

**THE ARISTOCRACY OF LEON-CASTILE IN THE
REIGN OF ALFONSO VII (1126-1157)**

2 VOLUMES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME II

	<u>Page</u>
Table of figures	376
CHAPTER 4 : KING AND COURT	377
Introduction	378
(a) Alfonso VII and the Nobility	381
i) Grants 'pro bono seruicio'	384
ii) <u>Honores</u> and <u>tenencias</u>	387
iii) Money fiefs	398
(b) The Court of Alfonso VII	399
i) Court membership	401
ii) The business of the curia	422
iii) The royal household	433
iv) The peripatetic court	443
Notes to Chapter 4	457
CHAPTER 5 : THE WARRIOR ARISTOCRACY	474
Introduction	475
(a) A society organised for war	476

(b) The wars of the reign of Alfonso VII	482
(c) The logistics of warfare	500
i) The summons to war	501
ii) The composition of the army	502
iii) Numbers	510
iv) Naval power	512
v) Finance, supply and strategy	513
vi) Castles	520
(d) Motivation	528
(e) Risks and rewards	540
Notes to Chapter 5	550
CONCLUSION	563
APPENDIX 1 : Selected aristocratic charters	566
APPENDIX 2 : Genealogical tables	631
MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS CONSULTED	641
I. Manuscript sources	
II. Guides, catalogues and registers	
III. Printed Primary Sources	
IV. Secondary material	

TABLE OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 5 : Royal majordomos, 1126-1157	436
Figure 6 : Royal <u>alféreces</u> , 1126-1157	437
Figure 7 : Lay confirmants to royal diplomas of 1137	492
Figure 8 : Lay confirmants to royal diplomas of 1139	493
Figure 9 : Lay confirmants to royal diplomas of 1147	494

CHAPTER 4

KING AND COURT

Introduction

The relationship between king and nobleman in the Middle Ages was more often than not based upon mutual support and co-operation rather than upon mutual antagonism.(1) The two parties had much to offer one other: for the king, lacking a professional army, the military service and contingents of troops provided by his magnates were indispensable if he were to maintain control within his kingdom and to make war against his enemies without. Furthermore, the king relied on his great nobles to advise him in matters of state at the periodic meetings of the curia and, by what has been termed 'a planned dispersal of his power', entrusted them with large areas of the realm to administer in his name.(2)

Such important service was bought at a price, however; in return for the traditional services of auxilium (military service) and consilium (counsel), the nobles were awarded generous grants of royal properties, together with benefices in land, castles and money, enjoyed immunities over the lands they held and exemption from taxation, to name only the most obvious privileges. A status-quo between king and magnate was maintained, therefore, but this could break down if the latter felt he was being inadequately recompensed for his loyalty and service

by the former. In such circumstances, a powerful noble might choose to rebel against the king in an attempt to improve his position. Clearly, it was a relationship that neither side could take for granted. For, as Werner has observed, the nobility 'was at once the main enemy and the only ally of the central government'.(3)

The fragile alliance that apparently existed between nobility and monarchy, is nowhere more clearly visible than in the medieval kingdom of León-Castile. In the 11th century, the profits of the military campaigns waged against the Taifa kingdoms of al-Andalus and the levying of parias, payments made by the Muslim rulers in return for Christian military 'protection', had enabled the kings of León-Castile, Fernando I and his sons Sancho II and Alfonso VI, to reward their loyal followers generously.(4) The Almoravid onslaught of the 1090s, however, followed by the Christian debacle at Uclés in 1108 and the death of Alfonso VI the following year, unleashed an unparalleled period of social unrest and violence in León-Castile which lasted for over twenty years.(5) The dominion of the Almoravids over the principalities of al-Andalus abruptly cut off the supply of Muslim gold and silver which had flowed steadily north to the Christian realms for more than a generation. This, coupled with the loss of more than half the kingdom,

and therefore its revenues, to her estranged husband, Alfonso I of Aragón, plunged the new monarch of León-Castile, queen Urraca, into an acute financial crisis.(6) Increasingly unable to raise sufficient cash to pay her armies and reward her magnates, unrest swiftly ensued and during the tumultuous years between 1111 and 1117 several members of the nobility rebelled against her rule.(7) Bonnassie has even gone as far as to speak of 'un asalto global de la aristocracia contra la institución monárquica' during this period.(8) Thus, in the preamble to a charter of Alfonso VII drawn up on 21 March 1136, the emperor could refer back to the 'multis perturbationibus et calamitatibus' which had afflicted the kingdom after the death of his grandfather Alfonso VI.(9)

This chapter aims to examine the relationship between Alfonso VII and the lay magnates of his kingdom. In the first part, the means by which the emperor was able to restore royal authority and ensure the loyalty of the aristocracy after the near-anarchy of his mother's reign will be considered, with particular attention being paid to the rewards that nobles could expect to receive in return for their loyal service. Subsequently, the court of Alfonso VII will be placed under the microscope: the membership of the curia imperatoris will be examined and the role

played by lay nobles in the administration of the royal household will be investigated.

(a) **Alfonso VII and the nobility**

Queen Urraca died on 8 or 9 March 1126.(10) Her 21-year old son, Alfonso Raimúndez, then resident at Sahagún, wasted no time in making good his claim to the throne and the following day, according to the Chronica, was crowned king in León 'cum magno gaudio'.(11) Nevertheless, the deep-seated discontent among important sections of the nobility that had severely undermined royal power during the reign of Urraca, did not die down immediately on the accession of her son either. The early years of the reign of Alfonso VII were marked by similar upheaval, as the young king struggled to assert his authority over the magnates of his kingdom. Thus, if he was able to rely from the outset on the support of count Suero Vermúdez and his kinsmen, together with that of other Leonese worthies, the Chronica also makes clear that some members of the lay aristocracy were rather slower to recognise his authority.(12) It was only once the rebels in the royal citadel of León had surrendered, we are told, that a substantial part of the Leonese nobility, including Rodrigo and Osorio Martínez, Ramiro Froilaz, and Pedro and Lope López, travelled to

pay homage to the king.(13) Shortly afterwards, we hear, the chief members of the Galician nobility 'ad regem venerunt et in Zamora supplici devotione se illius imperiis subdiderunt'.(14)

Notwithstanding these important demonstrations of fealty, the author of the Chronica does not conceal the fact that Alfonso VII faced numerous rebellions against his authority during the early years of his reign, the most serious of which were led by the Castilian counts, Pedro and Rodrigo González de Lara, and by the Asturian count Gonzalo Peláez.(15) What precisely lay behind these revolts we are not told. In the case of the Lara brothers, the Chronica claims that they were in league with king Alfonso I of Aragón, which may contain more than a grain of truth.(16) At Támara in 1127, for example, the chronicler declares that 'comes Petrus de Lara, qui stabat in prima acie regis Legionis, noluit pugnare adversus regem Aragonensem, quia cor eius cum eo erat et sermonem cum illo habebat'.(17) A little later, in June 1130, we hear that count Pedro de Lara and his son-in-law count Bertrán were imprisoned by Alfonso VII 'pro eo quod conturbabant suum regnum', whereupon 'Rodericus comes, et gentes et amici eorum, protinus rebelles facti sunt'.(18) The Chronica goes on to relate that while count Pedro subsequently launched an unsuccessful rebellion in Castile, his brother Rodrigo

carried on his insurrection in the region of Asturias de Santillana.(19) At roughly the same time, we hear of revolts led by the Leonese nobles Pedro Díaz and Pelayo Froilaz, who held the fortress of Valle, and by Jimeno Iñíguez, the castellan of Coyanza, modern-day Valencia de Don Juan.(20)

The exasperating vagueness with which the Chronica describes the events of these years, makes it difficult for us to make out in any detail either the chronology or the extent of the unrest. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that during the early years of his reign, Alfonso VII's rule was being challenged by important sections of the lay nobility and that the monarch encountered serious difficulty in imposing his authority. The king, like his mother before him, had to resort to desperate measures in order to be able to pay his knights. In a charter of 2 April 1127, he restored to the abbey of Sahagún its dependent monastery of Nogal which, he confessed, 'pro captando regno necessitudinibus circumventus...meis illud militibus dedi'.(21) That same year, the Historia Compostellana reports in aggrieved tone, Alfonso VII extorted 1000 silver marks out of archbishop Diego Gelmírez

'quam necessitate pecuniae coactus: pecunia enim quae sibi ad pacandos milites stipendiarios tunc temporis multum necessaria erat'.(22)

The 13th century Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla, for its part, would later refer to the insecurity that characterised the early part of the reign of Alfonso VII in this way:

'Regis Alfonsi, qui postea dictus est Imperator, filii comitis Remondi et regine Urrace, regni principium debile fuit, sed melior fortuna secuta est, favente siquidem sibi divina gratia, in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates...'(23)

Nevertheless, it is not too much of an exaggeration to affirm that within a decade of his succession, Alfonso VII had successfully restored the power of the Leonese-Castilian monarchy. True, there were to be further challenges to his authority, the most serious of which was the insurrection of the Galician counts Gómez Núñez and Rodrigo Pérez between 1137 and 1141, but we no longer get the impression that 'el poder real resulta inoperante o debe pugnar muy duramente con los poderes constituidos al margen de él'.(24) It is the means by which the young ruler was ultimately able to assert his authority over his kingdom and restore the equilibrium between monarchy and nobility that must occupy us now.

i) Grants 'pro bono servicio'

Of all the various incentives offered by the monarchs of 12th century León-Castile to guarantee the

loyalty of their lay vassals, the alienation of royal lands is without doubt that of which most record has survived. From the reign of Alfonso VII, numerous charters recording such royal largesse have come down to us.(25) The arengae to the diplomas occasionally reveal the philosophy that lay behind such grants: 'equitati et iusticie conuenit, ut ei benefaciat unusquisque, qui sibi fideliter et legitime seruit', declares one royal document of 19 August 1146; 'decet inter ceteros homines imperatoriam precipue maiestatem quemquem sibi bene et fideliter seruientem donis remunerare', says another of 4 April 1155.(26) More often than not, however, such grants, directed to powerful magnates, milites and humbler domestic officials alike, are notably vague about the considerations that had led the monarch to reward a particular layman. To take a random example, the diploma issued by the emperor to record the grant of some land at Villamoros to Ponce de Minerva and his wife Estefanía Ramírez on 13 February 1146, reveals merely that the couple were being rewarded 'propter seruicium quod mihi fecistis et facitis'.(27)

Occasionally, however, the diplomas can be rather more explicit about the circumstances that had prompted a grant. Let us consider, by way of example, the donation that was made by the emperor to the Leonese nobleman García Pérez in November 1147. On 17

October of that year, the Mediterranean seaport of Almería had fallen to a combined assault by troops from Genoa and the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula. By 25 November, Alfonso VII and his expeditionary army had returned to their base at Baeza, where the emperor made a grant of the villas of Villa la Maya and Villalba to García Pérez, the grandson of count Martín Flaínez.(28) In the charter drawn up to record the gift, the monarch reveals that he was rewarding García Pérez 'propter gratum et bonum seruicium, quod in terra Maurorum in acquisitione Baecie et Almarie, et in aliis multis locis mihi fecistis et cotidie facitis'.

In the same vein, on 18 November 1153, while the royal court was at Soria, the emperor made a grant to his maior domus count Ponce de Cabrera, 'meo fideli uassallo', of a castle at Albuer, modern-day Villamanrique del Tajo.(29) The gift was bestowed, we are told,

'pro bono et fideli seruitio quod michi fecistis in Almaria et in aliis locis multis, in partibus scilicet Christianorum atque Sarracenorum...'

Yet it was not only for their deeds on the battlefield that laymen were rewarded by the Crown. We also see men and women being favoured for their loyal service in the royal household: for example, Pennasalbas, the emperor's cup-bearer, received land

at Villella in 1149, while Juan Achui, the royal cook, was rewarded with properties at Martela and Civielas the following year.(30) Meanwhile, Marina Lezana and Juliana Martínez were rewarded by Alfonso VII for having taken care of his infant sons Sancho and Fernando respectively.(31)

In most such cases, the beneficiaries were awarded permanent title to the land in question and frequently immune authority as well. For example, in the case of the grant to count Ponce de Cabrera we referred to above, the emperor promised that

'ab hac die habeatis illud castellum liberum et quietum uos et filii uestri et omnis generatio uestra iure hereditario in perpetuum'.

ii) Honores and tenencias

It was equally common practice among medieval rulers to reward their loyal nobles who had lent them the twin services of auxilium and consilium with benefices of land or money. Thus, in Visigothic Spain, Sánchez Albornoz has demonstrated, the fideles regis 'recibían tierras en tenencia benefical como recompensa de sus servicios a los reyes'.(32) Similarly, in the Christian kingdoms of Asturias-León it was by no means infrequent for nobles to bind themselves to the king or a great magnate by ties of

vassalage. Even so, it seems, the granting of a benefice was not always linked to vassalage:

'La concesión del prestamum con cargo a la prestación de servicios nobles se produce sin que el beneficiario esté forzosamente obligado a hacerse vasallo de aquel que le concede ese prestamum'.(33)

Towards the end of the 11th century, influenced it seems by French and Catalan practices, the relationship between lord and vassal became founded on a much more formalised basis, by the making of a feudal pact known as a convenientia or placitum.(34) In return for an act of homage (hominium) and a pledge by the vassal that he would serve his lord faithfully, the latter granted him a piece of land, known variously as a prestimonium, feudum, honor or tenencia, or a sum of money referred to as soldata or stipendia. The fief was not hereditary and could be confiscated by the lord if his vassal was unfaithful or did not perform the various services he was bound to under the terms of the convenientia.

This was the chief mechanism by which Alfonso VII sought to regulate his relationship with the lay nobility of his kingdom. Bonnassie has commented:

'Parece indudable que fue Alfonso VII el primero de los monarcas castellanos-leoneses que ligó estrechamente la concesión de un prestimonio a la prestación de un homenaje y de servicios vasalláticos'.(35)

It is equally possible, however, that the king was following a practice already employed by his mother,

queen Urraca. After all, the Chronica, recording the settlement between Alfonso VII and the rebellious Gonzalo Peláez, states that the count was granted the district of Luna:

'Hoc autem factum est ne iterum rebellaret sicut rebellaverat reginae domnae Urracae, quae prius dederat ei honorem'.(36)

At various points in the Chronica, the author refers to the fiefs that were held from the emperor by the nobles of the realm. We hear, for example, that the members of the Galician nobility who paid homage to the young Alfonso VII at Zamora in April 1126 'maximos honores in Galletia tenebant'.(37) Elsewhere, we are told that when count Rodrigo González was appointed governor of Toledo by the king, he was granted 'magnos honores in Extremo et Castella', while count Rodrigo Pérez 'tenebat castella in Limia et ab imperatore honorem'.(38) For its part, the Historia Compostellana reveals that in return for their 'regales honores' the Galician nobility paid 'hominium et fidelitatem' to Alfonso VII in 1126.(39)

These benefices could vary enormously in size and character and could comprise a region, a town, a village or even a simple castle. Thus, while the Castilian magnate count Manrique Pérez de Lara operated as a virtual viceroy in his honor of Baeza and its surrounding area after 1147, he also at various times held, among other tenencias, the cities

of Toledo and Avila from the king.(40) Among the numerous fiefs held by count Ramiro Froilaz, was the royal castle of Ulver in the Leonese Bierzo.(41)

The origins of the honor are probably to be sought in the León-Castile of the 10th century. In this period the kingdom had been divided up into territorial units called commissos, if assigned to a count, or mandationes if governed by a princeps-terrae or potestas.(42) The responsibilities of these aristocrats included the maintenance of public order and the administration of justice on behalf of the Crown, the collection of taxes and the raising of a local militia in time of war. Very often, however, it seems to have been the case that the mandatio governed by a magnate corresponded with an area where his family already held extensive estates. Historians have usually held that this system of commissos and mandationes was gradually replaced during the course of the 11th and 12th centuries as the adoption of 'feudal practices' from France and eastern Spain led to the introduction of new administrative techniques.(43) It now seems more likely, however, that the change from a regime of mandationes to one of honores and tenencias represented more a change of terminology than of political or administrative realities. Estepa Díez comments:

'El señalar comes.in...o el decir después que una persona es tenente...in resulta

prácticamente lo mismo...Ciertamente me parece claro que no se puede establecer una clara separación entre la organización administrativa a base de condados y el régimen de tenencias que vemos proliferar durante el siglo XII. Corresponde al desarrollo de un mismo tipo de realidades, el de la acción territorial de los magnates, que muchas veces está en consonancia con su propia actuación patrimonial.'(44)

Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the 12th century witnessed a big increase in the number of tenencias created, as the gains of the wars of the Reconquista resulted in extensive new territories to be governed.

The granting of such benefices by the monarchs of León-Castile to the nobles of their realm can be said to have been conditioned by two principal impulses. In the first place, the fief in question was designed to encourage the loyalty of the nobility towards the Crown; rebellion was punished by the confiscation of all the lands held from the king. We hear in the Chronica, for example, that count Rodrigo González was held prisoner by Alfonso VII 'donec reddidit ei universos honores et castella'; and count Rodrigo Gómez, who rebelled with the Asturian count Gonzalo Peláez, was also stripped of his fiefs by the monarch.(45) In a royal charter of 12 February 1140, the dependent relationship between the noble who held such an honor, and the monarch who granted it, is explicitly stated: 'Osorio Martínez comite sub manu ymperatoris tenente Malgrad'.(46) Secondly, the

awarding of a benefice of land carried with it important administrative duties, such as the defence of the area in question, its repopulation, particularly in the case of those newly-reconquered regions on the southern frontier, and the administration of justice, which the emperor was glad to delegate to the nobles of his kingdom.

In 1134, we hear that the honores regales which the nobility of Aragón and Navarre had held as temporary benefices in the time of Pedro I were confirmed as hereditary possessions by Alfonso VII when he annexed the regnum of Zaragoza.(47) In contemporary León-Castile, however, it is clear that such a step was never taken; rather, hereditary lordships do not appear to have become widespread until the late 13th century.(48) True, it was not uncommon for an honor granted to a magnate to stay in his family after his death. When count Rodrigo Martínez died intestate at the abortive siege of Coria in 1138, for example, his various honores in the region of León passed to his younger brother Osorio; and we see that count Pedro Manrique de Lara kept control of the towns of Burgo de Osma and Atienza after the death of his father count Manrique Pérez in 1164.(49) Certainly, in the course of time, some of these benefices did become hereditary lordships. The district of Pajares de Campos, which had been held in

prestamo from the Crown by Martín Díaz down to 1143, and which was subsequently granted to the Leonese noble iure hereditario in January 1144, is a case in point.(50)

Even so, the evidence of our sources for the reign of Alfonso VII suggests that the emperor was able to keep a fairly close rein on these administrative districts and the awarding of such benefices remained very much at his discretion. We have already drawn attention to the way in which Alfonso VII punished those nobles who rebelled against him by confiscating their fiefs. Occasionally, however, it is rather harder to discern the motives that led the emperor to take away a benefice from a magnate and his family. Thus, when the Galician noble Fernando Yáñez relinquished control over the Andalusian tenencia of Montoro in February 1154, after a long career of loyal service to the Crown, the district did not pass to his son Pelayo Corvo, but to the Castilian Nuño Pérez de Lara.(51)

Another interesting example of the sometimes temporary control exercised by magnates over their tenencias is provided by the hilly district of Cabrera which lies a little to the south-west of the city of Astorga. This region was held from the king by the Leonese noble Ramiro Froilaz down to at least 1129, but shortly afterwards, it would seem, the

administration of the district was transferred to Ponce Geraldi, the Catalan magnate who had accompanied the infanta Berengaria to León when she married Alfonso VII in November 1127.(52) Ponce Geraldi, or Ponce de Cabrera as he is more commonly known, gained great favour and prestige in the court of Alfonso VII and the honor of Cabrera may have represented one of the earliest gifts from the king to the young noble. Count Ponce, as he later became, governed the Sierra de Cabrera until at least 1146, when control apparently passed to Vela Gutiérrez, son of count Gutierre Vermúdez.(53) In this case, the transfer of the honor may well have occurred at the initiative of count Ponce himself; his daughter, Sancha Ponce, married Vela Gutiérrez some time in the 1140s and the control of the Cabrera may have represented a wedding gift from the count to his new son-in-law, although doubtless royal sanction was needed too.

