Didacus Pelaiz a domino rege Sanctio sublimatus est. In hoc tempore apud hispanos lex Toletana oblitterata est lex Romana recepta,” and HC, Liber I, cap. I, 8. See also Rubio Sadia, “El cambio de rito en Castilla,” 11.

<sup>63</sup>Díaz, *El reino*, 407; Isla Frez, “El Cronicon Iriense,” 428–29.

<sup>64</sup>Marques, *Da Representação Documental*, 208.

<sup>65</sup>See Díaz, “El reino suevo de Hispania,” 407; Koch, “Gotthi intra Hispanias,” 89–94.

<sup>66</sup>HC, Liber I, cap. I, 8.

<sup>67</sup>Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics*, 116–18.

<sup>68</sup>Barlow, *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia*, 105, 116; Vives Gatell, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, 65, 78.

<sup>69</sup>López Alsina, “Los Tumbos de Santiago de Compostela,” 139–44; Amaral, “As sedes de Braga e Compostela,” 33–35.

<sup>70</sup>The CI is preserved in twenty-seven manuscripts, variously dating from the late twelfth century to the eighteenth. See *Historia Compostellana*, XXXIII-L; García Álvarez, “El Cronicon Iriense,” 31–46, esp. 47, who holds that manuscripts can be divided into two main groups: those containing works concerning Compostela only, and a second group containing works pertaining to Oviedo up to the incumbency of Bishop Pelayo (d. 1153). The earliest known witness belongs to the latter group and is thought to have been transported from Asturias to Compostela, where CI and *Privilegio de los Votos de Santiago* were added (Jerez, *El Chronicon Mundi*, 72).

the final decades of the eleventh century,<sup>71</sup> others preferring to place it in the 1120s,<sup>72</sup> the likely principal purpose of the CI was for use in the defence of the rights of Santiago de Compostela in disputes with local challengers.<sup>73</sup> These included not only local aristocrats, but also other Galician-Portuguese bishoprics including Lugo, Mondoñedo and Braga. Certainly, one of the strategies deployed in the CI lies in the prominent role attributed to kings in the promotion and protection of churches in the face of abuses perpetrated by local potentates.<sup>74</sup> This apparent partiality for monarchy is an aspect of the CI that places it in notable contradistinction to the HC, which adopts a far more ambiguous position on the behaviour of kings *vis-à-vis* churches,<sup>75</sup> and, indeed, in its presentation of Miro, the CI provides information not found in other historiographical texts. For example, the CI entirely re-casts the episode concerning Miro and Leovigild:

Since the Arian Leovigild had a bad dispute with the king of the Franks, he asked Miro to go with him to the city of Nîmes against the king of France. Once the army was assembled, he departed and advanced to meet with the king of France, and on their way back, the venerable and famous King Miro died on the road.<sup>76</sup>

The passage is subtly intricate. The possibility of Miro's endorsement of Leovigild, as we have seen, was not an invention of the twelfth century, having been already hinted at by Isidore of Seville.<sup>77</sup> Although some sources emphasise Miro's support for Leovigild, in reality any agreement between the Suevi and the Visigoths is likely to have been the result of a peace settlement following the Visigothic invasion of the Suevic kingdom led by Leovigild in 575. The defeated Miro would then have had little choice but to support Leovigild, a proposition implying that any alliance would have been driven by primarily political considerations rather than genuine religious conviction.<sup>78</sup> Yet, this Suevic political backing for Leovigild is not without equivocation in the sources. John of Biclar highlights the support rendered by Miro to Hermenegild, whilst Gregory of Tours, in his *Historia Francorum* refers to relations between the Suevi and the Frankish ruler Guntram of Burgundy (king of Orleans, d. 592–593).<sup>79</sup> It was Guntram who presented the principal threat to the authority of Leovigild's family in the lands of the ancient Roman province of *Gallia Narbonensis*, also known as *Septimania* or *Gothia* (Gothic Gaul), a territory roughly corresponding to the modern French administrative region of Occitania.<sup>80</sup> The Suevi would have lent their support to Guntram in order to weaken the Visigoths in Iberia, as well as in France, since King Athanagild (d. 567) had sought matrimonial alliances with the Frankish kings of Neustria and Austrasia

<sup>71</sup>García Álvarez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 85; Monteagudo Romero, "Narraciones galegas," III:363.

<sup>72</sup>Isla Frez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 430.

<sup>73</sup>Isla Frez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 426.

<sup>74</sup>Isla Frez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 423–24, 427–28; Barton, *The Aristocracy*, 214; López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 112–13.

<sup>75</sup>Gomes, *O rei na escrita*, 159–64.

<sup>76</sup>García Álvarez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 106–07:

Sed cum Leouigildus arrianus contra regem francorum causam non bonam haberet, rogauit Mirum ut cum eo contra regem Francie ad Neumansum ciuitatem properaret. Qui, congregato exercitu, abiit et profecit, ita ut conuenerunt se cum regem Frantie, et cum redirent, in uia obiit uenerabilis et inclitus rex Mirus.

<sup>77</sup>Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, 5:142.

<sup>78</sup>Isla Frez, "Las relaciones entre el reino visigodo y los reyes merovingios," 26–27, n.55.

<sup>79</sup>According to Collins, Gregory of Tours affirmed that Miro travelled to Seville to support Hermenegild, but after his defeat by Leovigild, Miro was forced to support the latter. See Collins, "Gregory and Spain," 512.

<sup>80</sup>On the *Gothia*, see Fanning, "Gothia," 399–400.

against Guntram.<sup>81</sup> Here the CI appears to mix several sources and to conflate two separate conflicts, perhaps one involving King Miro directly and one indirectly. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why Miro and Leovigild marched toward Nîmes (*Nemausus*), against an unnamed “king of France.”<sup>82</sup> The account of Miro’s death as he was returning to *Hispania* contained in the CI seems to be a re-casting of Miro’s death in Seville as reported by Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum*.<sup>83</sup> If, on the one hand the CI introduces distinct novelties concerning the Suevic kings and their relations with their Visigothic neighbours, on the other, the work presents important information in the report of the foundation of the diocese of Iria-Flavia. This version of events is similar to that contained in the HC but the CI includes two crucial extra ingredients:

Therefore, through God’s will and the preaching of Martin of Greece the bishop of Dume, Miro, king of the Suevi became a Catholic. Since he had come into the possession of the castle of Ilia [...], to the satisfaction of himself and God, Miro decided to include it in the patronage of the episcopate. He further agreed in appointing Andrew as the first bishop of Iria-Flavia.<sup>84</sup>

Unlike the HC, the CI specifically mentions Miro’s conversion to Catholicism which is put down to the influence of Bishop Martin of Dume.<sup>85</sup> This we know to be an anachronism because the Suevi probably had rejected Arianism by at least 561 and the First Council of Braga when the king was the Catholic convert Ariamir (d. 561 or 563).<sup>86</sup> Further, the CI presents Miro as being in possession of the land of Iria-Flavia and credits him with the foundation of that diocese, thus reinforcing the notion of a primordial Catholic identity, which, mediated through Miro, attaches to both the land and the diocese.<sup>87</sup>

From here, there is a marked increase in the divergence between the two texts. As we have seen, the HC refers to the establishment of the bishoprics of the provinces of *Hispania* and the role of Miro as founder and promoter of Iria-Flavia. The CI, however, contains a far more detailed version of events:

The first Bishop Andrew sat first in the Council of Lugo, and after in the Council of Braga with dignity and honour. At that time, two kings dominated *Gallaecia*: Miro in Lugo and Ariamir in Braga. Ariamir died three years after and Miro obtained Braga and convoked the Council in which Andrew took part in the Era of 610 (AD 572).<sup>88</sup>

<sup>81</sup>On this topic, see Isla Frez, “Las relaciones entre el reino visigodo y los reyes merovingios,” 11–32; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 133–35, 170; Díaz, *El reino*, 372.