Nevertheless, it is the career of count Osorio Martínez that provides what is perhaps the most revealing demonstration of the close control exercised by the emperor over the benefices he granted to his lay magnates. In June 1138, we have seen, count Rodrigo Martínez was killed during the assault on the city of Coria.(54) His brother Osorio was immediately invested count by the emperor and he also acceded to most, if not all, of the honores that had been held by

count Rodrigo, who had died without heirs. Thus, we see him cited as lord of Aguilar and as governor of the royal fortress of León and the Tierra de Campos, while he may also have received the lordship of Zamora, although this cannot be verified from our sources.(55) Moreover, count Osorio maintained control over his own hombres at Malgrat, Mayorga, Melgar, Aguilar de Campóo and in the region of Liébana.(56) Similarly, while Osorio Martínez had occupied a relatively minor role at court prior to 1138, after the death of his brother Rodrigo he became a regular member of the curia-imperatoris.(57)

This state of affairs was not to last long, however, for some time in the early 1140s Osorio Martínez seems to have lost royal favour. The reasons behind the fall of the count remain obscure to us, but there is no evidence that he had rebelled against the Crown. Instead, the quarrel would seem to have been related to his claims to the inheritance left by his brother Rodrigo. While there is clear evidence that Osorio inherited those family properties that had belonged to his brother, the gananciales, that is, those lands acquired by count Rodrigo and his wife Urraca Fernández during their marriage, passed to the hands of the emperor.(58) The clearest sign of this estrangement may be gauged from the fact that the count was stripped of most of the hombres that he had

been invested with a few years before. Thus, while his lordship in Aguilar passed to Ramiro Froilaz, control over Mayorga and the fortress of León was awarded to Ponce de Minerva.(59) Meanwhile, count Ponce de Cabrera was granted control over Malgrat and Melgar, as well as the city of Zamora.(60) Osorio Martínez seems to have been left with little more than the traditional family lordships of Villalobos and Vecilla de Valderaduey.(61) That the visits of the count to the court become almost non-existent after June 1142 is, we would argue, yet further proof of his disgrace.(62)

It should not be imagined, however, that the realm of León-Castile was neatly divided up into spheres of influence allotted to each of the great princes of the kingdom. The benefices held by count Manrique Pérez, for example, were scattered along the southern frontier with al-Andalus and at no stage did they coalesce into a semi-autonomous principate. In the north of the kingdom, moreover, it seems likely that the honores frequently corresponded with the areas where nobles were already important landowners in their own right and, as a result, could be spread over a wide area. The lordships of the Leonese count Ramiro Froilaz are particularly revealing in this context, for during the reign of Alfonso VII, he is cited as tenente in no fewer than 25 places in the

region of León, from Villafranca del Bierzo on the borders of Galicia to Cifuentes de Rueda near the city of León itself.(63) Indeed, the influence of count Ramiro in the area of León must have been so pervasive that the scribe who drew up a private charter in 1145 merely stated 'Comes Ramirus hic et ubique'.(64)

What is noteworthy, however, is that powerful Leonese magnates like the counts Ramiro Froilaz or Pedro Alfonso, both of whom evidently enjoyed great influence at court and played a prominent role in the military campaigns of the period, were never allotted fiefs on the southern frontier, although Ramiro Froilaz may have briefly held the governorship of Toledo in 1123.(65) For the most part, Alfonso VII seems to have preferred to entrust the administration and defence of the region south of the Duero to Castilian magnates, and in particular to members of the Lara clan, Rodrigo González and Manrique and Nuño Pérez. Even so, it was not uncommon for nobles to hold honores far from their patrimonies: we know, for example, that the Galician Menendo Bofín held Madrid in 1123, Maqueda and Santa Eulalia near Toledo in 1139 and Tordesillas in 1145, while his fellow-countryman Fernando Yáñez governed Talavera, Maqueda and Montoro during the period 1143-1154.(66)

Moreover, our sources make clear that it was by no means infrequent for two nobles to hold a tenencia

concurrently. In 1148 we glimpse count Ponce de Cabrera sharing the tenancy of Salamanca with count Rodrigo Pérez de Traba; seven years later, count Ponce apparently held half of the city of Astorga with Ramiro Froilaz.(67)

During the course of the reign of Alfonso VII, however, there seems to have been a consistent policy to commend the administration of the realm wherever possible to royal officials known as merinos, rather than to the care of his nobles. A good example of this trend can be seen in the region of Carrión-Saldaña which straddled the border between León and Castile. During the reign of Alfonso VI, this area had formed the heartland of the dominions of count Pedro Ansúrez. After the death of count Pedro, however, the county he had ruled over was dismembered; while his grandson Armengol VI of Urgel retained the tenencias Pedro Ansúrez had held in Valladolid and Cabezón, much of the responsibility for the administration of the areas of Saldaña and Carrión came to rest in the hands of the merino Diego Muñoz.(68)

iii) Money fiefs

In addition to the large-scale granting of lands and castles to his fideles, we also know that Alfonso VII awarded some of his vassals money fiefs,

known as stipendia, -soldata or donativa. The account in the Historia-Compostellana of the 1000 silver marks that the king extorted out of archbishop Diego 'ad pacandos milites stipendiarios', no doubt refers to the cash allowances the monarch paid to his household knights.(69) Equally, a royal diploma of 1126, which may not be entirely reliable, refers to the large quantities of gold and silver, as well as the other properties, that Alfonso VII had exacted from the monks of Sahagún with which to pay his knights.(70) We are told by the Chronica, meanwhile, that when the emperor decided to forgive Rodrigo Pérez de Traba for having supported the Portuguese invasion of Galicia, he summoned the count to his palace and granted him 'stipendia auri et argenti sicut uni ex principibus qui assistebant coram se'.(71) This makes clear that quite apart from the numerous honores that were awarded to the magnates of León-Castile, the granting of money fiefs was common practice at the court of Alfonso VII, just as it was in most parts of western Europe in this period, although there are surprisingly few references to the custom in our other sources.

(b) The Court of Alfonso VII

The administration of the kingdom of León-Castile in the twelfth century was not achieved by

centralised government sustained by a capital city. Instead, there was a continuing reliance on the age-old practice of itinerant rule, whereby the monarch and his retinue toured the kingdom according to the exigences of the time. In this way, kings sought to maintain their authority and prestige by personal presence and the centre of government became wherever the ruler happened to be on the course of his travels. The king was accompanied throughout his iter by an entourage of fluctuating size made up of lay and ecclesiastical magnates, domestic household officers and servants, as well as a military escort.

There is an important distinction to be made, however, between the terms 'court' and 'household' in this period. By the former we normally mean the curia regis, a consultative body made up largely of lay and ecclesiastical notables who counselled the king on a wide range of governmental business. The royal household, or domus, on the other hand, was concerned with both domestic duties and the administration of the organisational structure which supported the king and his court as they progressed around the kingdom. For this reason, the king's retinue may justifiably be regarded as 'both a public and a private body'.(72) The military role of the household, which contemporaries sometimes referred to as the familia,

will be examined in the next chapter. The aim of this section is to study the court and household of Alfonso VII and to examine the important role played in both by members of the lay nobility. From the evidence of the Chronica and the other narrative accounts of the reign, as well as the products of the imperial chancery, we are able to identify these 'court magnates' and glimpse the range of their duties while in attendance upon their monarch.

i) Court membership

In its account of events in León-Castile after the accession of Alfonso VII on 8 or 9 March 1126, the Chronica describes in some detail the submission of the chief magnates of the kingdom to the young king. The Leonese nobility, we are told, came to pay homage in two stages: the first group, led by count Suero Vermúdez, came to León only three days after the death of Queen Urraca at Saldaña:

'Tunc post tertiam diem, comes Suarius...cum amicis et parentibus suis, Adefonso videlicet fratre eius, filioque suo Petro Adefonsi, qui postea ab eo factus est comes, et Roderico Vermudiz cum Roderico Gonzalvi et Petro Brauldi aliisque multis, quorum nomina enarrare longum est, ad eum venit.' (73)

The second group of Leonese notables made their way to submit to Alfonso only once the fortress of the city of León, which had been held by supporters of the

counts of Lara, had been captured by the counts Alfonso Jordán and Suero Vermúdez:

'Quo audito, Legionensis territorii duces, videlicet Rodericus Martini et frater eius Osorius, et Radimirus Froilae, qui postea ab eo facti sunt comites, et (...) Radimiri comes, Petrus Lupi et frater eius Lupus Lupi, Gundisalvus Pelagii comes, Petrus Pelagii de Balderas, ad eum simul venerunt et iuxta regis voluntatem cum eo pacificaverunt... Multique alii, qui non nominantur.'(74)

Shortly afterwards at Zamora:

'Garsea Ennequici, qui tenebat Ceiam, Didacus Munionis de Saldania, Rodericus Velae comes Galletiae, qui tenebat Sarriam, comes Guterrius, frater comitis Suarii, qui in Galletia cum rege pacem fecerant, necnon et filii Petri Froilae consulis, in quibus fuit Rodericus, qui postea ab illo factus est consul, necnon Belascoi et Garsea et Vermutus, qui maximos honores in Galletia tenebant, et comes Gomez Munici et Fredinando Iohannis... ad regem et in Zamora supplici devotione se illius imperiis subdiderunt. Similiter et omnis Extremitas, quae trans flumen Dorii habitatur, imperio regis manibus ducum tradita est.'(75).

The submission of the magnates of the Galicia and the Trans-Duero, which took place in early April, was followed shortly afterwards by that of much of the high nobility of Castile. The Chronica recounts first that the counts Pedro and Rodrigo González of the house of Lara, together with Jimeno Iñíguez, who held Valencia de Don Juan in the territory of León, submitted to Alfonso VII 'volentes nolentes'.(76)

They were followed not long after by:

'Alii autem duces Castellanorum...In his vero fuit Rodericus Gomez, qui postea ab eo factus est consul, et frater eius Didacus et Lupus Didaci, qui postea comitis nomen cum honore ab

eo accepit, et Garseas Garsiaz cum Guterrio
Fredinandi, fraterque illius Rodericus, et
Petrus Gunsalvi, et frater eius Rodericus
Gunsalvi de Villaescusa.'(77)

As it stands, the account of the events of March-April 1126 given by the Chronica is a remarkably detailed list of the most powerful members of the nobility of the kingdom of León-Castile in the second quarter of the 12th century. From León, there are some fifteen names, if we may include count Gonzalo Peláez of the Asturias; Galicia accounts for eight notables; and Castile for eleven more. To these may be added count Alfonso Jordán, the son of count Raymond of Toulouse, who was already with the king according to the Chronica.(78) Our task must be to discover which of these 35 nobles were regular visitors to the royal court in the following years. Or, to put it another way, to try to identify those magnates whom we may regard as the 'king's men'; those trusted supporters of Alfonso VII who would have made up the core of the royal curia and would have regularly aided and counselled the king in the business of government.

In order to discover the identity of the nobles who attended the court of Alfonso VII, we must address ourselves to the surviving charters of the reign, of which there are very nearly 600. Charters have been described, with some good reason, as 'intractable and in many ways dreary materials...Reliance upon them is

not conducive to easy or pleasant reading.'(79) Yet, for all that, the royal diplomas furnish us with an invaluable record of the sort of business the king and his curia dealt with from day to day. Above all, however, the witness lists which were appended to these documents reveal the names of at least some of the lay and ecclesiastical nobles who were at court with the king.

From time to time, doubts have been raised as to whether such witness lists really are accurate records of court attendance.(80) Reilly has convincingly demonstrated, however, that the bishops who witnessed the charters of Alfonso VII were physically present when a royal diploma was issued by the chancery.(81) The same arguments adduced by Reilly may be used to support the presence of those lay magnates who are held to have subscribed the documents: firstly, the wide variation in the composition of witness lists from charter to charter discounts the theory that such lists were mere chancery conventions.(82) Secondly, although bishops and nobles were occasionally called upon to confirm documents issued by their predecessors or ancestors, there is no evidence that they subsequently independently confirmed royal charters. As Reilly observes, 'the scrupulous care with which copyists ordinarily reproduced the seals and arrangement of

earlier charters militates against the belief that they would have merely incorporated such a confirmation into the original list of witnesses'.(83) Thirdly, the suspicion that later cartulary copyists may have 'padded' witness lists with additional names to enhance the authority of the document in question is hard to sustain.(84)

It was not always the case, however, that charters were confirmed by the curia on the very same day as they were drawn up by the chancery scribe. Some diplomas state this explicitly: for example, a diploma of 19 January 1150, recording the settlement of a dispute between the dioceses of Astorga and Orense, states: 'Hec carta conventionis et pactionis facta fuit apud Zamoram et confirmata fuit apud Palentiam'.(85) With some other charters, it is possible to deduce that the witness list was appended some days after the main body of the document was drawn up. Just such an example occurs with the royal diploma issued at Zamora on 13 April 1126, which was witnessed by, among others, the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, Diego Gelmírez.(86) According to the account of the Historia Compostellana, however, the archbishop left León on 13 April to join the court at Zamora and so could not possibly have arrived there for at least another two or three days.(87) Nevertheless, even if it can be demonstrated that the

royal curia did not always confirm a charter on the very same day that the document was issued, there is no evidence that the witness lists are in any way imaginary accounts of court attendance.

If it may be accepted, therefore, that the lists of confirmantes appended to royal diplomas are reliable indicators of the lay and ecclesiastical nobles who were resident at court at a given time, it might be profitable to compare these records of court membership provided by the charters with the detailed list given by the Chronica of the magnates who paid homage to Alfonso VII on his accession to the throne in 1126. In this way, it may be possible to distinguish between those magnates who could be regarded as permanent, or at least regular, members of the curia in the early part of the reign of Alfonso VII and those whose appearances at court might be described at best as sporadic or at worst non-existent. This analysis will be carried out in three stages: first, by examining the charters of the period 1126-1135, that is, from the accession to the throne of Alfonso VII to his imperial coronation at León a decade later. Subsequently, court attendance in the later part of the reign will be considered, divided for convenience of study into the periods 1136-1147 and 1148-1157.

The court of Alfonso VII, 1126-1135

Our study of the first period in question is hindered somewhat by the limited statistical base upon which we can work; there are only 92 genuine charters up to and including 1134, a meagre average of ten a year, which makes it difficult to trace the movements of the court with any degree of certainty. Fortunately, things improve substantially after that with no fewer than 32 royal diplomas for 1135 alone, which enables us to examine the membership of the curia in far greater detail. By cataloguing the number of times each of the nobles named by the Chronica confirmed royal charters, a clearer picture of their presence at court begins to emerge.

Of the Leonese magnates who submitted in 1126, count Suero Vermúdez witnessed 36 charters up to the end of 1135; Pedro Alfonso 6; Rodrigo Vermúdez 40; Pedro Braoliz 7; Rodrigo Martínez 75; Osorio Martínez 10; Ramiro Froilaz 37; Pedro López 42; Lope López 46; Gonzalo Peláez 23; Pedro Peláez de Balderas 2.

Of those who paid homage at Zamora in April 1126, Diego Muñoz confirmed 13 charters; count Rodrigo Vélaz 24; count Gutierre Vermúdez 2; count Rodrigo Pérez 16; Velasco Pérez 3; García Pérez 5; Vermudo Pérez 12; count Gómez Núñez 14; Fernando Yáñez 7.

Of the Castilians: count Rodrigo Gómez 38;

Diego Gómez 4, count Lope Díaz 16; García Garcés 15; Gutierre Fernández 39; Rodrigo Fernández 17; Pedro González de Villaescusa 3; Rodrigo González de Villaescusa 1; count Pedro González 16; count Rodrigo González 44; Jimeno Iñíguez 7.

To this list we may add count Bertrán, who submitted in 1130, and his brother count Alfonso Jordán, who witnessed seven and three charters respectively. Pedro Díaz de Valle, who rebelled against Alfonso VII in 1130, confirmed nine royal diplomas. Of Alfonso Vermúdez, the brother of count Suero, there is no documentary record after 1126, while the identity of the '...Radimiri comes' referred to by the chronicler, has yet to be satisfactorily established.(88)

As for the identity of the 'Roderici Gonzalvi' who is included among the 'amicis et parentibus' of count Suero Vermúdez, Sánchez Belda has suggested that he must be the noble of the same name who witnessed two royal charters as merino of León in 1152 and 1153 respectively.(89) Alternatively, he may be tentatively identified as the 'villicus imperatoris' who bought land at Cirujares from María Sánchez and her sons on 18 April 1125, far nearer in time to the events described by the author of the Chronica.(90) In any case, he is not known to have witnessed any charters of Alfonso VII. His absence from the court records of

the reign might be explained if he were the same 'strenuum militem de terra Legionis' described by the Chronica, 'qui fuerat in Toleto cum aliis militibus in auxilium christianorum' and who was killed in battle with the Almoravids.(91)

On the basis of these figures, the most prominent members of the curia--regis can be established. If we include only those who witnessed ten royal diplomas or more, the following 'ranking' emerges:

70+ : Rodrigo Martínez (75)
40+ : Lope López (46), Rodrigo González (44),
Pedro López (42), Rodrigo Vermúdez (40)
30+ : Gutierre Fernández (39), Rodrigo Gómez (38)
Ramiro Froilaz (37), Suero Vermúdez (36),
Manrique Pérez (32)
20+ : Rodrigo Vélaz (24), Gonzalo Peláez (23)
10+ : Rodrigo Fernández (17), Rodrigo Pérez (16),
Lope Díaz (16), Pedro González (16), García
Garcés (15), Fernando Pérez (14), Gómez
Núñez (14), Diego Muñoz (13), Vermudo Pérez
(12), Osorio Martínez (10).

The list reveals that only 22 of the nobles mentioned by the Chronica were present at court with any regularity. Of these, no less than six Castilian magnates were frequent visitors to the royal court, namely the counts of Lara, Pedro and Rodrigo González, count Rodrigo Gómez, Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández of the house of Castro, and García Garcés de Aza.

León was represented by the counts Rodrigo

Martínez and Suero Vermúdez, although the interests of the latter in Galicia, Asturias and Castile, as well as León, mean it would be wrong to regard him as a purely Leonese nobleman. Ramiro Froilaz and Rodrigo Vermúdez, who between them confirmed 77 royal charters, were also members of the Leonese aristocracy. Count Pedro López and his brother Lope were of the Vizcayan family of Ayala and had featured prominently at the court of Alfonso I of Aragon, before passing to the side of Queen Urraca.(92) Their landed interests, along with those of Diego Muñoz, lay chiefly in the borderlands between León and Castile, notably around Saldaña and Carrión.

Yet, if Leonese and Castilian interests in the curia were seemingly relatively balanced, there was also a significant, if not continuous, Galician presence at court. Count Rodrigo Vélaz of Sarria was probably with the king throughout 1131 and count Rodrigo Pérez spent long periods of time at court in 1127 and 1131. For the most part, however, their attendance at meetings of the curia was erratic. Count Gutierre Vermúdez confirmed a mere two charters in this period and count Munio Peláez, who is not mentioned by the Chronica, seven. Similarly, there is no record of the rebellious Asturian count Gonzalo Peláez at court between 8 March 1132 and 26 May 1135, an absence which may be explained by the lengthy

insurrection the count led against royal authority during this period, while the region to the south of the Duero was even more weakly represented. Finally, mention should be made of count Lope Díaz from Haro in the Rioja who witnessed no fewer than 16 royal diplomas. This picture is misleading, however, since all of these confirmations occurred in 1135, after the death of Alfonso I of Aragón the year before had enabled Alfonso VII to annex both the Rioja and Zaragoza.

Reilly, in his study of the reign of queen Urraca, has made the observation that there was a very strong continuity in personnel, both episcopal and noble, between the courts of Alfonso VI and his daughter. A similar continuity in the membership of the curia is evident, 'allowing for the attritions of time', during the early years of the reign of Alfonso VII.(93) In a way this is hardly surprising, for the young king would have been forced to depend on the support of the great men of the realm to strengthen his position. Thus, with the exceptions of count Rodrigo Gómez, García Garcés de Aza, Diego Muñoz and the Riojan count Lope Díaz, all the magnates who figured prominently in the curia of Alfonso VII had already done so in that of his mother. In a sense, therefore, it may be said that Alfonso Raimúndez 'inherited' his curia from queen Urraca although,

inevitably, as time went on, the composition of the Alfonsine court was to change, both by natural causes and by the removal of those whose loyalty was in doubt, notably the counts of Lara.

The court of Alfonso VII, 1136-1147

The documentary evidence for this period shows a slight improvement with 198 genuine charters; an average of 16.5 a year. By recording the number of charter attestations, we obtain the following 'ranking':

100+ : Gutierre Fernández (158), Diego Muñoz (138),
Rodrigo Gómez (114).
90+ : Manrique Pérez (94).
80+ : Fernando Pérez (83), Rodrigo Fernández (80),
Ponce de Cabrera (80).
70+ : Miguel Feliz (71), Lope López (71).
60+ : Ponce de Minerva (68), Ramiro Froilaz (64).
40+ : Osorio Martínez (47), Nuño Pérez (47),
Rodrigo Martínez (42), Fernando Yáñez (40).
30+ : Armengol de Urgel (36), Diego Froilaz (32),
Rodrigo Vélaz (30).
20+ : Vermudo Pérez (27), Menendo Bofín (26), Lope
Díaz (26), Pelayo Corvo (25).
10+ : Rodrigo González (19), Martín Fernández (16),
Gonzalo Peláez (16).

The court of Alfonso VII, 1148-1157

The analysis of the membership of the court in this period is based on the study of some 248 genuine

royal charters, an average of 24.8 per annum. The 'ranking' obtained is as follows:

200+ : Ponce de Cabrera (218)
100+ : Manrique Pérez (174), Nuño Pérez (170),
Gutierre Fernández (141), Ramiro Froilaz
(112), Pedro Alfonso (106).
80+ : García Garcés (80).
70+ : Fernando Pérez (75), Rodrigo Pérez (72).
60+ : Gonzalo Fernández (65), Gonzalo de Marañón
(60).
50+ : Ponce de Minerva (55), Armengol de Urgel (54).
40+ : García Gómez (46), Lope Díaz (40).
30+ : Alvaro Rodríguez (34), Fernando Yáñez (31),
Pelayo Corvo (30), Diego Muñoz (30).
20+ : Gonzalo Rodríguez (28), Lope López (24),
Osorio Martínez (24), Vermudo Pérez (23).

What are we to make of all these figures? They are, of course, a useful guide to the members of the lay aristocracy who were most frequently present at meetings of the curia of Alfonso VII. We must exercise caution, however, and avoid the temptation of regarding the lists as some sort of 'pecking-order', or scale of importance, as if 'importance', whatever we may mean by that, could be quantified. The fact that Gutierre Fernández, 'qui unus erat ex magnis principibus regis' according to the Chronica, witnessed more than three times as many charters as count Rodrigo Pérez in no way signifies that the Castilian was more powerful than the Galician.(94) Rather, it would be wiser to speak in terms of 'influence'. So, given that Gutierre Fernández was far

more frequently present at meetings of the curia than count Rodrigo Pérez, it is reasonable to assume that the former was able to exercise a greater influence over the emperor.

All the same, the list does throw up some interesting contrasts. The fact that count Ramiro Froilaz witnessed more than twice as many royal diplomas during the reign of Alfonso VII as his Leonese contemporary count Osorio Martínez provides a graphic demonstration of the latter's loss of favour at court after 1140.

As in the first period, the court of Alfonso VII from 1136 through till 1157 was made up principally of lay magnates from León and Castile, with Galicia and the Trans-Duero being rather more weakly represented. Leonese nobles such as the counts Ramiro Froilaz, Ponce de Cabrera and Rodrigo Martínez were frequently at court, although the Castilian presence in the curia seems to have increased as the reign went on. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to view the imperial court merely in terms of Leonese and Castilian factions or parties, as if there were inevitable competition between the two. For one thing, as Reilly has observed for the reign of Urraca, the realm 'had not, and would not, become León and Castilla simply'.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Galician magnates may not have been at court as often as their Leonese or Castilian

counterparts, but they were still immensely powerful nobles in their own right. For example, count Fernando Pérez of the influential Traba dynasty, witnessed no fewer than 172 royal charters, no mean figure in itself, was present at all the major campaigns of reconquest during the reign of Alfonso VII and was also appointed tutor to the infante Fernando.

Moreover, during this period it becomes increasingly misleading to speak of regional magnates. The massive tracts of land beyond the Sierra Morena which were wrested from the Muslims by the emperor, ephemeral though these conquests ultimately proved to be, led to nobles controlling tenencias far from their original patrimonies. We see count Manrique Pérez de Lara holding the town of Baeza and its surrounding area, while the seaport of Almería, conquered in 1147, was the responsibility of count Ponce de Cabrera.

Some of these lay magnates would appear to have been permanently resident at court at one time or another. A striking example in the early part of the reign of Alfonso VII is that of count Rodrigo Martínez, the lieutenant of the fortress of the city of León and lord of Zamora and the Tierra de Campos, who was apparently with the king throughout 1127 and 1128, for much of 1129 and 1130, and possibly resident at court once more from 1131 till 1135, although the very low yield of charters from 1134, a mere four,

makes it impossible for us to be sure of this. From the evidence of his charter attestations, count Rodrigo Martínez appears to have been far and away the most consistent member of the curia until his death at the siege of Coria in 1138, while the Chronica emphasises his important role as a trusted and favoured servant of the king.(96)

Likewise, those who held the posts of maiordomus or alférez in the royal household, such as Lope López, Ramiro Froilaz, Rodrigo Vermúdez and Gutierre Fernández, would generally have been in permanent attendance upon the king. Indeed, count Ponce de Cabrera, who was the court maiordomus from at least 4 May 1145, witnessed almost every diploma issued by the imperial chancery up to the death of Alfonso VII on 21 August 1157.

At the same time, absence from meetings of the curia should not necessarily be equated with lack of importance or influence in the kingdom as a whole. Apart from their role as royal councillors, nobles could be required to conduct military campaigns or carry out diplomatic missions on behalf of the Crown, both of which would have forced them to spend time away from the royal court. In the Chronica, for example, count Suero Vermúdez is portrayed as one of the most influential magnates of the kingdom, a position underlined by the lengthy description of the

lands in his possession. He is also described as 'vir in consilio strenuus', which would seem to allude to his important position in the curia.(97) Nevertheless, count Rodrigo Martínez confirmed nearly twice as many royal charters down to 1136. Count Suero, the 'fidelis amicis regis' of the Chronica, does appear to have been permanently at court in 1126, 1128 and 1133, but in 1132 and 1134 he is not known to have witnessed a single diploma of Alfonso VII.(98) These absences are not to be ascribed to any temporary loss of influence by the count, however, but rather to the long and arduous campaign he was forced to wage against the recalcitrant count Gonzalo Peláez.(99)

Galician magnates attended meetings of the curia rather sporadically and were rarely resident at court for an entire year, like some of the Leonese and Castilian nobles. True, count Rodrigo Vélaz of Sarria seems to have spent all of 1131 with the king, but this was very much the exception rather than the rule. His next appearance at court was on 1 February 1135 and he then disappears from the court records again until the meeting at Palencia in December of the same year.(100) Count Fernando Pérez de Traba was frequently resident at court from 1144 till his death in 1155, but counts like Gómez Núñez of Toroño, who maintained far closer relations with the kingdom of Portugal, and Munio Peláez, only made a handful of

appearances at court and these tended to occur either when the king made one of his rare visits to Galicia, or else at one of the great councils of the kingdom.(101) The Riojan count Lope Díaz, for his part, generally joined the emperor's entourage when the court was in the east of the kingdom at Burgos, Nájera, Calahorra or Soria, although later in the reign count Lope ventured further afield to Salamanca, Segovia and Toledo.(102)

Up to this point, we have been talking in rather vague terms about the membership of the curia without considering the numbers who would ordinarily have been present. Reilly comments for the reign of Urraca:

'A reasonable estimate would have it comprised of an average of four notaries and perhaps two minor clerics, a majordomo, three bishops fairly regularly present and an average of two other bishops from one see or another whose attendance is occasional, and a group of eight nobles regularly present with perhaps another dozen whose presence also varies with the occasion or location. Altogether, allowing for one other member of the royal family, the curia, or consultative body for major decisions, would number just over thirty.'(103)

A similar picture emerges from the reign of Alfonso VII. If we take as an example the 27 surviving charters drawn up by the imperial chancery in 1136, the number of witnesses to the documents ranges from a mere ten to thirty one, although it should be emphasised that a small number of confirmations to a

parchment does not necessarily mean that the membership of the curia at the time the document was drawn up was equally limited.(104) To these courtiers we should of course add the emperor himself, his wife Berengaria and sister Sancha, as well as the scribe Gerald and the chancellor Hugo.

Of the lay magnates, seven would appear to have been in permanent residence at court: the counts Rodrigo González, Rodrigo Gómez and Gonzalo Peláez, together with the maiordomus Gutierre Fernández, the alférez Manrique Pérez and the merinos Diego Muñoz and Miguel Feliz. Additionally, Rodrigo Fernández de Castro, Lope López and count Armengol de Urgel were present at most, if not all, the meetings of the curia. In addition to these men, the nobles who paid occasional visits to the imperial court must be mentioned: count Gómez Núñez and Osorio Martínez were at Sahagún on 21 March 1136, while the counts Fernando Pérez, Suero Vermúdez and Rodrigo Vélaz appeared only at Zamora in early April.(105) Count Lope Díaz was with the court at Nájera on 14 September, where he was accompanied by the Navarrese magnate count Ladrón, and again at Burgos on 4 October.(106)

The number of bishops present at court ranged from three, on 25 October, to thirteen, when a great council was held at Burgos in September, with the prelates of Toledo, Palencia, Segovia, Salamanca,

Burgos, Sigüenza, Zamora and Avila most frequently, if not permanently, at court.(107) Evidently, although it can be surmised that some members of the curia of Alfonso VII were at court throughout the year, the curia imperatoris did not have a fixed membership and its size fluctuated from month to month as the emperor progressed around his realm.

It is very difficult in this period to distinguish between ordinary meetings of the royal court and larger councils summoned by the emperor. The difference is certainly not made clear in contemporary references to such gatherings. The author of the Historia Compostellana could describe the meeting at Zamora in April 1126, where Alfonso VII received the homage of most of the high nobility of Galicia, merely as a 'curia regis', whereas the one that took place at Valladolid in late January and early February of 1155 is referred to in the diplomas as a 'concilium'.(108) The main distinction between the ordinary and general curia seems simply to have been one of size. 'The yardstick was presumably the simple matter of maximum publicity', remarks Green.(109) Our sources often present these councils, sometimes presided over by a papal legate, as purely ecclesiastical meetings, but there is no evidence that lay notables were excluded from the deliberations of such assemblies. For example, a charter drawn up at the council of Carrión

on 7 February 1130, states that it had been confirmed 'in presentia totius concilii Carrione habiti', but the witness list, as well as comprising the names of three archbishops, fourteen bishops and five abbots, also includes five counts and five other members of the lay nobility.(110) Similarly, in its account of the concilium held at Burgos in 1136, the Historia Compostellana states that 'Proclamatione facta Archiepiscopi, Pontifices et Abbates, et Clerici, et omnes Comites cum militibus in Concilio praesentes'.(111) It also makes clear that members of the lay aristocracy were present at all the sessions of the meeting.(112)

Such great councils generally discussed subjects of national importance to church and state, but there is no clear evidence that there was a distinction drawn between the sort of matters that might be dealt with at meetings of the ordinary curia and large-scale assemblies. From the evidence of the chronicles and charters, at least a dozen or so councils can be identified and there may have been many more. Since ordinary meetings of the curia were generally attended by four or five bishops, Reilly has suggested that charters witnessed by more than that number of prelates must have been drawn up at such a great council. Moreover, he has postulated that the general curia would have met at least twice a

year.(113) This is perhaps something of an exaggeration, but it is certainly the case that the lengthy witness lists attached to some of the royal charters drawn up during this period would seem to be records of large-scale court gatherings. That issued on 25 March 1155, for example, was confirmed by no fewer than 44 lay and ecclesiastical notables, while a diploma of 22 January 1157 includes some 38 names in its list of witnesses.(114)

ii) The-business-of-the-curia

From the evidence of the charters, therefore, we are able to establish the ordinary membership of the curia of Alfonso VII; a body of between twenty and thirty notables, which aided and counselled the emperor in the business of government. But what do we understand by 'government' in this period? What exactly did the curia do? Once again, clues to both these questions are provided by the Chronica and the products of the imperial chancery, which together have much to tell us of the role and duties of lay magnates in the court of Alfonso VII.

To talk of national government in 12th century León-Castile is something of an anachronism. As Reilly has observed:

'The function of government was limited largely to conflict resolution rather than to

the active direction of society. The waging of war, control of the church, and, perhaps, the administration of justice were the only activities that systematically engaged the crown on a so-called national level. Its usual preoccupation was rather with the affairs of the royal house and dynasty, which sometimes merged with the former activities and were not strictly distinguished from them.'(115)

We get much the same impression from our examination of the diplomas of Alfonso VII, which are the principal surviving records of the day-to-day business of the curia. As an institution, if we may be forgiven for terming it as such, the curia was effectively made up of those great men whom the emperor wished to summon to his presence. Its role was probably limited to consultative or deliberative functions and there is no evidence whatsoever that it enjoyed any formal decision-making powers. Rather, the emperor, the only permanent member of the curia, sought the advice of his councillors over miscellaneous matters and then, if he was subsequently required to draw up a document, had them confirm it.

The drawing up of charters formed one of the major administrative tasks at the meetings of the emperor and his curia. The majority of the diplomas issued by Alfonso VII took the form of grants of land or privileges to lay individuals or ecclesiastical institutions, or he might be called upon to confirm a previous donation. Occasionally, however, a grant might be made at the request of a magnate; for

example, on 18 July 1126 Alfonso VII gave land at Seixón to Pedro Ovéquiz and his wife María Fernández 'intercedente comite Rudrico de Sarria'.(116) The charters were drawn up by a scribe who would then append a list of those who were present at the meeting of the curia.

Nevertheless, the duties of the members of the ordinary curia were never simply limited to the 'rubber stamping' of royal grants, as Reilly would have us believe.(117) Other documents tell us of the role the emperor's councillors played in judicial and legislative matters. At Oviedo in 1132, for example, Alfonso VII presided over the settlement of the dispute between the Asturian nobleman Pedro Díaz and the monastery of Eslonza over the possession of the church of Verbio. (118) The document recording the settlement states that the law suit took place

'presidente domino nostro totius Yspaniae rege gloriosissimo Adefonso, Oueto, una cum Berengaria regina et eius germana infante domna Sanctia, comite etiam domno Suario, necnon et Rademiro Froilaz, Rodrico quoque Uermutiz et Petro Braoliz, dominoque Adefonso Ouetensis ecclesiae tunc episcopo omnisque curia regis tam Legionensium militum quam etiam Asturicensium'.

The dispute was only resolved

'super quod ante supra fati principis presentiam uterque conuenientes atque diu multumque ratiocinando contendentes, regis uoluntate et amicorum consilio, infantisque domne Sanctie mandato, dedit ille abbas Pelagius Petro Didaz illud monasterium totum ab integro',

although on the death of Pedro Díaz the church of Verbio was to revert to Eslonza.

In the same manner, the dispute at Carrión in 1133 between Diego Gelmírez, archbishop of Compostela, and Bernardo over the chancellorship of the royal household was heard 'praesentibus Hispaniae Comitibus et Baronibus'.(119)

Many of the other recorded complaints heard before Alfonso VII involved the settlement of disputes between episcopal dioceses over their common boundaries. Thus, the claims of the bishops of Burgos and Calahorra to the church of Santo Domingo de la Calzada was heard 'publico communis curie imperatoris iudicio', specifically 'ante comitem Gomicium et ante comitem Rodericum Gundisalvi de Asturias, et ante comitem Rodericum Pilosum et ante domnum Guterium et ante Michaellem Felicis, imperatoris maiorinum'.(120) Presumably, the curia also dealt with disputes between lay individuals, but no record of these has survived.

From the pages of the Historia-Compostellana we hear of some of the behind-the-scenes bargaining that invariably seems to have preceded such judicial hearings. Strenuous efforts were made to secure the support of the members of the curia; bribery was rife. The author of the Historia candidly admits that when archbishop Diego Gelmírez failed to persuade Alfonso VII to restore the castle of Cira to the see of

Compostela in 1126,

'asseclas igitur et proximos ejus pecunia corrupit, et majorino domus regis decem marcas, alii vero consiliario ejus et omnium negotiorum consultori et dispositori alias X. promisit, ut sibi in hoc negotio faverent, et se ad justitiam conquirendam adjuvarent.'(121)

Having won over the members of the curia-regis, the archbishop promised the king himself the handsome sum of 50 silver marks. When the curia reconvened the following day, the assembled magnates resolved that the castle of Cira be restored to Diego Gelmírez.(122)

In the same way, two years before, when archbishop Diego had successfully recovered the lordship of Montaos from Alfonso VII, he granted the king 40 silver marks, 1000 solidos and three fine horses, while 'ipsius quoque regis consiliariis qui suam partem in hoc negotio juverant et substentaverant, magnum pecuniae pondus munifica manu erogavit'.(123)

The granting of fueros, that is, the charters defining the rights and obligations of a particular community or group of settlers, was also discussed at meetings of the court and there is good evidence to suggest that the members of the curia may have played an active part in the framing of such legislation. A document of 18 December 1152, for example, records the changes authorised by Alfonso VII to the existing fueros of the vill of Sahagún. These changes were decided upon, we are told,

'communicato consilio cum uxore mea Imperatrice Domna Rica, et sorore mea Domna Sancia Regina, et Joane Legionensi, et Raimundo Palentino, et Martino Ovetensi Episcopis, et Fernando Galleciae Comiti, Guterrio Fernandiz, et Poncio de Minerva, et aliis mei imperii melioribus'.(124)

The Sahagún diploma of 1152 was witnessed by no fewer than 36 notables, including seven bishops, and may well have been drawn up at a meeting of the general curia, rather than at an ordinary session.

We get a much better idea of the breadth of matters discussed at meetings of the curia from the narrative literary sources of the period, notably the Chronica and the Historia-Compostellana. Proposals to make peace or war were invariably aired there; for example, when Alfonso VII was considering military intervention in al-Andalus in 1133, the Chronica relates, 'convocavit omnes comites suos et maiores regni sui et duces, et habuit cum eis misterium consilii sui'.(125) Similarly, the siege of Colmenar de Oreja in 1139 was begun only once 'consilio accepto cum propriis consiliaribus'.(126)

The author of the Chronica also gives the impression that the counsel offered by the members of the curia did not amount to the mere ratification of decisions already taken by the emperor; rather, it seems that these meetings offered the opportunity for at least some measure of discussion, and that councillors could play a decisive role in influencing

royal policy. To cite a notable example, we are told that when messengers came from the king of Aragón to seek peace at Támara in 1127, Alfonso VII 'nolebat audire verba nuntiorum, sed consilio accepto cum principibus suis, acquievit verbis deprecantis'.(127)

When the rebellious count of Asturias, Gonzalo Peláez, came to terms with Alfonso VII in around 1135, the Chronica relates that he asked the king to grant him in fief the castle of Luna, in the north of the territory of León.(128) The chronicler goes on to tell us that the monarch looked to his sister, his wife and his councillors to handle the negotiations:

'Rex vocavit sororem suam infantem domnam Sanctiam et uxorem suam domnam Berengariam et alios consiliarios, quos prudentes in talibus negotiis cognoverat; consilioque accepto cum eis accepit de comite Buangam et Pruazam et Albam de Quiros, et iussit ei dare quod petierat, scilicet Lunam'.

This active role of the members of the curia in diplomatic affairs is highlighted elsewhere in the Chronica. The author reveals, for example, that it was the counts of the kingdom who arranged the terms of the peace treaty between Alfonso VII and Afonso Henriques of Portugal in 1141:

'Altera autem die, comites imperatoris iuncti sunt cum principibus regis et fecerunt pacem inter imperatorem et regem, non absolute sempiternam, sed per aliquot annos, et iuraverunt eam, ut iterum dum pax esset, firmiter pacificarentur, sicut placuerat utriusque'.(129)

Similarly, in its account of the peace negotiations between the emperor and king García of

Navarre, the Chronica tells us that the 'magnates palatii', by which he must mean the members of the curia, recommended that the emperor accept the peace plan proposed by count Alfonso Jordán of Toulouse. The terms of the treaty were that García would pay homage to the emperor and that he would be betrothed to the infanta Urraca, the bastard daughter of Alfonso VII:
'Omnes magnates palatii imperatoris, simul cum comite Adefonso, laudaverunt imperatoris ut rex Garsias in generum advocaretur, de supradicta filia domicella in uxore sibi data. Imperator accepit consilium eorum, et placuit in conspectu eius, et promisit eam dare regi...' (130)

Yet if these negotiations would seem to have taken place at a formal session of the curia, other lay magnates might be entrusted with diplomatic missions on behalf of the Crown. The Chronica reveals, for example, that in 1129, Suero Vermúdez and Gonzalo Peláez travelled to Almazán to treat with Alfonso I of Aragón; Rodrigo Martínez and Gutierre Fernández led the embassy to the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Rueda de Jalón in 1133; and Suero Vermúdez, Pedro Alfonso and bishop Arias of León arranged the peace with the rebellious Gonzalo Peláez in around 1135. (131)

These formal meetings of the imperial court were not solely given over to the discussion of governmental business, however; they could also be occasions of great ceremonial importance. The most obvious example is the great council held in León over

Pentecost in 1135, which was attended by all the 'archiepiscopeis, episcopis et abbatibus, comitibus et principibus, ducibus et iudicibus, qui in illius regno erant'.(132) The Chronica recounts that the first and third days of the council were given over to the discussion of matters of ecclesiastical, political, military and legislative importance.(133) The second day, however, was the occasion of the imperial coronation of Alfonso VII in the cathedral of León

'pro eo quod rex Garsia et rex Zafadola Sarracenorum et comes Raymundus Barchinonensium et comes Adefonsus Tolosanus et multi comites et duces Gasconiae et Franciae in omnibus essent obedientes ei'.(134)

The coronation ceremony that took place that Whit Sunday in León was accompanied by a solemn mass and acclamations of "Vivat Adefonsus Imperator", followed by a great banquet. This was not merely an affirmation of the supremacy of Alfonso VII over the other kingdoms of Christian Spain, but an occasion of great propaganda value among his own subjects. The ceremony is reminiscent of the crown-wearings that took place regularly in Norman England. As Green has remarked, 'such occasions were an emphatic reminder of the sacred powers of kings, of the splendour of their courts, and the generosity of their hospitality'.(135) There is no evidence that Alfonso VII ever adopted the custom of regular crown-wearings, but as we have

already observed, large-scale court gatherings were by no means uncommon and may have been used for the same purpose. They served to project the image of the king, but were also an opportunity to secure the collective fealty of those magnates who were present. The Chronica, in its account of the wedding of king García of Navarre and the infanta Urraca at León, on 19 June 1144, describes just a court meeting:

'Imperator et Garsia rex sedebant in solio regio in loco excelso ante fores palatii imperatoris; episcopi et abbates, comites et duces et principes, sedilibus paratis in circuitu eorum...' (136).