<sup>82</sup>Adkins and Adkins, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*, 268. We cannot exclude the possibility that the CI might here be recasting Miro’s campaign against the *Runcones* reported by John of Biclar (João Biclarense, *Crónica*, 126). See Díaz, *El reino*, 125.

<sup>83</sup>*Historia Francorum*, lib. 6, 43. Isla Frez, “Las relaciones entre el reino visigodo y los reyes merovingios,” 25–27; García Álvarez, “El Cronicón Iriense,” 73, 139–40; Collins, “Gregory and Spain,” 512–13.

<sup>84</sup>García Álvarez, “El Cronicón Iriense,” 105–06:

Tunc voluntate Dei et praedicatione Martini greci, Dumiensis episcopi, Mirus, sueuorum rex, catholicus factus est. Et cum in possessionem suam Hyllion Castrum perveniret [...] placuit Deo et illi ut possessionem illam in episcopatus honore traderet, et accepto consilio, ordinatus est ibi episcopus primus Andreas (...).

<sup>85</sup>García Álvarez, “El Cronicón Iriense,” 127–29.

<sup>86</sup>Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, 42–43; Díaz, *El reino*, 207, 293; Branco, “St. Martin,” 87. See also Ferreiro, “Braga and Tours,” 195–210. Thompson, “The Conversion of the Suevi,” 86–87, 90–92, affirmed that King Ariamir was certainly Catholic, but the first Council of Braga did not condemn Arianism; perhaps the Catholic faith was publicly affirmed only in 569 in the Council of Lugo.

<sup>87</sup>Isla Frez, “El Cronicón Iriense,” 428.

<sup>88</sup>García Álvarez, “El Cronicón Iriense,” 106:

The CI then proceeds to enumerate the putative list of parishes under the jurisdiction of Iria-Flavia, thus:

... and King Miro provided his see, Iria-Flavia, with the following dioceses,<sup>89</sup> i.e., O Morrazo, O Salnés, Moraña, Celenos (Caldas de Reis, Pontevedra), *Montes* (O Monte, Carballo-A Coruña?), *Metam*,<sup>90</sup> Santa María de Merza (Vila de Cruces, Pontevedra), Tabeiros, *Velegiam* (Velles, Macenda-Boiro-A Coruña?), Louro, Postmarcos, Amaía, *Coronatus* (Cornado or Coroño, Boiro-Boiro-A Coruña?), Dormeá, Entines, Cértigos, A Barcala, Nemancos, Santa Maria de Vimianzo, Seaia, Bregantiños, Faro (A Coruña), *Scutarios* (Escudeiros, San Xoán, Ramirás, Orense?), Val do Dubra, Santa Cruz de Montaos, Nendos, Pruzos, Bezoucos, Trasancos, Labacengos, and Arros (Ortegal-A Coruña), and other places echoing in the canons.<sup>91</sup>

These passages supply us with two highly useful pieces of information: the list of the patrimony belonging to Iria-Flavia and the names of two Suevic kings present in sixth century *Gallaecia*. The second of the above texts, in presenting Miro as the organiser of the diocese of Iria-Flavia, gives a catalogue of lands placed under Andrew, first bishop of Iria, that is strikingly similar in both form and content to that which is found in the famous document known as the *Parrochiale Suevorum*.<sup>92</sup> It is difficult to overstate the complexity (not-to-say the mystery) of this text, its transmission and preservation. Purporting to preserve the Acts of a supposed Council of Lugo held in 569, and surviving in various copies, all of them probably produced between the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Fernando López Alsina has identified six different versions of the *Parrochiale Suevorum* produced respectively in Lugo, Braga (two copies), Coimbra, Orense and Santiago de Compostela.<sup>93</sup> At this Council of Lugo, the Suevic king Theodemir (d. 570, Miro's predecessor according to Pablo C. Díaz<sup>94</sup>) is said to have reorganised the Church of *Gallaecia* by dividing the territory into thirteen bishoprics (Braga, Lugo, Bretoña, Idanha-a-Velha, Coimbra, Tui, Orense, Portucale/Oporto, Viseu, Lamego, Iria-Flavia, Astorga, and Dume) and supplied each of these episcopal sees with a precise list of *parochiae* (parishes).<sup>95</sup> The issue as to whether the *Parrochiale Suevorum* contains only one Galician metropolitan see, Braga, or in fact two, Braga and Lugo,

---

Qui [episcopus primus Andreas] prius in Concilio Lucensi, postea in Bracarensi, cum ceteris episcopis, digne et honorifice consedit. Quia duo reges dominabantur Gallacie: Mirus Lucum et Ariemirus rex Bracaram obtinebat. Qui Ariemirus post tertium annum defunctus est, et Mirus cepit Bracaram et fecit concilium Bracarensem secundum, ubi Andreas fuit in Era DCX<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>89</sup>In this case *diocese* does not mean *bishopric*, but a territory with a set of rural churches, see Sánchez Pardo, *Territorio y poblamiento en Galicia*, 548. On the concept of medieval parishes, see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 67–74, 435–71.

<sup>90</sup>We could not identify this toponym.

<sup>91</sup>García Álvarez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 106:

et Mirus sedi suae Hiriensi contulit dioceses, scilicet: Morracium, Saliniensem, Moraniam, Celenos, Montes, Metam, Merciam, Tabeyrolos, Velegiam, Hour, Pistomarcos, Amaeam, Coronatum, Dormianam, Gentines, Celticos, Barchalam, Nemarcos, Vimiantium, Selagiam, Bregantinos, Farum, Scutarios, Duuriam, Montanos, Nemitos, Prucios, Bisacos, Trasancos, Lavacencos et Arros et alias que in canonibus resonant.

For the identification of these places see García Álvarez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 231–35; Sánchez Pardo, "Organización en la Galicia tardoantigua," 448–50; *Historia Compostelana* (Spanish trans. 1950), CXXIII; López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 112–13; <http://ilg.usc.gal/itgm/>.

<sup>92</sup>For the debate concerning these dioceses in the *Parrochiale Suevorum*, see Isla Frez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 427–28; Díaz, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 35–45; Ubric, "The Church in the Suevic Kingdom," 232–34; Sánchez Pardo, "Organización en la Galicia tardoantigua." See also the bibliography in notes 91 and 93.

<sup>93</sup>David, *Études historiques*, 19–44; López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 111; Rivas Fernández, *Consideraciones sobre la Antigüedad*, 64–70; Renzi and Mariani, "Sobre as orixens," 93–94.

<sup>94</sup>Díaz, "El reino suevo de Hispania," 413.

<sup>95</sup>*Tumbo Viejo*, doc. 7; *Liber Fidei*, vol. I, docs. 10 and 11, vol. II, doc. 553.

continues to be a matter of debate among historians.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, the *Parrochiale Suevorum* refers to the decision to elevate Lugo to the archiepiscopal dignity; however, some scholars have doubted the authenticity of the passage, attributing it to the hand of an early medieval forger in Lugo.<sup>97</sup> Certainly, as López Alsina has warned, much caution is required when considering the trustworthiness of this rendition of late antique ecclesiastical geography.<sup>98</sup> The dating of the *Parrochiale Suevorum* is far from clear and it is unsure as to whether what is being represented is a Suevic ecclesiastical organisation or a later Visigothic division made after the conquest of 585.<sup>99</sup> The copies surviving today, which originate in Lugo from where the *Parrochiale* was subsequently disseminated over the Iberian north-west, are known to have been heavily interpolated during the medieval period and re-appointed to serve as evidence in many ecclesiastical disputes during the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries as each bishop made use of a different version of the *Parrochiale* as a juridical weapon pressed into service for the legitimation of his claims against other prelates.<sup>100</sup> It is not unlikely that the author(s) of the CI had some familiarity with at least one of the versions of the *Parrochiale Suevorum* and adapted some of its provisions, or perhaps had access to the copy that was extant in Compostela and took the opportunity to further enrich and modify its contents. Indeed, there are several notable differences between the CI and the Compostela version of the *Parrochiale* and one of the versions from Lugo. In the Compostela version (Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago, *Tumbillo de Concordias*), the list of *parocchiae* assigned to Compostela is given as follows:

O Morrazo, O Salnés, Santa María de Cuntis (Pontevedra), Caldas de Reis, Metacios (the western part of the Terra de Deza), Santa María de Merza, Postmarcos, Coporos,<sup>101</sup> Céltigos, Bregantiños, Prudentos,<sup>102</sup> Pruzos, Bezoucos, Trasancos, Labacengos, and Arros.<sup>103</sup>

The list given in the Lugo version (*Tumbo viejo*, Catedral de Lugo) is somewhat shorter:

O Morrazo, O Salnés, Santa María de Cuntis (Pontevedra), Caldas de Reis, Santa María de Merza, Postmarcos.<sup>104</sup>

The list given in the CI leaves little room for doubt as to the territorial claims being made by Compostela in the twelfth century. This is especially so given the fact that, as Amancio Isla Frez and López Alsina have shown, before the eleventh century some of these parishes did not exist. Rather, these assertions are likely the product of territorial disputes Compostela maintained with neighbouring bishoprics such as Mondoñedo.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, the list contained in the CI is very similar to that appearing in the papal privilege granted in 1110 by Paschal II (1099–1118) to Santiago de Compostela which is recorded

<sup>96</sup>Fernández Calo, "Os Synodi suevo-católicos," 125–62.

<sup>97</sup>David, *Études historiques*, 65–67.

<sup>98</sup>López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 111.

<sup>99</sup>Renzi and Mariani, "Sobre as origens," 91–121.

<sup>100</sup>López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 111–13; López Alsina, "Las raíces del Liber Sancti Jacobi," 315. On the propagandistic aspects of the *Liber Fidei*, see Branco, "Constructing Legitimacy," 31–62.

<sup>101</sup>On this toponym see González García, *Los pueblos*, 537.

<sup>102</sup>We could not identify this toponym.

<sup>103</sup>ACS (Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago), *Tumbillo de Concordias*, fols. 133v.–134v. "Morracio, Saliniense, Continas, Celenos, Metazios, Merziensis, Pestomarcos, Coporos, Celticos, Brecantinos, Prudentos, Pluctios, Bisauco, Trasancos, Lapaciencos et Arros." For the transcription, see Renzi and Mariani, "Sobre as origens," 108.

<sup>104</sup>*Tumbo Viejo*, doc. 51: "Morracio, Saliniense, Centenos, Celenos, Meridiensis, Prestamarcos."

<sup>105</sup>Isla Frez, "El Cronicón Iriense," 427–28; López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 112–14, 121.



in the HC.<sup>106</sup> The fact that these historiographical works updated the Compostela version of the *Parrochiale Suevorum*, in our opinion, is clear evidence of their deployment as operative tools in local patrimonial conflicts. Such an imagined and reconstructed late antique geography, approved by Rome, became crucial in the pursuit of territorial claims during the twelfth century. This legitimising tactic was clearly helpful to Santiago de Compostela in distinguishing its own position from that of its rivals, including from the primatial see of Toledo.<sup>107</sup>

Yet, Compostela was not the only bishopric to use references to Saint Martin of Dume, or to Kings Theodemir and Miro (often considered the same monarch in medieval Galician sources<sup>108</sup>) or to the *Parrochiale Suevorum*, in efforts to legitimize various claims in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Indeed, a number of examples of this practice are to be found in the documentation of Lugo, Braga and Orense and also in papal charters.<sup>109</sup> In 1101, the bishop of Coimbra, Maurice Bourdin requested, and received, a privilege from Paschal II. The document confirmed the properties of Coimbra as established by King Theodemir.<sup>110</sup> To this end, we can surmise that Bishop Maurice adduced the *Parrochiale Suevorum* in evidence in order to establish his rights and, accordingly, that the curia had found it acceptable proof. Yet this conclusion was by no means foregone since it is known that popes were also apt to reject evidence presented by bishops when privileges from Rome were at issue.<sup>111</sup> Some thirteen years later in 1114, Maurice, by that time archbishop of Braga, requested a new papal privilege and this time obtained recognition of Braga's diocesan boundaries as had been established by King Miro and the Galician bishops at an unspecified council.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, Compostela emerges as a unique case among these ecclesiastical institutions. The clergy of Santiago not only referred to King Miro and the *Parrochiale Suevorum* in charters, letters and diplomas, but also produced historiographical works that included these elements in order to legitimate their narratives. Furthermore, when it came to matters of the Suevic past, Compostela was a true pioneer in the practice.<sup>113</sup>

Moreover, the CI clearly is unique among contemporary historiographical production insofar as it refers to more than one king in *Gallaecia*, as indicated in the first of the above-quoted passages. Here we learn that prior to the Second Council of Braga, two kings were ruling simultaneously: Ariamir in Braga, and Miro in Lugo.<sup>114</sup> On the death of Ariamir, Miro aggregated Braga to his domains, thereby becoming sole ruler of the Suevic kingdom. According to the CI, the convening of a new ecclesiastical

<sup>106</sup>*Historia Compostelana* (Spanish trans. 1994), 143.

<sup>107</sup>Isla Frez, "El Cronicon Iriense," 426–28.

<sup>108</sup>Díaz, *El reino*, 145.

<sup>109</sup>López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 123–24. For the mention of Theodemir and Miro in the HC see López Alsina, *La ciudad de Compostela*, 57. For Ourense see Fernández Casal, "Los conflitos," 100–01. For the forgery produced in Lugo in the eleventh century concerning the division in eleven counties of the territory of Lugo supposedly approved between 579 and 572 (*Tumbo Viejo*, doc. 6; *Liber Fidei*, vol. II, doc. 552), see López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 110–11, 113–19. In the *Liber Fidei* (vol. I, 15 and 71, vol. II, 552) there are several documents related to Kings Theodemir and Miro, whose authenticity has been debated and questioned by David, *Études historiques*, 56, and Alarcão, "Os limites," 39–44.

<sup>110</sup>Erdmann, *Papsturkunden*, doc. 2. See Renzi and Mariani, "Sobre as origens," 104.

<sup>111</sup>Vones, "Restauration ou bouleversement?"; Renzi and Mariani, "Sobre as origens," 104.

<sup>112</sup>*Liber Fidei*, vol. II, doc. 554. See López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 123–24.

<sup>113</sup>The combination of charters and chronicles is attested in the historiographical compilations of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (Jerez, *El chronicon mundi*, 70–79), but the usage of this writing technique is not related to the recuperation of the Suevic past.