We also hear of some of the other ceremonial occasions that took place at court during the reign of Alfonso VII. For example, the charters issued at Zamora in April 1136 state that they had been drawn up 'eo scilicet die, quo fecerunt homenescum meo filio Raimundo barones de Cemora'.(137) Knighting ceremonies were also occasionally held; a donation made by the emperor to the monastery of San Cristobal de Villadiego on 26 February 1152, while the court was at Valladolid, reveals that he did so partly 'pro amore filii mei regis Santii, quem hodie militem facio'.(138) Similarly, at Soria on 2 June of the following year, a diploma of Alfonso VII is dated 'quando Imperator fecit militem regem Sancium Nauarre et dedit ei filiam suam in coniugem et fecit pacem cum eo'.(139)

The elevation of magnates to the countship also took place before the other members of the curia. The Chronica relates that when in 1138 the siege of Coria was lifted after the death of count Rodrigo Martínez, the emperor summoned the nobles who were with his army at that time and appointed Osorio Martínez count in his dead brother's place:

'Quem audiens imperator de monte rediens, postquam ab interrogatis quid esset cognovit, venit in castra et, vocatis principibus suis, Ossorium, defuncti fratrem, pro eo consulem coram omnibus constituit..' (140)

A similar occasion is alluded to in a royal charter granted to the abbey of Sahagún at León on 2 April 1127; it was witnessed by, among others 'comes dominus Rudericus Petriz in eadem die electus'; another of 21 August 1145, awarding privileges to the see of Orense, was confirmed by 'Amalricus ipso die quo hec carta facta fuit factus comes'.(141)

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the emperor and his great men spent all their time in solemn discussion of matters of state, or else involved in formal ceremonies like the ones described above. There must also have been periods of recreation. Even so, there are surprisingly few references in contemporary Spanish sources to the sporting pursuits of kings and their followers, particularly when compared with the copious descriptions of hunting in English and French historical writings of the same

period.(142) True, according to the Chronica, at the siege of Coria in 1138, the emperor 'abiit in montanam cum suis venatoribus ut occiderent cervos, porcos et ursos', while its account of the wedding celebrations of García of Navarre and the infanta Urraca in June 1144, gives an interesting description of the sort of blood sports enjoyed by the nobility at court.(143) Moreover, a charter issued on 26 May 1135, the day of the imperial coronation in León, recording the grant of the vill of Varea to Ramiro Garcés, indicates the popularity of bullfighting even at this early date.(144)

iii) The Royal Household

If we are able to establish in some detail the ordinary membership of the curia of Alfonso VII and the sort of business that was dealt with at court meetings, the organisation of the emperor's household is shrouded in almost total obscurity. By 'household' we refer partly, of course, to the domestic service which looked after the emperor and his entourage: officials must have been needed to organise food supplies for the court, horses and carts for transport and suitable lodgings at each stopping-point on the royal iter. But the household also performed a number

of important administrative functions which served the emperor and his curia in the business of government.

For the most part, however, our knowledge of the domestic and governmental functions of the household are based more on supposition than on hard fact. Unfortunately, there are no administrative treatises to guide us, like the English Constitutio Domus-Regis, which has so much to tell us about the members of the royal household and the allowances paid to them in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen.(145) Similarly, there are no Leonese-Castilian equivalents of the pipe rolls produced in England to record the accounts presented at the Exchequer and which enable us to glimpse how the English royal household functioned in the 12th century. Instead, we are obliged to rely on the few scraps of information we come across in the narrative accounts of the reign of Alfonso VII and in the products of his chancery to try to envisage the organisation of his household.

Little is known of the court officials who served Alfonso VII. The most important of all was the majordomo or, as he is invariably referred to in the diplomas issued after 1135, the maiordomus imperatoris. The office was always held by a lay noble of some standing, but the precise duties the post carried with it are far from clear. In the 10th

century, according to Rodríguez, the majordomo occupied

'la función de jefe palatino, la dirección general de los servicios, la administración de la casa real y de su hacienda, así como de las propiedades de la corona'.(146)

By the 12th century, however, the office was apparently on the way to becoming an honorific title.(147) It is more than likely that the majordomo continued to exercise an important role in the administration of the royal household and even the management of the Crown estates, but this is impossible to prove from the surviving documentation. From the witness lists appended to royal charters we can at least surmise that the majordomo attended the vast majority of the meetings of the curia. Nevertheless, we are never told of the specific administrative duties that were assigned to the post, although on one notable occasion, while the court was at Salamanca in June 1140, we have seen that the maiordomus imperatoris Diego Muñoz was called upon by Alfonso VII to judge a lawsuit.(148)

We can at least establish the identity of those magnates who held the office during the reign of Alfonso VII. In his pioneering study of the chancery of the king-emperor, Rassow drew up a provisional list of the majordomos of Alfonso VII.(149) Since then, however, Rassow's list has since been updated by

Reilly in his reappraisal of the royal chancery down to 1135.(150) Nevertheless, from the evidence of some diplomas that Reilly was not acquainted with, it has been possible to refine the picture yet further:

FIGURE 5 : Royal majordomos, 1126-1157

Pedro Díaz	-	9-III-1126	x	18-VII-1126
Pelayo Suárez	-	12-XII-1126	x	9-VIII-1127
Rodrigo Vermúdez	-	13-XI-1127	x	26-VIII-1130
Lope López	-	18-III-1131	x	5-II-1135
Gutierre Fernández	-	-II-1135	x	24-X-1138
Diego Muñoz	-	11-XII-1138	x	19-XII-1144
Ponce de Cabrera	-	4 May 1145	-	

(151)

There is little more that can be said about the post of alférez, which was next in rank to the majordomo at court. The alférez, or signifer or armiger as the official was also sometimes called, had the responsibility of leading the schola regis, that is, the body of household troops which permanently accompanied the court. In the early 13th century the alférez was also charged with carrying the royal banner into battle, and the same may well have held a century before.(152) Again, from the evidence of the royal diplomas we are able to identify those noblemen who held the post during the reign of Alfonso VII, while during that of his mother Urraca the office is almost invisible.(153) The impression given is that the post of alférez was generally awarded to junior

members of the court. Thus, men such as Pedro Alfonso, Ramiro Froilaz, Manrique Pérez, Ponce de Minerva and Nuño Pérez held the office early in their careers, long before they were elevated to the status of count. Still, as the examples of Rodrigo González de Lara and Gonzalo Peláez demonstrate, it was not unknown for a count to be appointed alférez too.

FIGURE 6 : Royal alféreces, 1126-1157

Lope López	-	29-X-1123	x	29-VII-1126
Tello Alfonso	-	9-III-1126		
García Garcés	-	12-XII-1126	x	13-XI-1127
Alvaro Gutiérrez	-	13-V-1128		
Rodrigo González	-	25-V-1128		
Pedro Alfonso	-	8-VII-1129	x	22-II-1130
Rodrigo Fernández	-	26-VIII-1130	x	15-V-1131
Pedro Garcés	-	29-V-1131	x	28-IX-1131
Gonzalo Peláez	-	3-XII-1131	x	8-III-1132
Ramiro Froilaz	-	6-IX-1132	x	18-IX-1133
Manrique Pérez	-	1-II-1135	x	2-VI-1137
Diego Froilaz	-	2-X-1137	x	26-VI-1140
Ponce de Minerva	-	9-IX-1140	x	19-XII-1144
Nuño Pérez	-	-III-1145	x	4-II-1155
Gonzalo de Marañón	-	7-II-1155	-	

(154)

It is clear from these tables that the posts of majordomo and alférez were not held for a fixed period of time, although in general the former seems to have held office for rather longer. While men like Pelayo Suárez, García Garcés and Rodrigo Fernández were court officials for only a year or less, Ponce de Cabrera remained maiordomus imperatoris for over twelve years and Nuño Pérez alférez for very nearly ten.

The background of these men was equally varied. All were of noble birth, of course, but they hailed from very different parts of the kingdom; Pedro Díaz, Rodrigo Vermúdez, Ramiro and Diego Froilaz were all Leonese; while García and Pedro Garcés, Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández, Manrique and Nuño Pérez and Gonzalo de Marañón were Castilians. Lope López, who was of Riojan extraction, and Diego Muñoz both held lands along the frontier between León and Castile, Asturias was represented by Gonzalo Peláez, while Ponce de Cabrera and Ponce de Minerva were both Catalans who had taken up residence in León. There were, significantly, no Galicians, although Menendo Bofín had served as maiordomus to the young Alfonso Raimúndez in 1123.(155) Two of these men, Lope López and Gutierre Fernández, had also served as majordomos in the court of queen Urraca.

Whatever the duties of the majordomo may have entailed, we do know that he had a deputy, or submaiordomus, to help him. Thus, a diploma issued at Sahagún in June 1144 was witnessed by 'Nunio Pedrez sub manu Didaci Munionis Maiordomus Imperatoris'; and at Toledo on 19 August 1146, shortly after the conquest of Córdoba, Alfonso VII granted the church of Velerda to 'uobis Martino Diez meo submaioridomus, propter seruicium, quod mihi fecistis et facitis'.(156) Two months later, at Niencebas on 15

October, among the witnesses to a charter of the emperor is 'ego Pelagius Curuus maiordomus imperatoris loco comitis Poncii presens confirmo'.(157) We also know that such officers served in the court of Fernando II.(158) The role of the sub-majordomo remains shadowy, however; it may have been the case that the post carried more administrative duties than the honorific title of maiordomus, but the evidence does not exist to back up this hypothesis.

There is a similarly maddening lack of evidence when we come to consider the other officials of the royal household. The presence of doctors and surgeons with the court is attested by the Chronica in its account of the siege of Coria in 1138.(159) The same source refers to the venatoribus who accompanied the emperor on hunting trips.(160) At least one chaplain would also have been permanently resident at court, as well as the members of the royal writing-office.(161) Moreover, the charters of Alfonso VII reveal the names of a very few of the lesser domestic servants, who appear to have been of fairly humble origin. On 23 November 1137, the emperor granted Villasilos to the wet-nurse Marina Lezana and her husband Rodrigo Perez for having raised the infante Sancho; on 24 September 1141, meanwhile, Juliana Martínez, the wet-nurse of the emperor's son Fernando, was rewarded with some land near Sahagún.(162) We also see Alfonso VII making

a grant to his escancianus, or cup-bearer, Pennasalbas in March 1149 and to his cook Juan Achui, in August 1150.(163) Besides, a diploma of 31 May 1145 records the grant of an oven in Toledo to a member of the queen's household, Pedro Leonis, 'coniugis mee alfaeto per grato et fideli seruicio'.(164)

There is little more we can say for certain about the domestic servants of the household of Alfonso VII. We have no idea how such people entered royal service, although we might suspect that many were recruited from the ranks of the infanzones, or lesser nobility. Similarly, there is no evidence that these servants were able to achieve rapid social advancement as a result of their service to the Crown, as was reputedly the case in the household of Henry I of England, but the handful of charters that have come down to us indicate that they could be well-rewarded in return.(165)

The precise size of the entourage that accompanied the emperor is not known, but allowing for the household servants, the schola-regis and those who accompanied the lay and ecclesiastical notables to court, they must have numbered several hundred.

Reilly, in his study of the reign of Alfonso VI, has drawn an imaginative picture of the make-up of the itinerant royal court and household during the year 1075.(166) According to Reilly, in addition to

the king's family and courtiers who would have accompanied the monarch during his travels, there would have been present 'a chaplain, a doctor, a bard, a jester, a falconer, a master of hounds, two squires, and three body servants for the king himself'.(167) In addition, there would have been the personal servants of the members of the court, a military escort of perhaps 120 knights, including the mesnadas that accompanied the magnates, and there would have been a large number of 'general support personnel', including carters, grooms, cooks, drovers and an armourer-blacksmith.(168) He sums up:

'The conclusion we reach is that the traveling court of Alfonso VI in the winter and spring of 1075 probably consisted all told of 226 persons, 51 carts, more than 200 head of horses, mules, and jackasses, and a small herd of cattle and sheep at its very smallest, and may often have swollen by as much as a quarter of its size.'(169)

Reilly's figures are ingeniously worked out and may well represent an accurate estimate of the size and composition of the entourage of Alfonso VI, but they are nonetheless based completely upon speculation rather than hard fact, and must accordingly be treated with caution.

As the emperor and his retinue progressed around the realm there would have been formidable problems of organisation to be overcome. Dispensatores, or stewards, had to guarantee that

there were plentiful supplies of food and fodder and ensure that suitable accommodation was available wherever the court might choose to stop. A considerable amount of planning must have been required but, as on so many other occasions, our sources are completely silent. We do not know, for example, if the court supplies were gathered via food renders or whether royal officials purchased victuals in the vicinity. Nevertheless, an indication of the huge costs involved in maintaining the royal household comes from the Historia Compostellana, which recounts that archbishop Diego spent a total of 60 silver marks over a period of 12 days when the emperor and his retinue came to Compostela:

'Imperatorem cum magna pompa et summo gaudio et animi exultatione venerabiliter Compostellae recepit, et illum splendidis et delicatissimis cibus, magnoque stipendio, videlicet quinque marcis argenti in singulis diebus per duodecim dies, exceptis Episcopis, Comitibus, et Principibus, copiosissime procuravit'.(170)

At some points on the itinerary the emperor would have stayed at his own palace. We hear, for example, of royal palaces at León, Burgos and Zamora.(171) While the accommodation of the ecclesiastical notables at court may have been the responsibility of the local bishop, we do not know what arrangements were made to look after the rest of the courtiers. The Chronica, having described the

imperial coronation at León in 1135 merely records that 'deinde reversi sunt unusquisque in tentoriis suis', although whether it is likely that members of the nobility would have resorted to such tented accommodation when we know for certain that magnates such as Ramiro Froilaz, Osorio Martínez and Pedro Alfonso owned houses in León, should make us wary to accept the chronicler's testimony at face value.(172) For much of the time, however, the royal entourage would have been forced to halt on its travels at small villages where the facilities available to the court could hardly have been sophisticated. Reilly has graphically described the rigours of court life during the late 11th century:

'The tenor of court life tended to be rough, coarse, and violent. The courtier lived in the open and as a result smelled of horses, woodsmoke, and himself'.(173)

iv) The peripatetic court

The kings of early medieval Spain, in common with their counterparts in most of Europe at this time, did not rule from a fixed seat of government. Instead, the primary and most characteristic feature of their rule was the royal iter, by which the monarch, accompanied by his court and household, journeyed around the kingdom, dealing with royal

business as and when it arose. The absence of centralised legal, administrative and fiscal institutions, however, does not suggest that this form of peripatetic government was in any way 'backward'. Rather, it proved to be a remarkably durable, efficient and flexible means of administration as the kings, closely attended by their familiars and fideles, were able to give their realms a certain amount of cohesion.

We are fortunate that for most of the reign of Alfonso VII it is possible to trace his itinerary fairly accurately. By contrast, the movements of the court of queen Urraca are very difficult to demonstrate. The major evidence for the presence of the emperor at a given place and time are the royal diplomas, a large proportion of which, particularly those drawn up after 1135, record where the document in question was perscripta, facta or acta. To take a random example, a diploma recording the grant of land at Villamuriel by Alfonso VII to bishop Pedro and the church of Palencia on 29 May 1141 states: 'Facta carta Palentine, IIII^o kalendas Iunii, era M^o C^o LXX^o VIII^o'.(174) Occasionally, the dating clause could be rather more detailed; thus the charter issued at Oreja on 18 October 1139 informs us that it had been drawn up 'iuxta Aureliam, in ipso Castello Novo, quod ibi fecit imperator quando eam tenebat obsessam'.(175)

Furthermore, a document of 15 February 1149 is dated 'tempore quando uenit mandatum ad imperatorem in Madrid quod obierat imperatrix Berengaria in Palencia'.(176)

The information provided by such charter clauses, supplemented by sporadic references in the contemporary chronicles, enables us to establish the whereabouts of Alfonso VII and his court on around 300 occasions, which amounts to a most valuable corpus of information. Not only can we obtain some impression of the sort of distances that the emperor and his retinue covered over the course of the year, and the pace of their movements, but the political and military imperatives which shaped the itinerary become clearer.

The relatively small number of charters surviving from the first decade of the reign of Alfonso VII, coupled with the fact that a good many of them do not state where they were drawn up, makes it difficult to follow the movements of the king and his entourage in any detail. In fact, their presence at a particular place is known only 33 times during the period 1126-1134. Nevertheless, the evidence that we do have suggests a royal itinerary strongly resembling that of queen Urraca. Until 1133, inhibited no doubt by the continuing threat of Aragonese aggression and by the outbreak of rebellions within his borders, Alfonso seems to have concentrated

his attention on the old kingdoms of León and Castile, holding court meetings most frequently at León, Palencia and Carrión.(177) There were also visits to Galicia and the Asturias.(178) Journeys south of the river Duero seem to have been few and far between; there is no recorded visit to Toledo prior to 1133, although the fact that the king was at Maqueda with his court in 1128 makes it unlikely that a visit to Toledo, only 35km away, was not also paid.(179)

Yet if the royal itinerary down to 1133 seems to reflect the insecurity that characterised Alfonso VII's rule in the early years of his reign, 1133 and 1134 marked turning-points in more ways than one. 1133 was the year that Alfonso, encouraged by Sayf al-Dawla of the Banu Hud, made the first of many military incursions into al-Andalus.(180) The following year, the death of Alfonso I of Aragón following his disastrous defeat at Fraga at the hands of the Almoravids enabled Alfonso VII to recover Rioja and annex the regnum of Zaragoza.(181) Within León-Castile count Gonzalo Peláez continued in revolt in the Asturias, but the threat posed by the Lara dynasty seems to have evaporated. Thereafter, as the political and military projects of the emperor became ever more ambitious, the royal itinerary became much more wide-ranging and immense distances were covered by the court during the course of each year.

This may be demonstrated if we take by way of example the itinerary for 1144. The court had wintered at the urbs regia of León, as is demonstrated by a document of 24 January, but by 29 February the emperor and his entourage had moved south to Arévalo.(182) On 3 March we can see them at Segovia and by late April they had travelled westwards to Salamanca.(183) In June Alfonso VII met up with king García of Navarre at Carrión and they made their way together to León, passing through Sahagún, to celebrate the wedding of García and the infanta Urraca on 19 June.(184) The court remained at León until at least 8 July before moving to Carrión once more by 20 July and Salamanca by 4 August.(185) In October they were at Toledo, from where the emperor launched a raiding expedition into al-Andalus, but the army had returned to Toledo once more by November.(186) From there, the court turned north to Segovia once more, where we glimpse it on 4 December, before travelling to Valladolid some time before 19 December.(187)

Our knowledge of the itinerary for 1144 is far from complete, but we can at least gain a good idea of the sort of distances that were covered during the year. Even if we exclude the raid into Andalucía, the court must still have travelled at the very least 1425km over the course of 12 months and if we make allowances for the difficulties of the terrain and

those stages of the itinerary that are unknown to us, the true figure was likely to have been substantially more. This was an impressive distance, particularly if we bear in mind that the court would have remained in one place for long periods of time and was certainly not always 'on the road'.(188)

The itinerary for 1137, moreover, reveals an even greater level of activity. For the first three months of the year Alfonso and his court remained in Burgos, but by 12 May they had journeyed south to Toledo.(189) The following month, however, they had returned north to the Tierra de Campos, visiting Palencia on 2 June and Montealegre.(190) According to the Historia Compostellana, the emperor was then at Zamora when he heard of the Portuguese invasion of Galicia and the capture of Tuy, which prompted him to undertake a punitive expedition to Tuy with a small group of knights.(191) Having retaken the city, the emperor issued charters at Tuy on 26 and 27 June before a court composed largely of Galician notables, although Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández de Castro, as well as the bishop of Segovia, were also present.(192) A peace treaty with the Portuguese was signed at Tuy on 4 July and by 17 July the court had moved to Santiago de Compostela.(193) The court remained at the holy city until at least 28 or 29 July, but news of a threat to his borders by king García of Navarre

forced the emperor to march east.(194) On 2 October Alfonso VII had reached the river Ebro near Logroño, before returning to Burgos before 9 October.(195) Shortly afterwards, however, he travelled eastwards once more, reaching the Ebro 'inter Kalehorra et Lofar' by 20 October.(196) On 29 October we glimpse the court at Nájera once more and on 2 November the emperor attended the consecration of the church of San Millán de la Cogolla, before returning to Burgos, where he stayed until at least 23 November.(197) By 14 December, however, the court had moved south to Segovia, where they may have remained for the Christmas festivities.(198)

The itinerary for 1137 can hardly be termed typical of the reign, yet it does provide a striking example of the way in which it was shaped by the military and political needs of the time. The king and his household travelled well over 2000km during the space of nine months, an average of roughly 220km a month. Some magnates, notably Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández, were apparently with the emperor throughout the course of the iter, or at any rate they witnessed all the charters that were issued by the imperial chancery, while others, such as the counts Rodrigo Martínez, Rodrigo Gómez and Rodrigo Vélaz were at court for most of the year. It is a powerful reminder, therefore, of how much time nobles might spend away

from their patrimonies and leads one to wonder how their affairs were managed in their absence.

It is also an impressive testimony to the flexibility of itinerant rule that, despite the military threat to two of his borders, the emperor seems to have been able to deal with a wide range of royal business in the normal way. On the course of his travels, grants of lands and privileges continued to be made, peace terms were arranged with the monarchs of Portugal and Navarre, and the emperor even found time to resolve a dispute between the bishops of Calahorra and Burgos over their respective claims to the church of Santo Domingo de la Calzada.(199)

The examples given above, and many others could be cited, demonstrate the very great distances that the emperor and his entourage covered in the course of their peregrinations around the kingdom. It is rather more difficult to establish the pace of their movements, however, for we are rarely told the precise duration of a given journey. A notable exception occurs in the pages of the Historia Compostellana, which records that Alfonso VII, when he heard of the Portuguese invasion of Galicia in 1137, travelled from Zamora to Tuy in only three days, riding day and night 'cum parvo numero suorum militum'.(200) If we are to believe this account, the emperor was able to travel some 245km in three days, an average of over 80km a

day over very difficult terrain. This was exceptional, however. As the Historia makes clear, Alfonso was accompanied by only a small group of knights, rather than his usual retinue of court and household officials, which would normally have been the case.