<sup>114</sup>On the debate around the identity of these kings, see Díaz, *El reino*, 144–47.

council in Braga (Braga II, in 572) and the subsequent attribution of *parochiae* to Iria-Flavia are apparently the first acts of this new king in a kingdom now united. Indeed, ecclesiastical territorial organisation and collaboration with local churches were specific prerogatives of Suevic kings.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, in the present case, the CI is in conflict with all other available sources which present the various Suevic Kings following each other in a consecutive line of succession, as opposed to asserting the coexistence of more than one king at the same time.<sup>116</sup>

However, once again, literature and diplomatic sources coincide. A version of Suevic history similar to that contained in the CI is to be found in an episcopal report produced by the bishops of Porto, Tarazona and Salamanca and sent in 1182 to Pope Lucius III (1181–1185). Concerned with the episcopal rights of the ecclesiastical provinces of Braga and Compostela and their suffragan dioceses, the report presents a collection of testimony from both parties. Thus, we learn that the archbishop of Compostela had rejected several claims being made by Braga as metropolitan of Galicia on the basis of a certain “written document” (*scriptum*),<sup>117</sup> which proclaimed that, at the time in which Theodemir/Miro convened the Council of Lugo, Ariamir was king in Braga, a detail in accordance with the CI.<sup>118</sup> Could it be that this unidentified document was in fact based on the CI, or at least was the fruit of a shared tradition? Until further sources come to light, it is impossible to answer this question. Even so, the sources do tend to demonstrate the importance of avoiding rigid distinctions or temptations towards attributing superior probative value to one or the other category of document when dealing with literary sources on the one hand, and diplomatics on the other. Rather they complement one another with both being the products of specific sets of political, religious or patrimonial interests. These sources further demonstrate the importance of examining the context in which they were produced, and the consequences likely to flow from that set of circumstances, in order to understand the logic behind the reconstruction of the past that is being presented. To put it another way, it is crucial to identify the objectives sought to be accomplished by the narrative set out in the CI. Indeed, how justified may we be in suspecting that the CI became one of the official versions of events in late twelfth-century Santiago de Compostela?

## Proposed interpretation

As we have seen, the CI highlights the fact that there was a political division between the territories of Braga and Lugo at the time of the foundation of the bishopric of Iria-Flavia. This insistence on the division of Suevic *Gallaecia* between the two kings, Ariamir of Braga and Miro of Lugo, appears to parallel the ecclesiastical division as presented in the *Parrochiale Suevorum*, and also as presented in the acts of the Second Council of Braga which both Martin of Dume and Nitigius witnessed as the metropolitan archbishops of Braga and Lugo respectively.<sup>119</sup> However, it is curious that the CI refers to

<sup>115</sup>Deswarte, “Tolède III (589) et Tolède IV (633),” 275–76.

<sup>116</sup>For example, both John of Biclar and Isidore of Seville report Miro succeeding Theodemir around the years 569–570: João Biclarense, *Crónica*, 126, 155–56; Isidore, *Historia Sueborum*, 303. On this subject see Thompson, “The Conversion of the Suevi,” 87–88; Livermore, “Reis Suevos e a Igreja de São Martinho,” 159–65; Díaz, *El Reino*, 293.

<sup>117</sup>Erdmann, *Papsturkunden*, doc. 91.

<sup>118</sup>Erdmann, *Papsturkunden*, doc. 91. On this document, see Branco, “Constructing Legitimacy,” 35–38.

<sup>119</sup>Vives Gatell, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, 78.

a political division between the two territories, yet omits the ecclesiastical division documented in the sources. This silence on the existence of two Galician metropolitan provinces is perhaps most readily explicable on the basis that such an admission would have been highly beneficial to Lugo. By the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, when Lugo fell under the influence of Compostela, the bishopric was swiftly haemorrhaging the political and religious status it had held during the early medieval period.<sup>120</sup> This loss of influence and the concerns raised by the restoration of the see of Braga – Lugo had attempted to appropriate the archiepiscopal rights of Braga during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries –<sup>121</sup> were compounded by the growth of Iria-Compostela, provoking retaliation by the clergy of Lugo.<sup>122</sup> Thus, they began to produce and circulate cartularies and forged charters asserting their prestige and their predominant position in the Iberian Church.<sup>123</sup> Notably, it is in Lugo that the forged or heavily interpolated text of the *Parrochiale Suevorum* appears in the eleventh century.<sup>124</sup>

The ecclesiastical reforms promulgated at the Councils of Coyanza and Compostela held that the restoration of a see implied the complete reinstatement of the rights of a bishop over the ancient episcopal territory. Thus, the importance of the *Parrochiale Suevorum*: the accurate determination of the past, prior to the Muslim invasion, was crucial to the legitimation of a bishop's medieval claims.<sup>125</sup> This would help to explain the silence in the CI on the issue of the ecclesiastical division. Whilst evocation of Lugo's prestigious Suevic episcopal past would be of obvious advantage to Lugo, it would hardly serve Santiago to praise the glorious antecedence of a potential rival diocese. It is apparent that Iria-Flavia had been under the authority of Lugo at the Second Council of Braga, prior to the Visigothic conquest of the Suevic kingdom.<sup>126</sup> Following the conquest, Iria-Flavia was subjected to the authority of Braga which became the sole metropolitan see in *Gallaecia* after 585.<sup>127</sup> This, then, would provide another compelling reason for concealing the sixth-century ecclesiastical division. Certainly, it would not be unlikely that the version (or indeed versions) of the *Parrochiale Suevorum* kept in Santiago de Compostela bore the thumbprint of Lugo, having been produced in some *scriptorium lucensis*. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the clergy of Compostela probably embellished the list of *parochiae*, producing a far more extensive version than that originally included by the compilers in Lugo. It was a straightforward argument: if Iria-Flavia had controlled those parishes in the sixth century, its bishops were entitled to re-assume control of them in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>128</sup> Although this is a flagrant case of memory being distinctly selective where the Suevic past is concerned, in fact it is not the most extreme case in the region. During the early decades of the twelfth century, Bishop Hugh of Oporto – a former archdeacon of Compostela, he was the author of the “pious theft” episode in the

<sup>120</sup>David, *Études historiques*, 143–84; Mosquera Agrelo, “La diócesis de Lugo,” 39–40.

<sup>121</sup>Amaral, “Formação e desenvolvimento,” 228.

<sup>122</sup>D'Emilio, “The Legend of Bishop Odoario,” 48.

<sup>123</sup>See Pastor Díaz, “El uso de la ‘presura’,” 84–85; Deswarte, “Restaurer les évêchés,” 94–106; David, *Études historiques*, 182.

<sup>124</sup>López Alsina, “El Parrochiale Suevum,” 112.

<sup>125</sup>López Alsina, “El Parrochiale Suevum,” 109.

<sup>126</sup>Vives Gatell, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, 78.

<sup>127</sup>Sánchez Chouza, “A Gallaecia,” 119; Renzi and Mariani, “Sobre as origens,” 96.

<sup>128</sup>López Alsina, “El Parrochiale Suevum,” 112–13, 120–21.

HC and one of the clerics negotiating the archiepiscopal title for Diego Gelmírez – removed all traces of the Suevic past in order to legitimate his own territorial aspirations. In the privileges he won from Paschal II and Calixtus II, there is no trace of the *Parrochiale Suevorum*, nor of any Suevic king. Indeed, it had been Hugh's intention to break out of the ecclesiastical geography of the *Parrochiale* which fixed the boundary between Oporto and Coimbra along the river Duero. Unsurprisingly, Hugh's attempts at expansion south of the Duero attracted the vigorous opposition of Coimbra whose bishops petitioned Rome for the establishment of the diocesan frontiers, very pointedly according to the *Parrochiale Suevorum*.<sup>129</sup>

Yet, having erased all mention of the ecclesiastical division, why then complicate matters by including a political division? At least two possible reasons can be adduced. In the first place, it was likely considered that political division in northwestern Iberia necessarily implied an ecclesiastical reorganisation. From this perspective, the CI (as, to some extent, the HC) appears to acknowledge that episcopal restorations, which altered the hierarchical map of the Iberian Church, relied, at least partially, on royal decisions. Indeed, it is a view well in accordance with the influential and active participation of Iberian kings in diocesan affairs and in the nomination/election of bishops, which persisted into the late twelfth century in the case of Alfonso VIII of Castile (r. 1158–1214).<sup>130</sup> Certainly, in eleventh-century Iberia, the initiative of the king was key in the realisation of episcopal restorations and, in some cases, the very *conditio sine qua non* in defining the geographical boundaries of bishoprics. It was exactly the king's power to nominate bishops, both as the decisive step in the restoration, and as a guarantee of the territorial cohesion of the diocese.<sup>131</sup>

In the second place, the inclusion of the political division on the part of the author(s) of the CI could mirror the times in which the text was compiled. Whilst Díaz has highlighted the entirely cogent possibility of the tradition of a division between north and south *Gallaecia* being a reflection of fifth-century conflict within the Suevic kingdom,<sup>132</sup> this does not preclude the hypothesis that the division was a transposition into the historical past of a present political separation in Galicia between a northern territory and a breakaway southern territory in the process of increasingly acquiring a sharply defined political identity. Indeed, the progressive individualisation of the *territorium portucalense* was well advanced during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, roughly the period of the production of the CI. The administrative separation of Galicia (from the Cantabrian coast southward to the River Miño), now parted from the newly constituted (or re-constituted) county of Portucale (from the Miño down to Coimbra) was the result of King Afonso VI's need for the military reinforcement of his southern frontier against the Almoravids.<sup>133</sup> The push for the political autonomy of Portucale

<sup>129</sup>Mariani and Renzi, "The 'Territorialization' of the Episcopal Power," 161–87; López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 124–25.