Most of our evidence suggests, however, that a more leisurely progress of between 20 and 30km a day seems to have been the norm.(201) For example, on 28 July 1153, the emperor and his court can be located at Sahagún; by 1 August they had moved to Zamora, where they made a grant in favour of the church of Compostela.(202) The Zamora document records that it had been drawn up

'in die vincula sancti Petri sancti Felicis. Ipso die venit dominus imperator Adefonsus de Arquilinus ad Zemoram cum coniuge sua imperatrice Ricla et filio suo rege Sancio et filia sua Urracha et comitibus et principibus suis'.

This demonstrates that the emperor and his retinue had travelled from Sahagún to Zamora, some 110km, in four days. If we may assume that they left Sahagún on 29 July, they must have reached Arquillinos, 95km away, on 31 July at the latest, covering an average of 30km a day. Then, as the charter records, they undertook the final leg from Arquillinos to Zamora, a distance of 25km, on 1 August.

To cite but one further example, the Historia Compostellana provides one of the most detailed

descriptions of travel in this period.(203) It recounts that when Diego Gelmírez, archbishop of Compostellana, heard of the death of queen Urraca, he set out for León 'ut ipsum Regem ibi coronaret...cum majoribus et honestoribus suae Ecclesiae'.(204) We are told that the party set out on Friday, 2 April 1126 and arrived the following day in Lugo, a journey of 80km over difficult country. Archbishop Diego stayed in Lugo to celebrate Palm Sunday and continued his journey the next day, 5 April, making his way to Astorga where he arrived on Holy Thursday, 8 April. The second leg of the journey, therefore, covering 135km in three days, was less hurried than the first, but hardly leisurely. The following day, Friday 9 April, the archbishop, accompanied by the bishops of Lugo, Mondoñedo and Astorga, began the final stage of their itinerary, arriving at León, 42km away, the next day, only to discover that the king had already gone to Zamora! Altogether, therefore, allowing for rest days, the archbishop and his entourage travelled a distance of 257km in about six days, an average of just over 40km a day.

Generally speaking, the court spent the winter months (from November to March) in the north of the realm and moved to the perimeters of the kingdom in the spring and summer, according to the political and military dictates of the time. This was by no means

always the case, however. In January 1147, for example, Alfonso VII campaigned to the south of Toledo, capturing Calatrava, and military considerations south of the river Tagus drew the emperor to winter in Toledo in 1147-1148, 1148-1149, and 1151-1152.(205) Indeed, an examination of the itineraries of Alfonso VII between 1126 and 1157 reveals a gradual shift in the focus of royal attention from north to south. As has already been noted, the itinerary up to 1133 was firmly rooted in the old kingdoms of León and Castile north of the Duero. Thereafter, however, the annual iter pivoted much more heavily on Toledo, from where the emperor and his magnates led numerous raids on the Muslim south. This is demonstrated if we compare the number of visits paid by the emperor and his court to different places in the kingdom:

Toledo	-	36	visits	Valladolid	-	11
Burgos	-	26		Salamanca	-	9
Palencia	-	22		Sahagún	-	7
Carrión	-	17		Soria	-	7
León	-	15		Avila	-	6
Segovia	-	15		Castrojeriz	-	4
Zamora	-	13		Madrid	-	4
Nájera	-	12				

3 visits: Santiago de Compostela, Maqueda, Oviedo, Almazán, Colmenar de Oreja, Atienza, Baeza.

The table confirms the relative decline of León as a royal centre in this period, at the expense of

Toledo in particular. Of course, León still held great spiritual importance as the urbs-regia of the kingdom; Alfonso VII was crowned king and emperor there and the wedding of his daughter Urraca and García of Navarra took place in León too. It is surely significant, however, that when the emperor died on 21 August 1157 his chosen final resting-place should have been Toledo. The increasing importance of Toledo, as we have noted, arose principally from its crucial role as a base from which to launch attacks on al-Andalus. Palencia, Carrión and Burgos, also developed as important royal centres in this period. When the emperor and his court travelled from León to Toledo, or vice versa, they invariably stopped off at Palencia, Segovia or Valladolid, although they occasionally went via Salamanca and Zamora. Equally, if they wished to move east from León, they would generally pass through Carrión, Palencia and Burgos. But the importance of these cities did not simply arise from their strategic position. It is a striking feature of the reign that when Alfonso was not occupied by campaigning on his borders, he chose to spend so much of his time at these places. Equally surprising, given the spiritual importance of the holy city of Santiago de Compostela, is that Galicia featured so rarely in the royal itinerary, just as her great magnates were infrequent visitors to the royal

court. It all goes to confirm our impression that Galicia

'had been relegated to the fringes of the Leonese-Castilian orbit whose hub was the peripatetic imperial court ceaselessly traversing the central Spanish meseta.' (206)

The Englishman Walter Map, writing of the court of Henry I in his De-Nugis-Curialium, declared that the English king proclaimed his projected itinerary for the year in advance, so that people might more easily approach him during the course of his travels (207). There is no evidence that Alfonso VII did the same, however, for his annual iter often shows signs of hasty improvisation; the five visits to Burgos in 1136 are a case in point.(208) The reasons for this constant itineration, which at times appears confused and random, has been explained by Le Patourel:

'The king moved about his kingdom and his duchy and further afield not because he had to do so in order to keep his household and court supplied with necessities, or not primarily so, nor even because government from a fixed capital was impracticable. It was a mode of governing, a way of maintaining his authority as far as it could be made to extend and exploiting the wealth that went with it, as an alternative to government by viceroys'. (209)

Military and political circumstances, of course, explain the frequent visits by the emperor and his entourage to the southern and eastern frontiers. The iter was also the means by which Alfonso VII was able to maintain regular contact with other parts of his imperium, and to hold court meetings both for the

regulation of royal business and for the formal demonstration of fealty from the notables present. Moreover, the monarch was able to exploit important ceremonial occasions, notably the imperial coronation of 1135, to project his image as a sacral figure. The position of the king-emperor as God's vice-regent is emphasised by the author of the Chronica, who declares that Alfonso succeeded to the kingdom 'quia promissum de supernis misumque feliciter, Deo dispensante'.(210) The coronatio of 1135 which was inspired by divine counsel, according to the chronicler, was essentially an elaborate crown-wearing ceremony, therefore, partly designed to demonstrate the 'sacral aura' of the emperor and to bear witness to his oneness with the divinity. It was in the interests of a monarch ruling over a large and difficult kingdom to stress his sacrosanctity and thus use the divine matter of kingship and its imagery to strengthen the fragile bonds that held his realm together.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. See, in this context, the comments of Reuter, The Medieval Nobility, 2-3.
2. H. Mitteis, cited by G. Tellenbach, 'From the Carolingian imperial nobility to the German estate of imperial princes', in Reuter ed., op.cit., 208.
3. K.F. Werner, 'Important noble families in the kingdom of Charlemagne - a prosopographical study of the relationship between king and nobility in the early middle ages', in Reuter ed., op.cit., 147.
4. See H. Grassotti, 'Para la historia del botín y de las parias. La baja del oro en Europa', CHE 39-40 (1964), 43-132; reprinted in Miscelánea de estudios sobre instituciones castellano-leonesas (Bilbao, 1978), 133-221, at page 152-3.
5. Bonnassie, 'Del Ródano a Galicia', 42.
6. Reilly, Urraca, 263-4.
7. See, for example, HC, 126-8, 130-6, 216-17, 227-40, 303.
8. Bonnassie, 'Del Ródano a Galicia', 42.
9. Rassow, 72-4.
10. On the uncertainty surrounding the date of the death of queen Urraca, see CAI, §1 n.1; Recuero Astray, Alfonso VII, 69-70 n. 68; Reilly, Urraca, 200-1.
11. CAI, §1.
12. ibid., §2.
13. ibid., §4.
14. ibid., §5.
15. ibid., §18-23, 30-1, 43-6.
16. ibid., §6, 114.
17. ibid., §9.

18. ibid., §18.
19. ibid., §18, 22.
20. ibid., §19-21.
21. Rassow, 67-8.
22. HC, 447.
23. M.D. Cabanes Pecourt ed., Crónica Latina de los reyes de Castilla (3rd ed., Zaragoza, 1985), 19.
24. CAI, §74, 77-8; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 218.
25. See Recuero Astray, 'Donaciones de Alfonso VII a sus fieles y servidores', 897-914.
26. Rassow, 97-8, 132-3.
27. AHN, Clero, 1794/8. See below, Appendix 1, no. V.
28. Rassow, 99-100.
29. ibid., 121-2.
30. ibid., 100-1; J. Gualart and M.P. Laguzzi, 'Algunos documentos reales leoneses', CHE 2 (1944), 368-9.
31. Rassow, 431; LFH, IV, 225.
32. C. Sánchez Albornoz, 'España y el feudalismo carolingio', Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto, 1954), 115.
33. L. García de Valdeavellano, 'Las instituciones feudales', 82-3.
34. On the convenientia in Catalonia, see P. Bonnassie, 'Les conventions féodales dans la Catalogne du XIe siècle', in Les structures sociales de l'Aquitaine, du Languedoc et de l'Espagne au premier âge féodal (Paris, 1969), 187-219; for León-Castile, idem, 'Del Ródano a Galicia', 44-6 and H. Grassotti, Las instituciones feudo-vasalláticas, I, 220-9.
35. Bonnassie, 'Del Ródano a Galicia', 45-6.

36. CAI, §45.
37. ibid., §5.
38. ibid., §23, 74.
39. HC, 443.
40. Count Manrique Pérez is first cited as tenente of Baeza in the diploma issued by Alfonso VII on 25 November 1147 (Rassow, 99-100). He appears as governor of Avila and Toledo from 30 June and November 1144 respectively (AHN, Clero, 518/15; Docs.Avila, 6-7).
41. Quintana Prieto, Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes, 230-1, 234-7, 244-6, 253-4, 274-8, 281, 284-6, 290-1, 295-6, 306-7.
42. L. García de Valdeavellano, Curso de historia de las instituciones (5th ed., Madrid, 1977), 500-17.
43. idem, Historia de España, II, 470.
44. Estepa Díez, 'La nobleza leonesa', 21.
45. CAI, §23, 30. A charter of Alfonso VII issued in July 1135 granted various properties to count Rodrigo González and his wife Estefanía Armengol and to count Rodrigo Martínez and his consort Urraca Fernández, including 'quanta poteritis invenire in toto meo regno, que fuerit de Gonzalvo Pelaiez': Docs.Valladolid, 164-6.
46. AHN, Clero, 896/13.
47. Ubieta Arteta, Colección diplomática de Pedro I, 419-21.
48. Moxó, 'Los señoríos', 193, 200-1.
49. Count Manrique Pérez and his son Pedro Manrique are cited as lords of Burgo de Osma in two uncatalogued charters from Osma cathedral, dated 5 December 1156 and 1168. Manrique Pérez appears as tenente of Atienza from 22 August 1143 (Cart.Toledo, no. 47); his son Pedro is cited as lord of the same town in a private document of 27 September 1170 (AHN, Clero, 378/12).

50. Díaz Canseco, 'Sobre los fueros', 373-4; Rodríguez Fernández, 'Anotaciones a L. Díaz Canseco', 267.
51. Fernando Yáñez is cited as lord of Montoro from 22 May 1150 (Cart. Toledo, no. 74) until at least 6 February 1154 (ibid., no. 91). Nuño Pérez de Lara appears as his successor in the tenencia from 22 December 1154 (Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 105): the charter is incorrectly dated 1155, but must be assigned to 1154, since the dating clause refers to the presence of cardinal Hyacinth in the Peninsula at that time.
52. Ramiro Froilaz can last be sighted as lord of Cabrera on 5 March 1129 (Quintana Prieto, Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes, 240-1). Ponce Geraldí is not explicitly mentioned as holding the area until 13 May 1138 (ibid., 252-3), but he is likely to have taken control of Cabrera by at least 1132, when the neighbouring district of Sanabria came into his hands (Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 211).
53. Count Ponce is last cited as lord of Cabrera in a private diploma of 29 July 1146 (Quintana Prieto, Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes, 265), where the scribe incorrectly copied 'Petrus comes dominus Cabrera'. His son-in-law, Vela Gutiérrez, first appears as lord of the district in 1149 (ibid., 269-70).
54. CAI, §138.
55. Osorio Martínez is first cited as tenente of the Tierra de Campos in a royal charter of 14 September 1138 (Minguella, Sigüenza, 367-9). He is styled lord of Aguilar in a private charter of 26 May 1139 (AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 43) and governor of León in the grant he made to the abbey of Aguilar de Campóo on 28 January 1141 (AHN, Códices, 994B, fol. 6r-v: see Appendix 1, no. IV). Rodrigo Martínez held the tenencia of Zamora from at least 14 March 1130 (AHN, OM-San Juan, 574/4) down to his death in June 1138. Ponce de Cabrera appears as lord of Zamora from 6 June 1142 (AC Zamora, 14/24), but we do not know who held the city during the intervening period.
56. He is given as tenente of Malgrat between 7 August 1129 (AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 26)

- and 12 February 1140 (AHN, Clero, 896/13). He is styled lord of Liébana and Aguilar de Campóo in the charter he had drawn up on 28 January 1141 (AHN, Códices, 994B, fol. 6r-v: Appendix 1, no. IV). The honores of Melgar and Mayorga were held jointly with his brother Rodrigo (AHN, Clero, 894/13, 895/11, 13; AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, nos. 30 bis, 31, 32, 34).
57. Osorio Martínez reappears at court on 14 September 1138 (Minguella, Sigüenza, 367-9), while the emperor was at Almazán. He does not seem to have followed the monarch to Galicia in the winter of that year, but from 21 January 1139 he was at court again (Docs.Valladolid, 185-7) and thereafter witnessed the large majority of the royal diplomas that were issued down to the summer of 1141.
58. On 21 January 1139, Alfonso VII granted the vill of Famusco and land at Bretaviella to Urraca Fernández, in exchange for her property at Manganeses 'et pro totis illis comparationibus et gananzas, quas fecit cum marito suo Roderico Martinez de Carrione usque in Legionem et Cemorem et per totos Campos'. The fall from favour of count Osorio Martínez is examined by Martínez Sopena, who has suggested that the emperor's acquisition of the gananciales of countess Urraca Fernández may have stemmed from a desire by the monarch to provide for his illegitimate daughter by the countess: 'El conde Rodrigo y los suyos', 30-4.
59. Ramiro Froilaz appears as tenente of Aguilar from 2 March 1142 (AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 45); Ponce de Minerva is cited as lord of Mayorga from 6 September 1146 (AHN, Clero, 897/10); control of the "towers" of León had been awarded to Anaya Rodríguez by 10 March 1145 (Valcarce García, San. Isidoro de León, 146-7), but had passed to Ponce de Minerva by 30 August 1148 (L. García Calles, Doña Sancha. Hermana del Emperador (León, 1972), 152).
60. Ponce de Cabrera is cited as lord of Zamora from 6 June 1142 (AC Zamora, 14/24), of Melgar from 27 April 1146 (AHN, Clero, 897/8) and of Malgrat from 7 February 1148 (Serrano, Vega, 61-2).

61. He appears as lord of Villalobos on 7 February 1148 (Serrano, Vega, 61-2) and of Vecilla in March and August 1151 (AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 64 and Serrano, Vega, 70-1).
62. It is striking that count Osorio is not known to have witnessed a single royal charter between 6 June 1142 (AC Zamora, 14/24) and November 1144 (Llorente, Noticias Históricas, IV, 81-2). Thereafter, his visits to the royal court remained sporadic, although he did take part in the Andalusian campaigns of 1147 (Rassow, 99-100; Archivo Parroquial de Sar, uncatalogued charter of 25 December 1147) and 1150 (Docs.Silos, 75-6).
63. Ramiro Froilaz is cited as lord of the following places: Astorga (AC Segovia, 1-13), Valdeorras (Quintana Prieto; Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes, 235-6); Villabuena (ibid., 236-7, 303-4); Villafranca del Bierzo (ibid., 296-7); Molina (ibid., 245-6); Ulver (ibid., 278, 285-6, 290-1, 295-6, 306-7); Cabrera (ibid., 240-1); El Bierzo (Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 103-4); Casoyo (ibid., 87-8, 96-8); Trigueros (AHN, Clero, 1647/9); Caldelas (ibid., 526/12, 1481/11); Autares (ibid., 1082/8); Auotello (ibid., 3436/2); Villarmildo and Villa García (ibid., 898/21); Tibres (ibid., 526/12); Roureda (Martín Rodríguez, Orden de Santiago, 191-2); Aguilar (AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 45); Cifuentes (ibid., 48, 87, 93); Boñar (ibid., nos. 69, 76, 79); Riba de Esla (ibid., nos. 56, 67-8, 72, 83); Arbolio (ibid., 69, 76, 79); Monteagudo (ibid., no. 87); Ferreras (Vignau, Eslonza, 121-2); Gordón (AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 240). He also held the royal fortress of León for a very brief period during 1141 (Vignau, Eslonza, 109-10).
64. Vignau, Eslonza, 119-20.
65. J.A. García Luján, Privilegios reales de la Catedral de Toledo (1086-1462), 2 vols (Toledo, 1982), I, 35-7.
66. Melendo Bofín is cited as alcaidus of Madrid on 29 November 1123 (ibid., 35-7). His control over Maqueda and Santa Eulalia is testified by a royal diploma of 15 November 1139 (Rassow, 84-5) and over Tordesillas by a private document of 25 December 1145 (AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 59). Fernando Yáñez is cited as

tenente of Talavera on 22 August 1143 and in November 1144 (Cart.Toledo, no. 47; Docs.Avila, 6-7); his control over Maqueda is testified by three diplomas of 1146 (Cart.Toledo, nos. 53 and 56; AHN, OM-Calatrava, 455/1). On his lordship of Montoro, supra, n. 51.

67. LFH, IV, ap. xvi, 43-5. The charter is dated 1147, but must be reassigned to the following year since Alfonso VII is given as imperante in Baeza and Almería, conquered in August and October of 1147. Likewise, the document could not have been redacted in 1149 since the empress Berengaria, who died in February of that year, appears with the emperor. On the shared tenancy of Astorga, see Rodríguez González, Tumbo-de Castañeda, 64-6.
68. See, for example, AHN, Clero, 1740/19. On Diego Muñoz and his family, see GRC, I, 352-4. In addition to his administrative duties in Saldaña and Carrión, Diego Muñoz is cited as merino of Cabezón (Serrano, El Moral, 52-3), Frómista, Avia and Ferrera (AHN, OM-San Juan, 574/5).
69. HC, 447.
70. Escalona, Sahagún, 520-2. For a discussion of the authenticity of the charter, see Reilly, 'The Chancery of Alfonso VII', 251 n. 48.
71. CAI, §87.
72. J.A. Green, The Government of England under Henry I (Cambridge, 1986), 19. On the curia regis during the reigns of Alfonso VI, Urraca and Alfonso VII, the most useful work is E. Procter, Curia and Cortes in León and Castile 1072-1295 (Cambridge, 1980), 7-43.
73. CAI, §2.
74. ibid., §4.
75. ibid., §5.
76. ibid., §6.
77. ibid., §7.
78. ibid., §2. See E. Benito Ruano, 'Alfonso Jordán, conde de Toulouse. Un nieto de Alfonso

- VI de Castilla', in Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la Reconquista de Toledo (Toledo, 1987), 83-98.
79. Fletcher, Episcopate, 29.
80. For example, R.I. Burns, The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia (Harvard, 1967), I, xiii: 'A methodological assumption today is that the signature to a document assumes the presence of the one named; I follow this, though uneasily and without conviction.' Similar misgivings are voiced by D.W. Lomax, 'Don Ramón, Bishop of Palencia (1148-84)', Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives, (Barcelona, 1965), I, 280-1.
81. B.F. Reilly, 'The Court Bishops of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla, 1147-1157', Mediaeval Studies 36 (1974), 67-78.
82. ibid., 69-71.
83. ibid., 71.
84. ibid., 74-5.
85. ES XVI, 483-4.
86. Docs.Salamanca, 88-9.
87. HC, 434.
88. The last reference to count Alfonso Vermúdez I have found is in a charter issued by Alfonso VII on 31 May 1124 (AC Santiago de Compostela, Pergaminos Suelos, 7/3).
89. CAI, 252.
90. Serrano, Vega, 45-6.
91. CAI, §113.
92. Reilly, Urraca, 103, 213-14, 223-4.
93. ibid., 224.
94. CAI, §28.
95. Reilly, Urraca, 224.
96. CAI, §19-21, 28, 131, 133, 135-8.