<sup>130</sup>Ayala Martínez, "Los obispos de Alfonso VIII," 155.

<sup>131</sup>López Alsina, "El Parrochiale Suevum," 108; Gomes, *O rei na escrita*, 294–96.

<sup>132</sup>Díaz, *El reino*, 91, 122–23, 144–45. The existence is documented of two kings or military leaders under whom different peoples or kinship groupings were brought together when, during the fifth century, Maldras and Framtano ruled over separate groups of Suevi. According to Díaz, the author(s) of the CI used this division to interpret and correlate the various references to Ariamir, Theodemir and Miro in the Acts of the Council of Braga and the documents circulating in Galicia between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.

<sup>133</sup>Mattoso, *História de Portugal*, I:562.

urged by its feudal trustees, Countess-Queen Teresa (d. 1130), daughter of Alfonso VI, and her husband Count Henry of Burgundy (d. 1112) during the early years of their incumbency, was made manifest in their staunch support for Braga in its calls for recognition of its metropolitan rights over Gallaecia/Galicia.<sup>134</sup> This alliance between Braga and the counts of Portucale foundered somewhat on the death of Henry in 1112 and as, thereafter, the widowed Teresa likely aimed towards the restoration of the kingdom of Galicia, erstwhile realm of García II, with the support of Galician aristocrats led by the family of her new consort, the Trabas.<sup>135</sup> However, when in 1128 she lost power in Portucale to her son Afonso Henriques, future first king of Portugal (r. 1139/1140–1185), Braga swiftly regained its position as a leading Iberian diocese and kingmaker, thereupon rekindling the old struggle with Compostela for control of the Galician Church.<sup>136</sup> It can scarcely be doubted that this is a sequence of events entirely capable of shaping the narrative of the CI concerning the origins of Iria-Flavia and its territorial delineation. The transposition of ecclesiastical borders (or administrative borders) onto current political divisions could readily have been deemed a worthwhile strategy by the heirs of the Irian bishops eager for, and covetous of, a clean break with the authority of Braga. Furthermore, this narrative supports the idea of the superiority of Compostela, whose archbishops would claim property rights in Braga and its territory throughout the twelfth century.<sup>137</sup> At the same time, the presentation of the late King Ariamir being succeeded by Miro of Lugo through the latter's conquest of Braga,<sup>138</sup> recalls yet another renowned episode, that of the confrontation during the 1070s between García II of Galicia and his brother Alfonso VI of León-Castile, in which it is difficult not to see a reflection of the two Suevoic kings.<sup>139</sup> Again, the re-constituted memory of the Suevoic past came to the rescue of the Galician bishopric by supplying it with legitimacy and identity.

## Conclusions

As illustrated herein, between the end of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth, King Miro became a key figure in the construction of the identity of the diocese of Santiago de Compostela at a time when this Galician see was fighting to establish its ascendancy and to consolidate its territorial gains. Our study has proposed that the appearance of Miro in the HC and the CI was the result of careful and considered selection. The authors of those works retrieved late antique and early medieval traditions, but re-cast them in order to present Miro as the king responsible for the conversion of the Suevi to Catholicism, a feature that was combined with elements contained in documents that were in circulation at the time of production (late eleventh/early twelfth centuries). These authorial efforts resulted in the production of a complex and refined literary edifice at a time when it is clear that the memory of the Suevi was still alive and well and, importantly, held considerable authoritative status – an aspect evident in a number of other

<sup>134</sup>Amaral, "As sedes de Braga e Compostela," 30–31; Amaral and Barroca, *A Condessa-Rainha*, 127–49.

<sup>135</sup>Resende de Oliveira, "Do reino da Galiza," 34.

<sup>136</sup>Amaral, "As sedes de Braga e Compostela," 40–41.

<sup>137</sup>Portela Silva, "Diego Gelmírez y Hugo de Porto," 371; López Alsina, *La ciudad de Compostela*, 186.

<sup>138</sup>The CI uses the latin verb *coepio*, which seems to indicate a military action led by Miro and might indicate that his arrival to Braga was not an entirely peaceful process.

<sup>139</sup>See above notes 47 and 132.

texts, the *Parrochiale Suevorum* being one of the most notable. Innovative use of the figure of Miro was introduced into the scenario of disputes between dioceses dating from the restoration of Braga in 1070–1071 and, as we have argued, the memory of the foundation of Iria-Flavia by the Catholic king, Miro, conferred an extra legitimacy upon Compostela, as asserted in the HC and the CI.

At the same time, long-lived royal support rooted in the Suevic past along with the Catholic origins of the diocese necessarily free from the taint of heresy, adherence to Roman norms, and a rich patrimonial inventory ripe for the restoration, were all ingredients carefully included to serve the political interests of Diego Gelmírez in Galicia and in Rome. Further, the territorial division represented by Ariamir of Braga and Miro of Lugo had now become yet another legitimating device in the hands of Compostela at the very moment when Portuguese rulers were endowing Braga with its own arsenal for the defence of its ancient metropolitan rights. To more effectively achieve their ends, the authors of the HC and the CI, for the first time in northwestern *Hispania*, built a narrative that legitimised and reshaped the *Parrochiale Suevorum*. Finally, and more broadly, it may be observed that the experience presented here highlights for present-day historians the importance of a comprehensive comparison of texts as far as possible without concern for literary genre, since it is apparent that propagandistic narratives could be far-reaching indeed, affecting the writing of local charters, chronicles and even papal missives.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Notes on contributors

**Maria Joana Gomes** (mjgomes@letras.up.pt) earned her PhD in Literature at the University of Porto (2017). She currently works at the Institute of Philosophy at Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto. Her research focuses on the literary practices of medieval Iberian historiography between the ninth and fourteenth centuries.

**Francesco Renzi** (frenzi@ucp.pt) obtained his Ph.D. in History at the University of Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum” (2013). He currently works at the Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, Portugal. His research focuses on the history of the Catholic Church in Italy and the Iberian Peninsula between the eleventh and the thirteenth century.

## ORCID

Maria Joana Gomes  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5984-0627>

Francesco Renzi  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9470-3457>

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources

ACS (Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago), *Tumbillo de Concordias*, fols. 133v.–134v.