97. ibid., §2.
98. ibid., §16.
99. ibid., §43-5.
100. Docs.Burgos, 201-2; AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 3v-4r.
101. The example of count Munio Peláez is particularly striking: the count can be glimpsed with Alfonso VII at Sahagún on 9 March 1126 (AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 12v-13r) and again at Zamora the following 13 April, when the king received the homage of the leading magnates of Galicia (Docs.Salamanca, 88-9). The count reappears once more in the curia at León on 18 July 1126 (AC Orense, Fondo Monacal, no. 8; AC León, no. 1015), but then disappears completely from our records until 1 February 1135 (Docs.Burgos, 201-2). That same year we can trace him at court at León on 29 May (Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 24-5) and again at Palencia on 5 December (AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 2v-3v). The next royal charter he is known to have witnessed is that of 17 July 1137 (LFH, IV, ap. x, 28-30), issued at Santiago de Compostela, and on 10 May of the following year he was with the court at Carrión (AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 7v-8r). The last sighting we have of him is in the diploma issued by the emperor at Burgos on 7 September 1142 (Docs.Carrión, 56-7), although count Munio Peláez did not die until 1149 (J. Campelo, Historia Compostelana, CVIII).
102. On count Lope Díaz (fl. 1135 x 1170) and the house of Haro, see GRC, I, 300-17. Count Lope can first be identified at the court of Alfonso VII on 1 February 1135 (Docs.Burgos, 201-2) and subsequently witnessed at least a further 81 royal diplomas during the rest of the reign of Alfonso VII. He was a frequent visitor to the royal curia, although he never seems to have remained at court throughout the year. In 1140 he rebelled against the emperor (CDMR, 197) and disappears entirely from court records between 3 November 1141 and November 1146 (A. Ubieto Arteta, Cartularios (I, II y III) de Santo Domingo de la Calzada (Zaragoza, 1978), 20-1; Docs.Oña, 235-6). Lord of Nájera and the Rioja (AHN, Clero, 378/7), Alava (ibid., 1030/17), Castella Vetula (AHN, Clero,

1647/6) and Trasmiera (ibid., 378/7), he served as alférez to Sancho III and to his son Alfonso VIII (GRC, I, 302). He married Eldonza Rodríguez de Castro, by whom he had at least 11 children (AHN, Clero, 1023/20).

103. Reilly, Urraca, 222.
104. Loperráez, Osma, III, 15-16; Docs.Salamanca, 93-4.
105. Rassow, 72-4; Docs.Salamanca, 93-4.
106. Llorente, Noticias-Históricas, IV, 52-3; P. Rassow, 'La Cofradía de Belchite', AHDE 3 (1926), 220-2.
107. Colmenares, Segovia, I, 258-9; Docs.Burgos, 207-8.
108. HC, 434; Vignau, Eslonza, 27-8; Rassow, 128-32.
109. Green, op.cit., 22.
110. Minguella, Sigüenza, 352-4.
111. HC, 578.
112. ibid., 578-80.
113. Reilly, Urraca, 254.
114. A. García Gallo, 'Los fueros de Toledo', AHDE 45 (1975), 471-2; Docs.Oña, I, 264-6.
115. Reilly, Urraca, 251-2.
116. AC Orense, Fondo Monacal, no. 8.
117. Reilly, Urraca, 253.
118. Vignau, Eslonza, 19-20.
119. HC, 532.
120. CDMR, 197.
121. HC, 438.
122. ibid., 439.
123. ibid., 396.

124. Escalona, Sahagún, 534-6.
125. CAI, §33.
126. ibid., §145.
127. ibid., §11.
128. ibid., §45.
129. ibid., §86.
130. ibid., §91.
131. ibid., §16, 28, 45.
132. ibid., §69.
133. ibid., §70-2.
134. ibid., §70.
135. Green, op.cit., 20.
136. CAI, §93.
137. Docs.Salamanca, 93-4.
138. Docs.Burgos, 229-30.
139. Monterde Albiac, Fitero, 381-2.
140. CAI, §138.
141. Rassow, 67-8; CDO, I, 33-4.
142. Barlow, William Rufus, 119-32. For the later medieval period in Spain, see Beceiro, 'La caza y la alta nobleza bajomedieval', 75-85.
143. CAI, §137, 93.
144. CDMR, 169-70.
145. C. Johnson ed., with corrections by F.E.L. Carter and D.E. Greenway, Dialogus...de Scaccario (Oxford, 1983), 129-35.
146. J. Rodríguez Fernández, Ramiro II, -Rey de León (Madrid, 1972), 516.
147. Reilly, Urraca, 259-60.
148. AHN, Clero, 518/13. See above, page 346-7.

149. Rassow, 363-4.
150. Reilly, 'The Chancery of Alfonso VII', 243-61.
151. The first and last appearances of Pedro Díaz as maior domus are to be found in AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 12v-13r and AC Orense, Fondo Monacal, no. 8; for Pelayo Suárez: Rassow, 66 and Docs.Burgos, 190-1; for Rodrigo Vermúdez: LFH, IV, ap. V, 12-15 and Docs.Burgos, 199-201; for Lope López, LFH, IV, ap. vi, 16-17 and Docs.Burgos, 203-4; for Gutierre Fernández, BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 81r-82r and AC Zamora, 14/4; for Diego Muñoz, AHN, Clero, 556/3 and Docs.Oña, I, 227-8; for the first appearance of Ponce de Cabrera: Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 51-2. In addition, we should mention count Armengol VI of Urgel who is given as the maior domus imperatoris in three royal diplomas issued between 29 April and 2 May 1146 (Cart.Toledo, nos. 53-5). Also from 2 May, however, is the grant by Alfonso VII to Pedro Gilberti (Rassow, 96-7) which cites count Ponce de Cabrera as the royal majordomo.
152. GRC, III, 574-6.
153. Reilly, Urraca, 214.
154. For the first and last appearances of Lope López as alférez: Cart.Toledo, no. 22 and Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire Général, I, 73-4; for Tello Alfonso: AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 12v-13r; for García Garcés: Rassow, 66 and LFH, IV, ap. v, 12-15; for Alvaro Gutiérrez: AC Segovia, 1-5 - the charter in question is dated 13 May 1124, but the composition of the witness list suggests that it should probably be reassigned to 1128; for count Rodrigo González: HC, 466-8; for Pedro Alfonso: BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 88v-89r and LFH, IV, ap. vii, 19-21; for Rodrigo Fernández: Docs.Burgos, 199-201 and Muñoz y Romero, Colección de fueros, 501-2; for Pedro Garcés: Floriano Llorente, San Vicente de Oviedo, 288-9 and AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 5r; for count Gonzalo Peláez: BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 71r-v and Escalona, Sahagún, 523-4; for Ramiro Froilaz: AC León, no. 308 and CDO, I, 28-30; for Manrique Pérez: Docs.Burgos, 201-2 and Docs.Silos, 67-8; for Diego Froilaz: Colmenares, Segovia, I, 250-1 and AHN, Clero, 1430/18; for Ponce de Minerva:

- Docs.Valladolid, 190-1 and Docs.Oña, I, 227-8; for Nuño Pérez: Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 49-51 and Rassow, 128-32; for Gonzalo de Marañón: LFH, IV, ap. xxv, 68-9.
155. García Luján, Privilegios reales, I, 35-7.
156. Escalona, Sahagún, 529; Rassow, 97-8.
157. Monterde Albiac, Fitero, 360-1.
158. Docs.Salamanca, 172-4.
159. CAI, §138.
160. ibid., §137.
161. See, for example, Docs.Salamanca, 88-9.
162. GRC, I, 138; LFH, IV, 225.
163. Rassow, 100-1; J. Gualart and M.P. Laguzzi, 'Algunos documentos reales leoneses', 368-9.
164. L. Díez Canseco, 'Privilegio de inmunidad a un "alfaeto" leonés', AHDE 1 (1924), 390-1.
165. Green, Henry I, 134-93.
166. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 148-59.
167. ibid., 151.
168. ibid., 151-5.
169. ibid., 155.
170. HC, 587.
171. CAI, §70; Docs.Burgos, 214-15; HC, 434.
172. CAI, §70.
173. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 158.
174. Docs.Palencia, 82-4.
175. Rassow, 80-1.
176. BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 125r-126v.
177. Alfonso VII can be seen at León on 18 July (AC Orense, Fondo Monacal, no. 8; AC León, no. 1015) and 21 July 1126 (Floriano Cumbreño,

Cornellana, 26-7; Archivo de San Isidoro de León, no. 124); on 2 April 1127 (Rassow, 67-8); on 20 December 1128 (AHN, Clero, 494/12 - misdated 1133); on 23 October (Valcarce García, San-Isidoro, 102-3) and 22 November 1131 (AC León, no. 14); and on 12 September 1133 (García Lobo, Santa María de Arbas, no. 29). He is known to have been at Palencia on 29 July 1126 (Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire Général, I, 73-4); on 10 July 1128 (ES, XVIII, 345-9); on 15 May 1131 (CDO, I, 17-19); and on 1 April 1133 (HC, 530-1). His presence at Carrión is recorded on 19 November 1129 (Docs.Carrión, 47-9); on 7 February 1130 (Minguella, Sigüenza, 352-4); on 28 May 1132 (CDO, I, 20-2); on 15 March (HC, 531-2) and 29 March 1133 (Serrano, Vega, 50-1).

178. Alfonso VII can be located at Santiago de Compostela on 13 November 1127 (LFH, IV, ap.v, 12-15). He was in the Asturias on 26 August 1130 (Docs.Burgos, 199-201) and issued documents at Oviedo on 18 August, 2 September and 6 September 1132 (Docs.Oviedo, 381-2; AC Zamora, 8/8; AC León, no. 308)
179. García Luján, Privilegios reales, I, 42-4, from a 13th-century copy in AC Toledo; the original is presently kept on display in the Museo de Santa Cruz in the same city. It is also highly likely that Alfonso VII visited the Toledo area in 1129: on 6 February of that year he made a grant to the monastery of San Servando which was witnessed by several notables from Toledo (M. Guérard, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille, 2 vols (Paris, 1857), II, 190-1); four days later, the king awarded the castle of Alcalá de Henares to the see of Toledo, and likewise includes several Toledan dignitaries among the confirmantes (García Luján, Privilegios reales, I, 40-2).
180. CAI, §33-42.
181. ibid., §58, 63-6.
182. AC León, no. 18; M. de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, "Santa María de Cardaba". Priorato de Arlanza y Granja de Sacramenia (Valladolid, 1979), 116-17.
183. Rassow, 89-91; Docs.Salamanca, 95-7; AC Zamora, Tumbo Negro, fol. 14v-15v. A diploma

- of 22 April 1144, purportedly issued at Zamora, is a forgery: Alfonso Antón, Moreruela, 295-7.
184. Rassow, 91-2; Escalona, Sahagún, 529; CAI, §91.
185. E. Duro Peña, 'Catálogo de documentos reales del archivo de la catedral de Orense (844-1520)', Miscelánea de Textos Medievales (Barcelona, 1974), no. 19; Recuero, Alfonso VII, 222 n. 151; Rassow, 93-4.
186. AC Segovia, 1-16; Docs.Avila, 6-7; Llorente, Noticias Históricas, IV, 81-2. A diploma of 17 September 1144, supposedly redacted while the emperor and his court were at Oviedo, is a forgery: Floriano Cumbreño, Libro-Registro de Corias, I, 201-3.
187. Rassow, 94-5; AHN, Clero, 897/2; Alamo, Docs.Oña, I, 227-8.
188. If we follow the method suggested by Reilly (Alfonso VI, 149) and add an extra kilometre for each five straight-line kilometres, this would mean that Alfonso VII and his court travelled at least 1710 kilometres during the course of the iter of 1144.
189. CDMR, 179-80; Rassow, 75, 429, 76-7.
190. Rassow, 77-8; Docs.Silos, 67-8.
191. HC, 586.
192. AHN, Clero, 1826/16; Rassow, 78-9.
193. Escalona, Sahagún, 527-8; LFH, IV, ap.x, 28-30.
194. Galicia Histórica, 433-5; CAI, §88.
195. Colmenares, Segovia, I, 250-1; CDMR, 181.
196. Docs.Salamanca, 94-5.
197. BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 139r-v. Another copy in Ms.13,093, fol. 86r is dated 19 October 1137; Serrano, San.Millán, 309-11; Docs.Oña, I, 211-13; Rassow, 431.
198. Colmenares, Segovia, I, 260.

199. CDMR, 177-8.
200. HC, 586.
201. J.W. Nesbitt, 'The Rate of March of Crusading Armies in Europe', Traditio 19 (1963), 181, has shown that armies generally managed to cover a distance of about 23km a day. See, in this context, Reilly, Alfonso VI, 149 n. 38.
202. Valcarce García, San-Isidoro de León, 114-15; AC Santiago de Compostela, Tombo B, fol. 57r-v.
203. HC, 432-4.
204. ibid., 432-3.
205. The emperor and his court can be located at Toledo on 25 and 29 December 1147 (Archivo Parroquial de Sar: uncatalogued charter; Cart.Toledo, no. 59, which incorrectly gives 28 December); on 6 and 30 January 1149 (CDO, I, 35-6; CDMR, 222). After the campaign in Jaén in the summer of 1151, the court seems to have remained in Toledo until at least 31 January the following year. This is supported by the following charters: 6 October 1151 (Rassow, 109-10), 8 October (AHN, Códices, 1197B, fol. 277v-279r); 27 October (Recuero, Alfonso VII, 231 n. 224); 5 November (Cart.Toledo, no. 83); 5 December (AHN, Clero, 1749/3); 15 December (García Lobo, Santa María de Arbas, no. 45); 18 December (Floriano Cumbreño, Libro Registro de Corias, I, 125-6); 26 December (Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 79-80); 14 December x 1 January (BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 137r-v); 30 January 1152 (García Luján, Privilegios reales, I, 48-51, sub 30 January 1142); 31 January (Soterraña Martín Postigo, "Santa María de Cardaba", 121-2.
206. Fletcher, Saint James's catapult, 290.
207. Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium, ed. and trans. M.R. James (Oxford, 1983), 219-30, 234-6.
208. Alfonso VII was at Burgos on 24 April 1136 (García Gallo, 'Los fueros de Toledo', 467-8); on 18 and 19 June (García Luján, Privilegios reales, I, 44-6 - from a copy of 1190; the original is kept in the Museo de Santa Cruz in Toledo); Peña Pérez, Documentación de San Juan

de. Burgos, 17-19); again in September (Loperráez, Osma, III, 16-18 from the original in AC Osma; Docs.Burgos, 207-8, from a 12th century copy in AC Burgos); on 2 and 4 October (ES, XVI, 481-3; Rassow, 'La Cofradía de Belchite', 220-2) and on an unspecified day in October (Minguella, Sigüenza, 359-60); and finally on 28 December (Recuero, Alfonso VII, 142 n. 28, 214 n. 72).

209. J. Le Patourel, The Norman Empire (Oxford, 1976), 132.
210. CAI, §1.

CHAPTER 5

THE WARRIOR ARISTOCRACY

Introduction

The dominant part that the aristocracy of western Europe played in the warfare of the Middle Ages has long been recognised. The medieval nobleman can be envisaged in a variety of roles - as landowner, member of the royal court, or patron of local monasteries, to name but three, - but it is above all as homo-bellicus, the man of war, that he is most frequently associated. Magnates owed their power and prestige to their wealth and birth assuredly enough, but their role as warriors in the service of their monarch was equally important in securing their privileged status. Participation in war was largely, if not exclusively, reserved for the members of this warrior elite and conferred prestige and privilege upon wealthy magnate and impoverished knight alike.

Medieval Spain, in particular, has been regarded as the warrior society par-excellence or, as Lourie has put it, 'a society organised for war'.(1) The aim of this chapter is to examine that claim rather more closely. It is proposed to look at the crucial part played by the nobility in the wars of the reign of Alfonso VII, and in particular to compare and contrast the martial activity of the greatest magnates of León-Castile with that of the nobility who lived along the frontier with al-Andalus. As well as

highlighting the contribution of the nobility in the numerous campaigns of the period, it is intended to examine the factors which motivated them to go to war, to evaluate the risks and rewards which attended on such expeditions and to consider the organisation of the Leonese-Castilian fighting machine.

(a) 'A society organised for war'

The traditional view of the Reconquista, expressed by historians for generations, has been to picture the wars against the Muslims as above all a religious and nationalist crusade in which the force of Christian arms triumphed in adversity and made possible the reconquest of the whole of the Iberian Peninsula from foreign hands. The past twenty years, however, have witnessed a sharp reaction to this school of thought and instead have brought about a radical reinterpretation of the Spanish Reconquest. Scholars have chosen rather to lay emphasis on the importance of demographic growth and its accompanying social and economic pressures for the initial expansion of the tiny kingdom of Asturias into the meseta of León-Castile. Thereafter, the frontier with al-Andalus moved south erratically

'propelled by more earthy impulses than earlier and more fastidious scholars chose to contemplate: demographic pressure, climatic change, developing military technology, the

needs of an emergent aristocratic elite, the appetites of sheep and cattle.'(2)

Crusading ideals as such did not take root in the Peninsula until at least the second quarter of the 12th century.

The work of the revisionists has provided welcome new perspectives on the development and expansion of the Christian states of medieval Spain. It has become somewhat unfashionable in some quarters, therefore, to stress the importance of military activity in the Reconquista and historians have shied away from the 'great men and battles' approach of previous generations. As a result, the study of war and society in medieval Spain has been to a large extent neglected.(3) As Contamine, author of a more general work on war in the Middle Ages, has remarked:

'Discussion of medieval warfare has often had a tendency to fragment, even to content itself with a series of isolated, parallel or divergent, analyses. At a stroke the impact of war as a fundamental element in the evolution of medieval societies is thus diminished, whilst at the same time the reciprocal links between war and the human environment in which it arises and upon which it acts are masked.'(4)

In a Spanish context, scholars are correct in focussing their attention on the social and economic forces that motivated the gradual push south, even if the importance of religion has been strangely ignored, but we must not lose sight of the fact that without the military muscle to capture and hold on to these

new acquisitions, such conquests could prove wholly ephemeral, as Alfonso VII himself was to discover.

Before we consider the wars of the reign of Alfonso VII in some detail, however, a few distinctions and definitions are called for. First of all, it should be remembered that the martial activity of the Christian kingdoms was never directed solely at the Muslims and that long periods of time were also spent in conflict with other Christian realms. The wars of Alfonso VII with the monarchs of Aragón, Navarre and Portugal are a case in point.

Secondly, we must bear in mind that the campaigns waged against the Muslim inhabitants of al-Andalus could take on a variety of forms and, for the most part, were not campaigns of conquest per-se. On the one hand, there was the fonsado or hueste, terms employed interchangeably in the 12th century to designate a mixed army of cavalry and infantry recruited by a king or magnate to carry out a large-scale expedition into enemy territory.(5) Alternatively, there were the rapid, long-range cavalry incursions, referred to variously in our sources as cabalgadas, correduras or algaras, carried out by the urban militia forces of the frontier towns. These raids seem to have been organised independently, although occasionally two or more towns might join forces to wage a campaign of more ambitious scope.(6)

Additionally, they were required to provide contingents of troops to join royal expeditions as and when they were ordered to do so by the king, or else to perform defensive duties, known as apellido.

Yet, whereas participation in military campaigns was an occasional and irregular experience for most of the inhabitants of the north of León-Castile, who frequently opted to pay the so-called fonsadera tax to exempt themselves from service, life on the frontier with al-Andalus was utterly dominated by war. For towns like Avila, Madrid, Salamanca, Segovia and Toledo, in the 12th century warfare was an everyday part of life rather than an occasional obligation and they bore the brunt of the fighting with the Muslims. Moreover, this almost continuous state of war led to the warrior nobility of the frontier towns, the so-called serranos, not only dominating society but monopolising municipal offices.(7) Mackay has aptly spoken of the 'bellicose frontier ethic' which 'accorded kudos, not to the bishop or merchant, but to the bold caballero who performed his exploits in a professional yet modest manner.'(8)

At the centre of all this martial activity were of course the nobility, but here again some important distinctions are called for. Most important of all were the great magnates, bound to the king by ties of

fealty, who counselled him on military matters, provided contingents of troops for the royal hueste and accompanied him on his campaigns against the Muslims or other foes. They could also be charged with the command of their own expeditions.

Below these great nobles came the much larger group of milites and infanzones, the lesser nobility, who owed military service to a magnate, or even to the king, in return for a land or cash benefice. As we have already seen, for the most impoverished of these knights, such benefices awarded in return for military service, together with the booty they won in war, probably constituted an important source of income.

Finally, there was a large social group which stood, in the words of Powers, 'in the penumbra between noble and non-noble'.(9) These caballeros villanos, or commoner knights, as they are known, constituted one of the most important social groups in 12th century Leonese-Castilian frontier society. They had their origins in the 9th century, when the Christian descent into the Meseta and the Duero valley led to the need for a large cavalry force which would be more suited to the requirements of plains warfare. In order to attract settlers to these newly-conquered areas, kings and lords offered generous land grants and privileges, notably exemption from taxation, in return for cavalry service. As a result, the Leonese-

Castilian frontier witnessed the emergence of a noble group whose privileged status was determined solely by their possession of a horse and armour and their willingness to perform cavalry service for their lords. Lourie has observed:

'For these caballeros there was no mystique of knighthood, they were privileged because they were useful. Entry into their ranks was solely the result of acquiring a horse, inheriting one or having it thrust upon you. And exit was just as casual. The unreplaced loss or sale of one's horse would reduce one to the ranks of the tax-paying infantry.'(10)

In 12th century León-Castile, therefore, war was by no means the exclusive prerogative of the 'feudal' aristocracy of the north, who owed their privileged status to their birth and lineage. Rather, we should remember the crucial role played by the caballeros villanos, who benefitted from the endemic warfare of the frontier. It was, as Lourie remarks, 'a neat contrast between privilege granted as a productive investment and privilege retained as a luxury.'(11) Finally, below both these noble groups, we should not forget the peones, the peasants who were periodically obliged to provide infantry service or else supply the royal fonsado with beasts of burden.

(b) **The wars of the reign of Alfonso VII**

The reign of Alfonso VII, in common with those of most medieval kings, was dominated by war. As far as can be ascertained from the chronicles and charters of the period, he led in person no fewer than 29 military expeditions during the 32 years he was on the throne, with the result that the gathering of the royal hueste very nearly assumed the proportions of an annual event. The only years where we have no record of the king-emperor leading a campaign are 1128, 1135, 1136, 1145, 1148, 1149, 1153, 1154 and 1156.