- Barlow, Claude W. *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.
- Chronica Albeldensis*, in *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII et IX (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis)*, edited by Juan Gil, LXV:435–84. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.
- Chronica de Alfonso III (Ad Sebastianum)*, in *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII et IX (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis)*, edited by Juan Gil, LXV:383–483. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.
- Chronica de Alfonso III (Rotense)*, in *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII et IX (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis)*, edited by Juan Gil, LXV:383–483. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.
- La chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana (ms. Paris BN 6113), edición crítica, traducción y estudio*, edited by Fernando González-Muñoz. Noia (A Coruña): Toxosoutos, 2000.
- Costa, Avelino de Jesus da, José Marques, Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso, and Joaquim Tomás da Silva Miguel Pereira. *Liber Fidei Sanctae Bracarensis Ecclesiae*. Vols. I and II. Braga: Arquidiocese de Braga, 2017.
- Erdmann, Carl. *Papsturkunden in Portugal*. Berlin: Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1927.
- García Álvarez, Manuel-Rubén. “El Cronicón Iriense.” *Memorial Histórico Español* 50 (1963): 1–240.
- Gesta episcoporum. Gesta abbatum*, edited by Michel Sot. Vol. I. Turnhout: Brepols, 1981.
- Gregorii Turonensis. *Libri Historiarum X*. In *Gregorii Turonensis Opera, MGH (SS rer. Merov.)*, edited by Bruno Kursch and Wilhelm Levison. Hannover: Weidmann, 1951 (2nd ed.).
- Historia Compostelana*, edited and translated by Emma Falque. Madrid: Akal, 1994.
- Historia Compostelana, o sea hechos de D. Diego Gelmírez*, edited by José Campelo. Santiago de Compostela: Editorial Porto, 1950.
- Historia Compostellana sive de rebus gestibus Didacus Gelmirus. Corpus Christianorum-Continuatio Medievalis*, vol. LXX, edited by Emma Falque. Turnhout: Brepols, 1988.
- Hydatii Limici Chronica Subdita*, edited by Richard W. Burgess. Oxford: University Press, 1993.
- Isidori iunioris episcopi Hispalensis, *Historia Gothorum, Wandalorum, Sueborum ad. a. 624*. In *MGH (Auct. Ant., t. XI, vol. II)*, edited by Theodor Mommsen. Berlin: Weidmann, 1894.
- João de Santarém (Biclarense), *Crónica*, edited by Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann and Roger Collins, Portuguese translation by Maria João Branco. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2002.
- López Sangil, José Luis, and Manuel Vidán Torreira. “Tumbo Viejo de Lugo (transcripción completa).” *Estudios Mindonienses* 27 (2001): 11–373.
- Tumbo B de la Catedral de Santiago*, edited by María Teresa González Balasch. Santiago: Cabildo de la Catedral-Seminario de Estudios Gallegos, 2004.
- Vives Gatell, José. *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*. Barcelona: CSIC-Instituto Enrique, 1963.

## Secondary Sources

- Adkins, Lesley, and Roy A. Adkins. *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: University Press, 1994.
- Álvarez Palenzuela, Vicente Ángel. “Las cuestiones eclesíásticas y su influencia en la política de Afonso VI.” In *Alfonso VI: imperator totius orbis Hispanie*, edited by Fernando Suárez Bilbao and Andrés Gamba Gutiérrez, 302–20. Madrid: Sanz y Torres, 2015.
- Amaral, Luís Carlos. “Formação e desenvolvimento do domínio da diocese de Braga no período da Reconquista (século IX-1137).” Ph.D. diss., Universidade do Porto, 2007.
- Amaral, Luís Carlos. “Organização eclesíástica de entre-Douro-e-Minho: o caso da diocese de Braga (sécs. IX–XII).” In *Del Cantábrico al Duero. Trece estudios sobre organización social del espacio en los siglos VIII a XIII*, edited by José Ángel García de Cortázar, 313–49. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 1999.
- Amaral, Luís Carlos. “A restauração da diocese de Braga no contexto da Igreja Hispânica.” In *Mundos medievales. espacios, sociedades y poder: homenaje al profesor José Ángel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre*, edited by Beatriz Arizaga Bolumburu et al., I:295–310. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 2012.

- Amaral, Luís Carlos. “As sedes de Braga e Compostela e a restauração da metrópole galaica.” In *O século de Xelmírez*, edited by Fernando López Alsina, Henriques Monteagudo, Ramón Villares, and Ramón José Yzquierdo Perrín, 17–44. Santiago de Compostela: Consello de Cultura Gallega, 2013.
- Amaral, Luís Carlos, and Mário Jorge Barroca. *A Condessa-Rainha Teresa*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Ayala Martínez, Carlos. “Los obispos de Alfonso VIII.” In *Carreiras eclesiásticas no occidente cristão (séc. XII-XIV)*, edited by Ana Maria Jorge, Hermínia Vilar, and Maria João Branco, 151–86. Lisbon: UCP-CEHR, 2007.
- Ayala Martínez, Carlos. *Órdenes militares, monarquía y espiritualidad militar en los reinos de Castilla y León (ss XII–XIII)*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2015.
- Ayala Martínez, Carlos. *El pontificado en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2016.
- Baliñas Pérez, Carlos. “De ‘Gallaecia’ a Galicia: a redefinición altomedieval dun concepto romano.” In *De Roma a Santiago: caminos de la historia, legado cultural*, edited by María Montes López and Jesús Varela Zapata, 31–51. Lugo: Editorial Axac, 2010.
- Barton, Simon. *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Barton, Simon, and Robert Portass, eds. *Beyond the Reconquista: New Directions in the History of Medieval Iberia (711–1085)*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Benson, Robert Louis. *Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Branco, Maria João. “Constructing Legitimacy and Using Authority. The Production of Cartularies in Braga during the 12th Century.” In *Erinnerung – Niederschrift – Nutzung. Das Papsttum und die Schriftlichkeit im mittelalterlichen Westeuropa*, edited by Klaus Herbers and Ingo Fleisch, 31–62. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.
- Branco, Maria João. “St. Martin, the Sueves and Gallaecia.” In *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society*, edited by Alberto Ferreiro, 63–98. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Brown, Peter. *Il culto dei santi. L’origine e la diffusione di una nuova religiosità*. Italian translation by Luciana Repici Cambiano. Turin: Einaudi, 2002 (first ed. 1980).
- Calleja Puerta, Miguel. *La formación de la red parroquial de la diócesis de Oviedo en la Edad Media*. Oviedo: Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 2000.
- Cal Pardo, Enrique. *Episcopologio Mindoniense*. Santiago de Compostela: Instituto de Estudios Gallegos “Padre Sarmiento,” 2003.
- Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Gregorio VII*. Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2018.
- Carl, Carolina. *A Bishopric between Three Kingdoms: Calahorra, 1045–1190*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Clanchy, Michael T. *From Memory to Written Record (England 1066–1307)*. London: Blackwell, 1979.
- Collins, Roger. “Gregory of Tours and Spain.” In *A Companion to Gregory of Tours*, edited by Alexander C. Murray, 499–515. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Costa, Avelino de Jesus da. “A restauração da Diocese de Braga em 1070.” *Lusitania Sacra* 1 (1956): 17–28.
- Dahn, Felix. *Könige der Germanen*. Vol. 5. Würzburg: Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel in Leipzig, 1866.
- David, Pierre. *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal: du VIe au XIIIe siècle*. Lisbon: Livraria Portugália, 1947.
- De Alarcão, Jorge. “Os limites das dioceses suevas de Bracara e de Portucale.” *Portvgalia* 36 (2015): 35–48.
- D’Emilio, James. “The Legend of Bishop Odoario and the Early Medieval Church in Galicia.” In *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, edited by Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris, 47–83. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