The warfare of the reign can be divided into three distinct types: firstly, there were the great expeditions into al-Andalus, led by the emperor or one of his magnates, which aimed either at laying waste the territory or else at conquering specific strongholds or cities. Independent of these great royal fonsados were the regular raids against the Muslim south that were carried out by the militia forces of the frontier towns. While these towns frequently provided contingents for the campaigns of Alfonso VII, for much of the time they were expected to act under the leadership of the governor of Toledo or some other local noble. Thus, the Chronica tells of the mandate of Alfonso VII shortly after his coronation as emperor at León in 1135:

'Iussitque alcajdīs Toletanis et omnibus habitatoribus totius Extremi facere exercitus assidue et dare Sarracenis infidelibus bellum per singulos annos et non parcere civitatibus vel oppidis eorum, sed totum avindicare Deo et legi christianae'.(12)

Finally, Alfonso VII was also embroiled in conflicts with rebellious factions within his kingdom, notably with the counts of Lara, Pedro and Rodrigo González, as well as with his Christian neighbours in Aragón, Navarre and Portugal. In this way, the campaigns led by Alfonso VII can be classified as follows:

v Muslims	-	1133, 1138, 1139, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1146, 1147, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1155, 1157.
v Aragón	-	1127, 1129, 1131, 1132, 1134.
v Navarre	-	1137, 1140.
v Portugal	-	1127, 1137, 1141.
v Rebels	-	1126, 1127, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133.

Of course, this can be no more than an approximate guide to the military campaigns of the reign, since there may have been several other actions of which no record has survived. Similarly, the imprecision with which the Chronica describes some of the wars, particularly those fought with the Portuguese, makes confident dating impossible.

Contemporaries made a great distinction between those wars waged against Muslims and those against fellow Christians. The author of the Chronica, for example, while he considered that the expeditions led

by Alfonso VII against the infidel were a means to fulfill God's plan, regarded the struggles with the rebels of León-Castile or with the neighbouring Christian kings as nothing more than a deflection from His divine purpose. In this way, the chronicler attributes the initial inability of Alfonso VII to make war on the Almoravids to the internecine conflicts he was forced to wage with his fellow Christians:

'Et propter supradicta bella imperator non ibat in expeditionem in terram Sarracenorum, et Sarraceni ideo praevalabant in terra christianorum.' (13)

This was no more than the truth, of course, for apart from his razzia to Andalucía in 1133, it was not until Alfonso VII, restricted by severe financial difficulties as it was, had neutralised the rebel opposition to himself, and the death in battle of Alfonso I of Aragón in 1134 had removed the threat to his eastern frontier, that the Leonese monarch felt secure enough to intervene more decisively against the Almoravids.

The part that the nobility of León-Castile played in the wars of this period was critical. The importance of their role can be surmised above all from the pages of the Chronica, which describes in some detail the campaigns undertaken by the great magnates, as well as providing us with a vivid

description of the frontier warfare of those years. Additionally, we can make use of the surviving royal diplomas of the reign to supplement our knowledge of the military expeditions of Alfonso VII. From time to time, royal charters were drawn up while the army was on campaign and the dating clauses attached to such documents provide valuable information on the movements of the army, while the lists of confirmantes appended to the diplomas reveal the names of some of the nobles who were with the hueste at that time. Just such an example is the charter granted by Alfonso VII on 30 April 1127 to Domingo de Valzalmio and Pedro Domínguez of Burgos: the document is dated 'eodem die quando Deus castellum de Burgus regi Hispanie dedit, sub era M^oC^oLX^oV^o, et quotum II^o kalendas maii'.(14) The dating clause to a royal diploma of 12 September 1139, meanwhile, states that it had been drawn up 'in illo castello nouo quod fecit imperator predictus iuxta Aureliam quando eam tenebat obsessam'.(15) Another was issued on 11 July 1151, 'quando imperator iacebat super Jaen, expectante naues Francorum que debebant uenire ad Siviliam'.(16)

The great nobles of the kingdom aided the emperor in war in two major ways. In the first place, given the absence of a royal standing army, they provided contingents of troops to join the expeditions led by the monarch, or else to mount campaigns in his

name. The Chronica makes several references to these mesnadas, or troops of soldiers, that accompanied the nobles to war. In 1132, for example, when he was preparing to wage war on the Aragonese, 'rex Adefonsus praecepit comitibus et ducibus suis, ut statuto die congregarentur cum suis agminibus in Atenza', although the subsequent rebellion of the counts Rodrigo Gómez and Gonzalo Peláez forced the king to divert his attention to the Asturias.(17) Similarly, after the aborted attack on Coria in 1138, in which count Rodrigo Martínez perished, we hear that his brother Osorio returned to León 'cum propria militia, defunctique parte adiuncta'.(18) The following year, Alfonso VII ordered Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández to undertake the siege of Colmenar de Oreja 'unusquisque eorum cum sua militia', although they were also to be aided by 'omnibus militibus et peditibus qui erant in Toletis et in cunctis civitatibus, quae sunt Trans Serram, et cum omnibus habitatoribus totius Extrematurae'.(19)

How these troops were recruited by the great nobles is not known in any detail. Certainly, we can probably assume that the magnates were permanently attended by a small group of knights, drawn largely from the class of the infanzones, who were bound to them by ties of vassalage and who made up the core of the mesnada. Other members of a magnate's squadron of

cavalry, however, may only have been summoned for specifically military purposes. One such knight may have been Pedro de Sanabria who was granted the vill of Calabor by Alfonso VII at Toledo on 4 May 1145 'propter servicium quod mihi fecisti et facis et rogatu comitis domni Poncii cuius miles es'.(20) Knights were generally recruited in return for a land or money benefice, and there would also have been a force of foot-soldiers, presumably levied from the estates under the magnate's control. As far as the size of these noble mesnadas, or military contingents, was concerned, we must rely almost entirely on guesswork, but as we shall see shortly, there is some evidence that a figure of between 30 to 60 was the normal complement of knights that accompanied a magnate to war.

It is also apparent that matters of military planning and strategy were discussed at meetings of the royal curia, although whether such discussions were restricted to an 'inner circle' of trusted magnates is unclear. The Chronica reveals, for example, that Alfonso VII only decided to order the attack on Oreja in 1139 once he had 'consilio accepto cum propriis consiliaribus'.(21)

The Chronica is particularly valuable for the details that it gives of the military campaigns which were waged by members of the nobility on behalf of

Alfonso VII. It may be of interest to list them briefly:

- 1130 - Count Rodrigo Martínez and Osorio Martínez besiege Pedro Díaz at Valle.(22)
- 1130? - Count Fernando Pérez and count Rodrigo Vélaz drive Alfonso Henriques out of Galicia.(23)
- 1133 - Count Rodrigo González entrusted with half of the royal hueste during the expedition to al-Andalus.(24) Count Suero Vermúdez and Pedro Alfonso lead campaign against the rebellious count Gonzalo Peláez in the Asturias.(25)
- 1139 - Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández begin the siege of Colmenar de Oreja.(26)
- 1140? - Count Fernando Pérez and count Rodrigo Vélaz defeated by Afonso Henriques at Cernesa.(27)
- 1140 - Count Rodrigo Gómez, Lope López and Gutierre Fernández make war on king García Ramírez of Navarre.(28) Count Ramiro Froilaz defeated and captured by Afonso Henriques.(29)
- 1146 - Alfonso VII sends the counts Manrique Pérez, Ponce de Cabrera and Armengol de Urgel, together with Martín Fernández de Fita, to help Sayf al-Dawla regain control of Baeza, Ubeda and Jaén. They fight with Sayf al-Dawla and defeat him.(30)
- 1146 - Fernando Yáñez is sent to help Ibn Hamdin hold Andújar.(31)

In addition, the Chronica occasionally mentions by name some of the nobles who accompanied Alfonso VII on his military campaigns. We hear, for example, that count Alfonso Jordán of Toulouse and count Suero Vermúdez were among those who helped the king recapture the fortress of León in 1126.(32)

Similarly, when Alfonso VII led an expedition into al-Andalus in May 1138, he was joined by, among others, count Rodrigo Martínez and Rodrigo Fernández.(33) The above list, however, does not take into account the various algaras led by the nobles who lived on the frontier with al-Andalus, largely because few of them can be dated with any accuracy, nor for that matter are those of Fernando Yáñez against the Portuguese included, for the same reason.(34)

Nevertheless, it would not do to discuss the role of the nobility in the military campaigns of the reign of Alfonso VII without making some reference to the frontier wars of the period. Bishko has commented:

'For both Moors and Christians, the endless warfare itself was a typically plains affair, where occasional major campaigns aimed at conquest of the settled territory on the other side of the despoblado; but it was normally characterized by incessant raids and hit-and-run attacks (algaras, correduras) which sought to surprise the enemy, devastate and pillage his towns and farms, and then swiftly withdraw across the intervening plains with captured humans, livestock, and other booty.'(35)

The Chronica devotes many chapters to the exploits and adventures of the nobles whose duty it was to defend the southern frontier, concentrating in particular on the governors of Toledo. We hear, for example, of the death of Gutierre Armúdez at the hands of the Almoravids in 1131; of the capture of Tello Fernández and Muño Alfonso and of the raids into al-Andalus led by count Rodrigo González and by his

successor as governor of Toledo, Rodrigo Fernández de Castro.(36) There is also an account of the rebuilding of the castle of Azeca by the Toledan knight Goscelmus de Ribas.(37) Pride of place, however, goes to a Galician noble, Muño Alfonso, whose deeds against the Muslims led to his appointment as deputy to the governor of Toledo.(38) We are told of his raids into al-Andalus, of his victories in battle, notably at Montiel in 1143 where the emirs of Seville and Granada were slain, and we also hear of his final fatal stand against the Almoravids in the same year.(39) Space does not permit us here to treat these events in any great detail, but they may serve as good examples of the martial activity of the nobles who lived on the frontier.

In addition to the information provided by the Chronica, the diplomas of the reign of Alfonso VII enable us to discover the identity of some of the nobles who were with the emperor while he was on campaign. To demonstrate this point, it is proposed to concentrate our attention on some of the royal diplomas issued in 1137, 1139 and 1147, from which the movements and composition of the royal armies can be envisaged in some detail. In Figures 7, 8 and 9 the most important lay confirmants to the charters of these years are listed. The names of some minor local notables who were also required to witness the

diplomas are excluded.(40)

What is immediately striking about the documents issued by Alfonso VII while on campaign is that they are identical in style and format to those normally drawn up elsewhere in the kingdom. Furthermore, the witness lists attached to these diplomas reveal not only the usual assortment of lay notables, but also several bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. We see, for example, in the documents drawn up during the siege of Oreja in 1139 that the archbishop of Toledo and the bishops of Sigüenza and Palencia were with the emperor throughout the campaign. Indeed, the only apparent difference in the composition of the witness lists of these charters is that the emperor's wife did not join the expedition. The Chronica records, rather, that while Alfonso VII invested Oreja, his wife, the empress Berenguela, remained in Toledo.(41)

The lists of confirmantes in Figures 7, 8 and 9 have some revealing things to tell us about the nobles who took part in the royal expeditions and the length of time they served with the army. It is of interest to note, for example, just how few nobles from León or Castile accompanied the emperor on his expedition to Portugal in 1137. The Historia Compostellana mentions that Alfonso VII made the journey with no more than a small number of knights; the charters issued at Tuy

FIGURE-7 :

Lay confirmants to royal diplomas of 1137

	<1>	<2>	<3>	<4>	<5>	<6>	<7>
Diego Froilaz-A				x	x	x	x
Diego Muñoz				x	x	x	x
Fernando Gómez	x						
Fernando Gutiérrez							x
Fernando Núñez	x						
Fernando Pérez*	x	x		x		x	
Fernando Yáñez	x	x	x				
Gómez Núñez*	x	x					
Gutierre Fernández-M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lope Díaz*				x	x		
Munio Peláez*		x					
Munio Tacún		x	x				
Miguel Feliz				x	x	x	x
Osorio Martínez							x
Pelayo Corvo	x	x	x				
Raimundo Yáñez	x						
Ramiro Froilaz							x
Rodrigo Fernández	x	x	x		x	x	x
Rodrigo Gómez*				x	x		x
Rodrigo Martínez*				x	x	x	x
Rodrigo Vélaz*	x	x				x	x
Rodrigo Vermúdez			x				
Vermudo Pérez		x	x				

Key: <1> - 26/7 June (Tuy) (42)
<2> - 17 July (Santiago de Compostela) (43)
<3> - 29 July (Santiago de Compostela) (44)
<4> - 2 October (Logroño) (45)
<5> - 9 October (Burgos) (46)
<6> - 20 October (River Ebro) (47)
<7> - 29 October (Nájera) (48)

M = Majordomo
A = Alférez

Counts are designated with an asterisk

FIGURE-8 :**Lay confirmants to royal diplomas of 1139**

	<1>	<2>	<3>	<4>	<5>	<6>
Diego Froilaz - A	x	x	x		x	x
Diego Muñoz - M	x	x	x		x	x
Fernando Pérez*						x
Fernando Yáñez	x					
García Pérez	x					
Gutierre Fernández	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lope Díaz*					x	
Lope López	x	x	x		x	x
Martín Fernández						x
Menendo Bofín		x				
Muño Tacún	x					
Osorio Martínez*		x	x			x
Pelayo Corvo	x					
Ponce de Cabrera		x	x			x
Ramiro Froilaz*	x	x	x			x
Rodrigo Fernández	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rodrigo Gómez*		x	x	x		x
Rodrigo Pérez*	x					
Rodrigo Vélaz*	x					
Vermudo Pérez	x					

Key :

<1>	-	25 July	(Colmenar de Oreja)	(49)
<2>	-	14 August	(Toledo)	(50)
<3>	-	12 September	(Colmenar de Oreja)	(51)
<4>	-	October	(Colmenar de Oreja)	(52)
<5>	-	18 October	(Colmenar de Oreja)	(53)
<6>	-	3 November	(Toledo)	(54)

FIGURE-9 : Lay confirmants to royal diplomas of 1147

	<1>	<2>	<3>	<4>	<5>	<6>	<7>	<8>	<9>
Alvaro Rodríguez							x		
Anaya Rodríguez			x	x					x
Arias Calvo					x				
Armengol de Urgel*	x	x		x			x	x	
Diego Muñoz				x					x
Fernando Pérez*	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fernando Yáñez					x		x		x
García Garcés				x					
García Rodríguez				x					
Gonzalo Fernández							x		
Gutierre Fernández	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Lope López				x					x
Manrique Pérez*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Martín Fernández	x	x		x					
Menendo Bofín	x			x					
Nuño Pérez - A	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Osorio Martínez*		x							x
Pedro Alfonso									x
Pelayo Corvo					x				
Ponce de Cabrera-M	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ponce de Minerva				x	x		x		
Ramiro Froilaz*			x		x	x			
Rodrigo Fernández						x			
Rodrigo Pérez*	x					x			
Vermudo Pérez						x	x		x

Key :

<1>	-	8 December 1146	(Arévalo) (55)
<2>	-	9 January 1147	(Calatrava) (56)
<3>	-	23 May	(Toledo) (57)
<4>	-	4 June	(Calatrava) (58)
<5>	-	9 June	(Calatrava) (59)
<6>	-	11 July	(Calatrava) (60)
<7>	-	17 July	(Andújar) (61)
<8>	-	18 August	(Baeza) (62)
<9>	-	25 November	(Baeza) (63)

and Santiago de Compostela reveal that among them were the Castilians Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández and the Leonese Rodrigo Vermúdez.(64) The absence of the other great nobles of León-Castile may have been because they were required to meet the Navarrese threat on the eastern frontier, but it may also have been the case that campaigns within Galicia were adjudged to be largely the responsibility of the Galician nobles themselves. Certainly, the recapture of Tuy in June 1137 was accomplished chiefly with the help of the Galician magnates, although according to the Historia Compostellana, when the emperor appealed to them to come to his aid 'cum omni agmine equitum et peditum', they proved slow in answering his call and it is even alleged that archbishop Diego Gelmírez 'principes et equites suos ad faciendum exercitum stipendiis placavit'.(65) Nevertheless, when Alfonso VII switched his attention to the war with Navarre in the autumn of the same year, it is significant how few of the Galician notables went with him. Thus, while the army was at Logroño on 2 October only count Fernando Pérez was present of the Galician nobility, while count Rodrigo Vélaz appears on the diploma issued on 20 October near the River Ebro.

If the campaigns of 1137 were chiefly limited to large-scale harrying and burning, 1139 was notable

for the lengthy siege of Colmenar de Oreja, which occupied the emperor's forces throughout the summer and early autumn. The Chronica relates that the siege was begun by Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández in April 1139, but the earliest record that we have of Alfonso VII at Oreja is the charter that he issued there on 25 July.(66) The siege dragged on until the last day of October, according to the Chronica, although there is good evidence that the town was captured a few days before then.(67)

It is interesting to note in Figure 8 that there was a sizeable group of Galician magnates present with the emperor at Oreja on 25 July, but all the subsequent diplomas drawn up during the siege suggest that these nobles had returned home before too long. There are two possible reasons for this: firstly, it may have been that the Galicians were not willing or expected to spend months on end away from their patrimonies. We have already seen elsewhere that their presence at the imperial court was generally sporadic, while the Historia Compostellana, in its account of the Galician expedition to recapture Burgos for queen Urraca in 1113, demonstrates how loathe the Galicians could be to spend too long away on campaign.(68) The second possibility, however, is that the hasty return to Galicia in the summer of 1139 was prompted by a new invasion of that region by the

Portuguese king. This may be the campaign the Chronica refers to when 'comes Fredinandus Petri et comes Rodericus Vele et caeteri duces imperatoris Galletiae' were defeated by Afonso Henriques at Cernesa, although the exasperating vagueness with which the chronicler describes these events makes it impossible for us to establish the chronology of this period with any degree of certainty.(69) On the other hand, the charters of 1139 also demonstrate that several of Alfonso VII's most powerful nobles remained at the siege of Oreja throughout the summer.

Figure 9 can be divided into two distinct parts. First of all, it may be noted that most of the nobles who were with the emperor at Arévalo on 8 December 1146 remained with him during the campaign to conquer Calatrava in January 1147, the chief exceptions being the Galician counts Fernando and Rodrigo Pérez. Calatrava having been conquered, the emperor and his entourage journeyed north to Salamanca, Zamora and Segovia, before returning to Toledo by 23 May to prepare for the summer's campaigning ahead.(70) The diplomas issued in and near Calatrava in June and July respectively give us some indication of the nobles who joined the fonsado that year, although not all of them would have continued as far south as Almería with the emperor. Thus, García Garcés de Aza only witnessed the diploma

drawn up at Calatrava on 4 June, which suggests that he may have remained there with a garrison while the rest of the army continued south to Andújar, Baeza and Almería. Given the charters issued at Baeza before and after the capture of Almería in October 1147, however, it is impossible to tell which knights remained behind in Baeza to hold the city.

One of the most important features of the charters of 1147, however, is that they largely corroborate the account given by the Poema de Almería of the chief members of the army which Alfonso VII led south to conquer the Mediterranean port. For several authors, the Poema, with its stylised hexameters and epic hyperbole is not only unhistorical but altogether untrustworthy. Martínez, for example, has averred that

'ninguno de los personajes descritos, salvo Alfonso VII, Ramon Berenguer IV y Armengol de Urgel, parecen haber participado en el cerco de Almería. El Poema parece más bien describir lo que debería haber sido el cerco, con la participación de todos aquellos incontables ejércitos, que lo que realmente fue: mil peones y unos 400 caballeros'.(71)

Yet the diplomas issued by Alfonso VII at Baeza on 18 August 1147 prior to the advance on Almería, and on 25 November 'quando...imperator redibat de Almaria, quam tunc cum auxilio Ianuensium ceperat et iuri Christianorum submiserat', demonstrate conclusively that Fernando Pérez, Ponce de Cabrera, Armengol de Urgel, Gutierre and Martín Fernández, king García

Ramírez and his knights, Pedro Alfonso and Fernando Yáñez really were with the army of Alfonso VII as the Poema states.(72) The only exceptions are count Ramiro Froilaz, of whom there is no record after 11 July and Alvaro Rodríguez who is not known to have witnessed any charters in 1147.