- Deswarte, Thomas. *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape. L'Espagne et Rome (586–1085)*. Paris: Garnier, 2010.
- Deswarte, Thomas. “Restaurer les évêchés et falsifier la documentation en Espagne. La suppression du diocèse de Simancas (974) et l’église cathédrale d’Astorga.” *Revue Mabillon* 15, no. 76 (2004): 81–106.
- Deswarte, Thomas. “Tolède III (589) et Tolède IV (633): deux conciles, deux conceptions du pouvoir.” In *La dramatique conciliaire de l’Antiquité à Vatican II*, edited by Guillaume Cuchet and Charles Mériaux, 275–94. Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2019.
- Díaz, Pablo C. “Los godos como epopeya y la construcción de identidades en la historiografía española.” *Anales de Historia Antigua, Medieval y Moderna* 40 (2008): 25–73.
- Díaz, Pablo C. “El Parrochiale Sueuum: organización eclesiástica, poder político y poblamiento en la Gallaecia tardoantigua.” In *Homenaje a José María Blázquez Martínez*, edited by Júlio Mangas Manjarrés and Jaime Alvar, VI:35–48. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1998.
- Díaz, Pablo C. *El reino suevo*. Madrid: Akal, 2011.
- Díaz, Pablo C. “El reino suevo de Hispania y su sede en Bracara.” *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 25 (2000): 403–23.
- Díaz Fernández, José María. “Gelmírez’s ‘Pious Robbery’.” In *Compostela and Europe: The History of Diego Gelmírez*, edited by Manuel Castiñeiras, 158–65. Milano: Skira, 2010.
- Escalona, Julio. “Family Memories. Inventing Alfonso I of Asturias.” In *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimation in Medieval Societies*, edited by Isabel Alfonso, Hugh Kennedy, and Julio Escalona, 223–62. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Falkenstein, Ludwig. *La papauté et les abbayes françaises aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Exemption et protection apostolique*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997.
- Falque Rey, Emma. “Galicia and the Galicians in the Latin Chronicles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” In *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, edited by James D’Emilio, 400–28. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Fanning, Steven. “Gothia.” In *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, edited by William Kibler, Grover A. Zinn, John Jr. Bell Henneman, and Lawrence Earp, 399–400. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, 1995.
- Fernández Calo, Martín. “Os Synodi suevo-católicos: implicacións político-administrativas dunha bipartición metropolitana.” *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 63, no. 129 (2016): 125–62.
- Fernández Casal, Miguel Angel. “Los conflictos de la sede episcopal de Ourense en la Edad Media (ss. XII–XIII).” *Miniús* 11 (2003): 97–118.
- Ferreiro, Alberto. “Braga and Tours: Some Observations on Gregory’s *De virtutibus sancti Martini*.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995): 195–210.
- Fletcher, Richard A. *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Fletcher, Richard A. *Saint James’s Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Geary, Patrick. *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Gomes, Maria Joana. “Erat simplicis ingenii: A deposição de Garcia da Galiza vista pelos cronistas dos séculos XII e XIII.” *Medievalista* 23 (2018). <https://medievalista.fcsh.unl.pt/MEDIEVALISTA23/gomes2307.html>.
- Gomes, Maria Joana. “O rei da escrita: as múltiplas faces de Afonso VI (séculos XII e XIII).” Ph.D. diss., Universidade do Porto, 2017.
- González García, Francisco Javier, ed. *Los pueblos de la Galicia céltica*. Madrid: Akal, 2007.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *La mémoire collective*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1997 (first ed. 1950).
- Henriet, Patrick. “Political Struggle and the Legitimation of the Toledan Primacy: The Pars Laterani Concilii.” In *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimacy in Medieval Societies*, edited by Isabel Alfonso Antón, Hugh Kennedy, and Julio Escalona, 291–318. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

- Henriet, Patrick. "Territoires, espaces symboliques et 'frontières naturelles.' Remarques sur la carte diocésaine hispanique du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle." In *L'espace du diocèse. Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval (V<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, edited by Florian Mazel, 287-307. Rennes: PUR, 2008.
- Inventario Toponímico da Galicia Medieval (ITGM)*, <http://ilg.usc.gal/itgm/>.
- Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *La Maison-Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen-Âge (v. 800-v. 1200)*. Paris: Seuil, 2006.
- Isla Frez, Amancio. "The Aristocracy and the Monarchy in Northwest Iberia between the Eighth and Eleventh Century." In *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, edited by James D'Emilio, 251-80. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Isla Frez, Amancio. "Ensayo de historiografía medieval. El *Cronicón Iriense*." *En la España Medieval* 4 (1984): 413-31.
- Isla Frez, Amancio. "Las relaciones entre el reino visigodo y los reyes merovingios a finales del siglo VI." *En la España Medieval* 13 (1990): 11-32.
- Isla Frez, Amancio. *La sociedade gallega em la Edad Media*. Madrid: CSIC, 1992.
- Jerez Cabrero, Enrique. "El *Chronicon Mundi* de Lucas de Tuy (c.1238): Técnicas compositivas y motivaciones ideológicas." Ph.D. diss., Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2006.
- Jorge, Ana Maria. "The Lusitanian Episcopate in the 4th Century: Priscilian of Ávila and the Tensions between Bishops." *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 4, no. 2 (2006). [https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/html/issue8/html/ajorge\\_main.html](https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue8/html/ajorge_main.html).
- Koch, Manuel. "Gotthi intra Hispanias sedes acceperunt. Consideraciones sobre la supuesta inmigración visigoda en la Península Ibérica." *Pyrenae* 37, no. 2 (2006): 83-104.
- Kulikowski, Michael. "The Suevi in Gallaecia. An Introduction." In *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, edited by James D'Emilio, 131-45. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Lauwers, Michel. *Naissance du cimetière. Lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Aubier, 1997.
- Lay, Stephen. *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal: Political and Cultural Reorientation on the Medieval Frontier*. London: Palgrave, 2009.
- Le Morvan, Gael. "Le mythe néo-wisigothique dans la culture historique de l'Espagne médiévale (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)." Ph.D. diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2013.
- Linehan, Peter. *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Livermore, Harold V. "Reis Suevos e a Igreja de São Martinho na formação de Portugal." *Nvmmvs* II. Série XXXI-XXXV (1998-2002): 157-72.
- López Alsina, Fernando. *La ciudad de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*. Santiago de Compostela: Consorcio de Santiago-USC, 2015 (first ed. 1988).
- López Alsina, Fernando. "Diego Gelmírez: las raíces del Liber Sancti Jacobi y el Códice Calixtino." In *O século de Xelmírez*, edited by Fernando López Alsina, Henriques Monteagudo, Ramón Villares, and Ramón José Yzquierdo Perrín, 303-83. Santiago de Compostela: Consello de Cultura Gallega, 2013.
- López Alsina, Fernando. "El Parrochiale Suevum y su presencia en las cartas pontificias del siglo XII." In *Das begrenzte Papsttum. Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns. Legaten - delegierte Richter - Grenzen*, edited by Klaus Herbers, Fernando López Alsina, and Frank Engel, 105-32. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013.
- López Alsina, Fernando. "Los Tumbos de Santiago de Compostela y las relaciones con el Pontificado." In *Erinnerung - Niederschrift - Nutzung. Das Papsttum und die Schriftlichkeit im mittelalterlichen Westeuropa*, edited by Klaus Herbers and Ingo Fleisch, 137-70. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.
- Mansilla Reoyo, Demetrio. *Geografía eclesiástica de España. Estudio histórico-geográfico de las diócesis*. Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1994.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *El concepto de España en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1997.
- Mariani, Andrea, and Francesco Renzi. "The 'Territorialization' of the Episcopal Power in Medieval Portugal: A Study on the Bullae of Popes Paschalis II and Calixtus II and the Conflicts between Oporto, Braga and Coimbra (12th Century)." *Lusitania Sacra* 27 (2018): 161-87.

- Marques, André. “A autoridade episcopal e a construção da rede paroquial da Diocese do Porto (séculos X–XIV).” In *Um poder entre poderes: nos 900 anos da restauração da diocese do Porto e da construção do Cabido Portucalense*, edited by Luis Carlos Amaral, 161–96. Porto: CEHR, 2017.
- Marques, André. *Da representação documental à materialidade do espaço. Território da Diocese de Braga (séculos IX–XI)*. Santa Maria da Feira: Afrontamento/CITCEM, 2014.
- Martin, Georges. “Un récit (La chute du royaume wisigothique d’Espagne dans l’historiographie chrétienne des VIIIe et IXe siècles).” *Cahiers d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 11 (1997): 11–42.
- Mattoso, José. *História de Portugal. Antes de Portugal*. Vol. I. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993.
- Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal, 1096–1325*. Vol. II. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1995.
- Mazel, Florian. *L’évêque et le territoire. L’invention médiévale de l’espace (Ve–XIIIe siècle)*. Paris: Seuil, 2016.
- Monteagudo Romero, Henrique. “Narraciones galegas da inventio do sepulcro xacobeo.” In *Medioevo y Literatura: Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, edited by Juan Paredes, III:361–96. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995.
- Morujão, Maria do Rosário Barbosa. “A organização da diocese de Lamego: da reconquista à restauração da dignidade episcopal.” In *Espaço, poder e memória: a catedral de lamego, sécs. XII a XX*, edited by Anísio Miguel de Sousa Saraiva, 13–45. Lisbon: UCP-CEHR, 2013.
- Mosquera Agrelo, Manuel. “La diócesis de Lugo en la Edad Media.” In *Historia de las diócesis españolas*, edited by José García Oro, XV:21–94. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002.
- Nieto Soria, José Manuel, and Iluminado Sanz Sancho. *La época medieval: Iglesia y Cultura*. Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO, 2002.
- Nora, Pierre. “Entre Mémoire et Histoire: la problématique des lieux.” In *Les Lieux de la Mémoire*, edited by Pierre Nora, I: XVII–LII. Paris: Gallimard, 1984.
- Pastor Díaz, Ernesto. “El uso de la ‘presura’ en el scriptorium de la sede de Lugo-Braga durante el siglo XI: el ejemplo de Odoario, el obispo ‘presor’ de la octava centuria.” *Studia Storica* 37, no. 1 (2019): 79–103.
- Pérez, Mariel. “Infra limites Legionensis episcopatus. Límites y formación de los territorios diocesanos en la España medieval (León, siglos IX–XIII).” In *Sociedad, cultura y religión en la Plena Edad Media (siglos IX al XIII)*, edited by Andrea Vanina Neyra and Victoria Casamiquela Gerhold, 35–62. Buenos Aires: IMHICIHU, 2019.
- Pick, Lucy K. *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Portela Silva, Ermelindo. “Diego Gelmírez y Hugo de Porto. Poderes y fronteras.” In *Um poder entre poderes: nos 900 anos da restauração da diocese do Porto e da construção do Cabido Portucalense*, edited by Luis Carlos Amaral, 361–81. Porto: CEHR, 2017.
- Portela Silva, Ermelindo. *Diego Gelmírez (c.1065–1140): el báculo y la ballesta*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2016.
- Portela Silva, Ermelindo. “The Making of Galicia in Feudal Spain.” In *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, edited by James D’Emilio, 367–99. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Reglero de la Fuente, Carlos. “Los obispos y sus sedes en los reinos hispánicos occidentales.” In *la reforma gregoriana y su proyección en la cristiandad occidental (siglos XI–XII)*, edited by José Ignacio Saranyana, 195–88. Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 2006.
- Reilly, Bernard F. “The *Historia Compostelana*: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish *Gesta*.” *Speculum* 44, no. 1 (1969): 78–85.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126–1157*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109–1126*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Renzi, Francesco, and Andrea Mariani. “Sobre as origens da diocese do Porto na Alta Idade Média. Uma reflexão sobre o Parrochiale Suevorum e a diocese de Magno/Meinedo (sécs. VI–VII).”



- Portugalia: *Revista de Arqueologia do Departamento de Ciências e Técnicas do Património da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto* 41 (2020): 91–122.
- Resende de Oliveira, António. “Do reino da Galiza ao reino de Portugal.” *Revista de História das Ideias* 28 (2007): 17–37.
- Ricoeur, Paul. “Histoire et mémoire: l’écriture de l’histoire et la représentation du passé.” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 55, no. 4 (2000): 731–47.
- Ríos Saloma, Martín. *La Reconquista. Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI–XIX)*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011.
- Rivas Fernández, Juan Carlos. *Consideraciones sobre la Antigüedad del episcopado Auriense y la génesis de su diócesis. El rol del Parrochiale Suevum y otras cuestiones*. Ourense: Duen de Bux, 2003.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018 (first ed. 1999).
- Rubio Sadiá, Juan Pablo. “El cambio de rito en Castilla. Su *iter* historiográfico en los siglos XII y XIII.” *Hispania Sacra* 58, no. 117 (2006): 9–35.
- Rucquoi, Adeline. “Cluny, el Camino Francés y la Reforma Gregoriana.” *Medievalismo* 20 (2010): 97–122.
- Rucquoi, Adeline. “*Hospites seu Peregrini*: Itinerarios de peregrinación en la alta Edad Media (850–1150).” *Iacobus. Revista de Estudios Jacobeos y Medievales* 29-30 (2011): 15–48.
- Sánchez Chouza, José Carlos. “A Gallaecia Sueva.” *Compostellanum* 62, nos. 1-2 (2017): 85–137.
- Sánchez Pardo, José Carlos. “Organización eclesiástica y social en la Galicia tardoantigua. Una perspectiva geográfico-arqueológica del Parroquial Suevo.” *Hispania Sacra* 66 (2014): 439–80.
- Sánchez Pardo, José Carlos. “Territorio y poblamiento en Galicia entre la Antigüedad y la plena Edad Media.” Ph.D. diss., Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2008.
- Soto Rábanos, José María. “Introducción del rito romano en los reinos de España. Argumentos del papa Gregorio VII.” *Studi Gregoriani* 14 (1991): 161–74.
- Souto Cabo, José António. “*Liber registri Didaci secundi*. Sobre a tradição manuscrita medieval da *História Compostelana*.” *Madrygal. Revista de Estudos Galegos* 21 (2018): 239–71.
- Stocking, Rachel L. *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 2000.
- Suárez Otero, José. “Iria Flavia. De puerto romano a centro de poder suevo.” In *Tempore sueborum. El tiempo de los Suevos en Galicia (411–585)*, edited by Jorge López Quiroga, 277–80. Ourense: Diputación Provincial de Ourense, 2018.
- Thompson, Edward Arthur. “The Conversion of the Spanish Suevo to Catholicism.” In *Visigothic Spain. New Approaches*, edited by Edward James, 77–92. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- Torija Rodríguez, Enrique. “La primacía de las Españas de la iglesia de Toledo. Origen, descripción y oposición durante la Edad Media.” In *Nuevas aportaciones de jóvenes medievalistas. Lleida 2014*, edited by Jesús Brufal Sucarrat, 11–27. Murcia: Compobell, 2014.
- Ubric, Purificación. “The Church in the Suevo Kingdom (411–585 AD).” In *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia. A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, edited by James D’Emilio, 210–43. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Ullmann, Walter. *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961.
- Villa Prieto, Josué. “La ideología goticista en los prehumanistas castellanos: Alonso de Cartagena y Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Sus consideraciones sobre la unidad hispano-visigoda y el reino astur-leonés.” *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder* 5 (2010): 123–45.
- Vones, Ludwig. “Diego Xelmírez et les courants de la politique ecclésiastique de son temps.” In *O século de Xelmírez*, edited by Fernando López Alsina, Henriques Monteagudo, Ramón Villares, and Ramón José Yzquierdo Perrín, 95–115. Santiago de Compostela: Consello de Cultura Gallega, 2013.
- Vones, Ludwig. “Restauration ou bouleversement?” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 49, no. 2 (2019). <http://journals.openedition.org/mcv/11225>.
- Wood, Ian N. *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751*. London: Longman, 1994.
- Wood, Susan. *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.