From this brief examination of the role of the nobility in the wars of the reign of Alfonso VII several things will have become apparent. Firstly, it is clear that participation in war for many magnates was as much a duty as was attendance at court and some of them might remain with the emperor throughout the year. Campaigning generally took place in the summer - the conquest of Calatrava in January 1147 was a notable exception - and the army could remain in the field for several months. In 1150, for example, the emperor led his troops south from Toledo on around 26 April to undertake the siege of Córdoba and on 23 August, the siege having been lifted, they were still at Baeza.(73) In addition to serving in the royal army, the nobles were also expected to provide contingents of troops, to serve as military advisors to the emperor and even to wage war on his behalf. For this very reason, therefore, it may be said that the nobility were indispensable to Alfonso VII in his efforts to restore control over his kingdom and to launch his triumphant, if ultimately ephemeral,

campaigns against the Muslims of al-Andalus. It was a contribution that the emperor himself acknowledged shortly after the conquest of Oreja in 1139. In the arenga to the fuero Alfonso VII granted to the settlers of Oreja, he declared as follows:

'Quia dei subueniente potentia ego Adefonsus Hispanie imperator baronum meorum suffultus auxilio castellum Aurelie, quod Toletum et circa manentem prouinciam fere in solitudinem redegerat, Mauris, qui illud possidebant, expulsis adquisiui...' (74)

c) **The logistics of warfare**

Having considered from a fairly general point of view the prominent role that the nobility played in the wars of the reign of Alfonso VII, the aim of this section is to consider in rather more detail the organisation of the armies they fought in. In addition to looking at the way in which the royal hueste was summoned, attention will be paid to the forces that made up the army, their numbers, the weapons that they carried and the way in which the finance and supply of the troops affected the overall strategy that they were forced to adopt.

i) The summons to war

In the absence of a royal standing army, Alfonso VII, like his predecessors, was forced to summon his troops to him as and when they were required for a campaign. Thus, recruitment for a summer expedition generally took place in the spring. The Chronica describes, for example, how messengers were sent by the emperor to summon his nobles to join his army with their own troops to undertake the siege of Coria in 1138:

'Misit nuntios in omnem terram Extrematurae et in terra Legionis ut, tam omnes milites quam etiam pedites, venirent ad obsidionem civitatis, et qui non venisset imperatorem offenderet, et domus eius publicaretur.'(75)

Troops were recruited by royal proclamations, or regalia praeconia as the Chronica refers to them, but it also seems likely that letters of summons were sent to the bishops, counts and royal merinos of the kingdom.(76) The Historia Roderici records that when Alfonso VI requested the Cid to join the Alado campaign of 1089, the king sent a written message via his portarius to summon the Castilian noble to war.(77) Two examples of such letters, both addressed by queen Urraca to the then bishop of Santiago de Compostela, Diego Gelmírez, have been preserved in the pages of the Historia Compostellana. The first directed the bishop to lay siege to certain castles in

Galicia which were in rebel hands, while the second was a summons to the Burgos campaign of 1113.(78)

Once such a summons had been received, troops were recruited by both lay and ecclesiastical magnates from the areas under their control and they would then proceed to join the emperor at a pre-arranged meeting place. The gathering point for the army could of course vary widely, according to the military needs of the time. The Chronica records that the emperor met up with his troops on different occasions at Atienza, Nájera and Toledo, while a royal charter issued at Almonacid near Toledo on 10 May 1146 records that at that time Alfonso VII was 'ibi residente et fixis tentoriis, suum exercitum expectante'.(79)

ii) The composition of the army

The royal army was made up of various elements. First of all, as we have already noted, the chief magnates of León-Castile would have provided contingents of both knights and foot-soldiers from their domains. In addition to these forces, however, Alfonso VII was able to rely on his own body of household troops, the schola-regis. The role of the royal household as a fighting force in its own right has been largely overlooked by scholars of Spanish history. Yet important studies of the familia-regis,

as it was called, of Henry I of England have demonstrated the extent to which medieval kings relied on household troops in their own pay to form the nucleus of their armies.(80) Prestwich has seen the royal military household as 'a natural, though not inevitable, product of energetic monarchical government largely preoccupied with internal security, defence and conquest.'(81)

This is not to say that Alfonso VII, or indeed any of the rulers of 12th century Christian Spain, were able to maintain a permanent force of 300 knights or more, as Henry I of England was reputedly able to do.(82) Nevertheless, there is good evidence that the troops that accompanied their households amounted to substantially more than the traditional assortment of fideles and milites-palatii that made up part of the royal entourage. According to the Chronica, Alfonso I of Aragón had no fewer than 'septingenti pedites fortes regis, qui custodiebant regi quando in expeditione erat', all of whom fell in the bloody defeat at Fraga in 1134.(83) Alfonso VII, for his part, seems also to have had such a permanent force of household troops: the Chronica records, for example, that in July 1138 the emperor ordered count Rodrigo Martínez to attack the city of Coria with soldiers from Salamanca and with 'propriam militiam domus suae', while in the description of the army that

Alfonso VII gathered at Toledo in September 1144, the chronicler refers to the schola .regis which made up part of the fonsado.(84) Likewise, when Pedro Alfonso went to seize the rebellious Asturian count Gonzalo Peláez in around 1137, he did so 'una cum militibus regis', while the 'parvo numero suorum militum' with which the emperor carried out his rapid advance from Zamora to Tuy in June 1137 is most likely to have been part of this same household force.(85)

Of course, a good many of these household knights would have been noble vassals who served the king in return for a land benefice. On 23 July 1150, during the siege of Córdoba, Alfonso VII made a grant of land to his faithful miles Pelayo Cautivo, who may well have been a member of the emperor's military household.(86) Other knights, meanwhile, served in the household militia in return for cash payments. The Historia Compostellana, in its account of the royal expedition to Portugal in 1127, relates that Alfonso VII needed a large amount of money with which to pay his 'milites stipendiarios'.(87) Whether such payments were annual money fiefs, or feudos .de .bolsa as they later came to be known, or seasonal payments in return for participation in a particular campaign is unclear, however.

Finally, when the emperor campaigned to the south of his kingdom against the Muslims of al-

Andalus, his hueste was invariably supplemented by contingents of troops supplied by the towns along the frontier. There are numerous references in the Chronica to the support that these towns lent to Alfonso VII for his military ventures to the south, although these are generally couched in very general terms and do not refer to the towns by name.(88) A notable exception is the prominent part apparently played by the 'viroso Salamantiae' at the siege of Coria in 1138.(89)

Be that as it may, there are many other references in the Chronica to the expeditions that these urban militia groups undertook independently of the emperor.(90) We hear, for example, of the troops from Avila and Segovia who served under the generalship of the governor of Toledo, count Rodrigo González; while an army under the command of Muño Alfonso was comprised of warriors from Toledo, Guadalajara, Talavera, Madrid, Avila, Segovia 'et de caeteris civitatibus'.(91)

The organisation of these urban militia forces is described in elaborate detail in the fueros of the late 12th century, notably in the Fuero de Cuenca of 1189.(92) These municipal law codes, which have been closely studied by Palomeque, Pescador and Powers, among others, give detailed regulations of the military duties owed by the inhabitants of the towns,

the weapons and equipment that they required, the command structure of the army, the way in which booty was to be divided up, the terms of employment for scouts and spies, and the compensation that was offered for wounds in combat or losses of military equipment. Strangely, however, the impression given by the Chronica of already highly-organised municipal armies in the reign of Alfonso VII is not matched by the fueros issued in the same period. As Powers has observed,

'in an age when evidence drawn from chronicles seems to indicate that significant changes are taking place in the municipal armies, the charters fail to reflect such advances in the light of town law.'(93)

Nevertheless, that is not to say that the majority of the military legislation set down in the Cuenca code and others was entirely new. Instead, we must presume that a good many of the provisions of the late 12th century fueros developed from practices already current in the reign of Alfonso VII or even before.

The nucleus of the royal army were the mounted knights who served the emperor or his magnates. The miles of the early 12th century was protected by a mail shirt, helmet and shield, and fought on horseback with his lance and sword.(94) It may have been the case that the lance was occasionally thrown like a javelin, but it seems to have been more normal for the knight to thrust it at his enemy or else to hold it

rigid under his arm in an attempt to unseat his adversary from his horse by the impetus of his attack.(95) If the knight lost his lance, or had it broken, he could continue fighting with his sword.

As far as battle tactics were concerned, knights invariably relied on a concerted cavalry charge to overcome the enemy. Smail comments:

'The onset of the medieval acies was not the same as that of a drilled cavalry squadron in modern times...The attack of the medieval horsemen, though it relied for its effect on the collective mass of the participants, was essentially an aggregate of many individual charges; it depended for its success on impact with an enemy who, in resisting, would be shattered by its weight.'(96)

All the same, we should also bear in mind that pitched battles were avoided by medieval generals wherever possible and much more time was spent either raiding enemy territory or trying to reduce a fortified stronghold or city.(97) It is apparent, therefore, that in such circumstances knights might also be required to fight on foot. Thus, the death of count Rodrigo Martínez at the siege of Coria in 1138 occurred when he 'ascendit in quamdam turrem ligneam quam fecerat, et cum eo multi milites et sagittarii et fundibularii'.(98)

In addition to the knights, sizeable contingents of pedites, or foot-soldiers, recruited from the ranks of the peasantry, were deployed in the campaigns of this period. Apart from men armed with

spears, swords and clubs, there were also archers (sagittarii), crossbowmen (ballistarii) and slingers (fundibularii).⁽⁹⁹⁾ The infantry seem to have served principally as a defensive shield to keep the enemy horsemen at bay and for that very reason were far from unimportant, as some writers would have us believe.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ After all, it was a spear wielded by one of the foot-soldiers of the Galician magnate Fernando Yáñez that wounded the Portuguese king in battle.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ As for the archers, crossbowmen and slingers, they seem to have performed both offensive and defensive functions. We have already drawn attention to their role in the assault on the walls of Coria in 1138, while the successful use of archers led to the capture of Burgos in 1127 and Valle in 1130.⁽¹⁰²⁾

The royal army also included engineers and sappers whose services were required at the various sieges undertaken by Alfonso VII. At Valle in 1130, for example, the king ordered his ministris to construct 'vineas et machinas et multa ingenia circa muros castelli'.⁽¹⁰³⁾ At Coria in 1142, meanwhile,

'iussit artificibus suis facere quamdam turrem ligneam, quae eminebat super muros civitatis, et machinas et ballistas et vineas cum quibus coeperunt suffodere muros civitatis et destruere turre.'⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

The increasing sophistication of siege techniques in 12th century Spain probably owed much to those who had

served in the Crusades to the Holy Land. At the siege of Zaragoza in 1118, for example, the siege engines were organised by the French noble Gaston de Béarn, who had participated in the siege of Jerusalem in 1099 and these novel ideas probably spread rapidly throughout the Peninsula.(105) Thus, at Lisbon in 1147 we hear of a siege tower measuring no less than 95 feet high.(106)

As far as the other members of the fonsado were concerned, we can be sure that spies and scouts were employed to guide the troops through a particular area following the easiest routes without falling into an enemy ambush.(107) And doctors would also have been on hand to care for the wounded; at Coria in 1138, we hear of the attempts by surgeons to save the mortally wounded count Rodrigo Martínez.(108) One of these doctors may have been the medicus Hugo, a canon of the church of Toledo, who held various properties from Alfonso VII in prestamo and who even drew up one of the emperors charters in 1146.(109) The spiritual needs of the troops were attended to by the court chaplains, although of course these duties might also be carried out by the bishops present with the army.(110) Finally, a large number of men were probably required as baggage handlers, carters and servants. Reilly has suggested that the members of the royal supply train in the late 11th century may have

numbered as many as 325 men.(111) Nevertheless, there is some evidence that foot-soldiers could also share these duties. The Historia Compostellana relates that after the journey of queen Urraca from Galicia to Astorga in 1112,

'dumque in eadem civitate pedites et mancipia reficerent, ea quae in itinere debilitata fuerant, et viatica necessaria praepararent'.(112)

The Chronica, for its part, records that when the victorious army of Muño Alfonso returned to Toledo after the battle at Montiel in 1143, the foot-soldiers were charged with carrying the booty into the city.(113)

iii) Numbers

The armies of 12th century Spain were not large. At the battle of Viadangos in 1111, for example, the Galician army reportedly comprised some 266 knights, while the Aragonese relied on 660 horse and 2000 foot.(114) The evidence we have for the reign of Alfonso VII suggests that he was probably able to put armies of roughly equal size into the field. According to the Chronica, the ill-fated governor of Toledo, Gutierre Armíldez, led a group of 400 knights in a campaign against the Almoravides, while the cities of Avila and Segovia were together

able to muster an exceptional army of 1000 knights 'cum magna turba peditum'.(115) As far as the armies personally led by Alfonso VII were concerned, we have few indications as to their size. The force he gathered at Atienza in 1129 to campaign against the Aragonese apparently comprised no fewer than 'septingentos milites virorum fortium militum' which sounds about right for a campaign fought in the north of the kingdom where supply problems will have presumably been fewer.(116)

It may have proved rather more difficult, however, to maintain such large armies when the emperor was campaigning in the far south of the Peninsula with formidable problems of supply to be overcome. According to the Genoese historian Caffaro, Alfonso VII had with him at Baeza in 1147 only 400 knights and 1000 infantry for the assault on Almería.(117) Now it is quite possible that Caffaro wished to underestimate the forces that the emperor had with him in order to maximise the part that the Genoese had played in the retaking of that city. For example, he complains of the delay that the army of León- Castile showed in going to Almería.(118) For all that, however, the figures he gives have a ring of authenticity about them and match the size of armies that the crusaders in the Holy Land, who faced similar problems of logistics, were generally able to put into

the field.(119) If Caffaro's figures are to be trusted, then it may not be too rash to suppose that each of the great magnates present in the imperial army had with him a squadron of between 30 and 40 knights. This would concord with the evidence of the Chronica, which speaks of Muño Alfonso leading cavalry forces of between 40 and 90 knights.(120)

iv) Naval power

There is no evidence that Alfonso VII, or indeed any of the rulers of 12th century León-Castile, employed a fleet in their military operations. Indeed, it is not until the 13th century that we hear of ships being used by the monarchy in a military capacity.(121) At the siege of Almería in 1147, for example, it was on Genoese naval expertise that the emperor relied to carry out the seaward assault on the city.(122) Four years later, when it seems a similar joint crusade was planned against Seville, such duties were apparently entrusted to the 'naues francorum'.(123)

The Historia Compostellana reinforces our impression that Leonese-Castilian naval know-how was not very sophisticated. True, we are told that the natives of Galicia were accustomed to constructing cargo vessels (naves sarcinarias), but when, in or

around 1115, bishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela wished to have two galleys built for military operations, it was to Genoese shipwrights that he turned.(124) Similarly, when a further vessel was commissioned in 1124, its command was entrusted to a young Pisan sea captain named Fuxo.(125)

v) Finance, supply and strategy

Money is crucial to the ability of a state to make war, something Richard Fitz Nigel recognised in his treatise on the Exchequer written in 1176-1179:

'Money is no less indispensable in peace than in war. In war it is lavished on fortifying castles, paying soldiers' wages, and innumerable other expenses, determined by the persons paid, for the defence of the realm.'(126)

Shortage of money, therefore, could leave a general unable to maintain his army in the field for long and as a result could provoke discontent among his own troops.

In the 11th century, the levying of the tribute known as parias on the Muslim rulers of the taifa kingdoms of al-Andalus had provided Fernando I of León-Castile and his successors Sancho II and Alfonso VI with plentiful supplies of gold and silver with which to finance their military ventures and satisfy the acquisitive nature of the nobility. The subsequent

Almoravid invasion towards the end of the century, however, put an end to this lucrative source of income and Alfonso VI and his successors were forced to rely on payment of the traditional rents and taxes they levied within the kingdom to meet their financial obligations.(127) Grassotti comments:

'Podremos estar seguros de que con tales ingresos ni Alfonso VI, ni doña Urraca ni Alfonso VII pudieron cubrir los gastos habituales, pagar soldadas vasalláticas y bélicas...acumular los ricos presentes que entregaban a sus vasallos extranjeros y costear las empresas guerreras.'(128)

The levying of fossataria or fonsadera, the payment which exempted one from military service, was a source of royal income that rapidly grew in importance during the course of the 12th century, as increasing numbers of people chose to pay the tax rather than undertake the long and perilous journey to the southern frontier. Even so, we have seen, the reign of Urraca and the early part of that of Alfonso VII were marked by a chronic shortage of money which hampered their ability to make war effectively and contributed to the discontent of the nobility.(129) Indeed, Alfonso VII found himself caught in something of a vicious circle: he needed money to be able to campaign effectively against the rebel factions within his kingdom, yet he was unable to secure this money because the very instability of his realm meant that lucrative campaigns in al-Andalus were out of the

question. The desperate measures taken by the king to raise the cash needed to pay his knights are well known to us.(130) That this financial crisis was severely undermining the military capability of the kingdom, was recognised by the royal councillors, the Historia Compostellana relates, who urged the young king to extort more money from the archbishop of Compostela:

'"quia adepta tali et tanta pecunia, regnum tuum poteris acquirere et pacificare, milites tuos honeste pacare, superbiam et contumacium inimicorum tuorum edomare et deprimere."'(131)

In the event, the quelling of opposition within his borders and without enabled Alfonso VII to make a series of lucrative raids into al-Andalus, the booty from which undoubtedly took a considerable strain off the royal purse and enabled the emperor to reward his nobles for their service.

Yet if a medieval ruler had to have adequate financial resources to be able to put an army into the field, his ability to supply that army with sufficient provisions was equally important in determining the length of time that his forces could remain on active service. The Roman historian Vegetius recognised as much in his classic work on military strategy, the Epitoma rei militaris, which became required reading in medieval Europe.(132)

'Saepius enim penuria quam pugna consumit exercitum et ferro saevior fames est...In omni expeditione unum est et maximum telum, ut tibi

sufficiat victus, hostes frangat inopia.'(133)

To underline what we said earlier, medieval warfare, far from being a succession of battles, as some military historians have assumed, was chiefly concerned with the exercise of control over fortified strongpoints. Wherever possible or practicable, generals seem to have avoided the risk of pitched battle and concentrated instead on capturing the enemy's strongholds. Smail comments:

'Effective and durable lordship over a district depended on possession of the walled towns and castles which lay within it. An invader could control an area while he occupied it with an army; but if he took no strong place then his control ended with the withdrawal of his forces. The primary objective of an invader who came to annex territory was to take its fortified points.'
(134)

To achieve this end, a general would aim to deprive his enemy of supplies by ravaging the countryside around, after which he would besiege the local town or fortress.(135) At this stage, the attacking force would attempt to reduce the stronghold by starvation if they were unable to take it by storm, while the defenders sought to deprive the invading army of supplies and thereby force it to lift the siege. To a very great extent, therefore, the ability to secure sufficient supplies for an army dictated the strategy that a general was able to adopt.

If we apply this Vegetian thesis to the wars of

the reign of Alfonso VII, a similar picture emerges. First of all, it should be borne in mind that although the emperor led no fewer than 13 expeditions across the frontier into al-Andalus, a good many of those were plundering raids whose aim was to wreak as much destruction and to gather as much booty in as short a time as possible, rather than to attempt conquest of a given city or area. For example, the raids launched by Alfonso VII in May 1138, which devastated as far south as Jaén, Baeza, Ubeda and Andújar, probably lasted for little more than a month, since in July of the same year his attention had turned to the city of Coria which he unsuccessfully tried to reduce.(136) Such raiding armies, or algaras as they were known, sought to live off the countryside as they travelled from area to area, but in the arid, inhospitable despoblado that existed between the south of the kingdom of Toledo and the Almoravid realms of al-Andalus it could be difficult for such an army to feed itself.

This was certainly the case when Alfonso VII led his first campaign into al-Andalus in 1133. We are told by the Chronica that when the royal army left Toledo, the king was soon forced to divide his army into two parts 'quia non sufficiebat eis aqua ad bibendum nec herba bestiis ad pascendum'.(137) The chronicler relates that the two parts of the army marched for fifteen days through wilderness (eremum)

before meeting up at Gallelo where they were able to secure sufficient supplies.(138) The army then continued its progress westwards to the area around Seville from where raiding parties were sent to lay waste the region of Seville, Córdoba and Carmona. They returned after eight days with great booty and also with supplies of grain, wine and oil.(139) Nevertheless, the royal hueste was soon forced to move further south to Jerez and Cádiz because 'praedis iam in circuitu deficientibus', according to the Chronica.(140) More booty was taken before the army returned north 'cum magno gaudio et triumpho' to the city of Talavera.(141)

From a strategic point of view, the expedition of 1133 taught Alfonso VII a great many lessons about the difficulties of campaigning far to the south of his kingdom. Above all, he would have learned the difficulty of supplying a large expeditionary force for more than a few weeks; if capture of enemy strongholds was to be his aim, then he would have to reduce the size of his army and be able to maintain that army in one place for some time. In the event, the emperor carried out successful sieges of Oreja and Coria in 1139 and 1142, but here the problems of supply were far less severe and the besieging forces were presumably able to acquire provisions from the nearby frontier cities of Toledo and Salamanca

respectively. Campaigns of conquest further south, however, posed far greater problems of logistics. The relatively small army that Alfonso VII led into al-Andalus in 1147, 400 knights and 1000 infantry if we are to believe Caffaro, was undoubtedly dictated by an awareness of these problems. The capture of Baeza and other strongholds strengthened the emperor's position, but he still seems to have been unwilling to expose himself to a lengthy siege in the inhospitable terrain of Almería. This much we can deduce from Caffaro's complaint that the emperor's forces were tarrying in Baeza, while the latter's willingness to lift the siege of Almería in return for a payment of 100,000 maravedís might also suggest that he was anxious to prolong his presence in the area for as little as possible.(142) In the same way, it may be conjectured that the aborted siege of Córdoba in 1150 stemmed from the inability of Alfonso VII to maintain his army in the field for more than a few months. In this case, the siege seems to have been lifted in the late summer; it would have been out of the question for such an army, relying on local resources rather than supply lines from the north, to remain in the field during the winter months as well, while it is also probable that the troops themselves would have been unwilling to stay away from their homes for so long.(143)

vi) Castles

The castle is without doubt one of the most celebrated symbols of the medieval world. Yet, if we may concur with Brooke that the castle represented 'the most powerful weapon in twelfth-century warfare', we would do well to remember that such fortresses performed important other functions.(144) According to Contamine:

'The purpose of castles was simultaneously to form a protected refuge for those who lived there and to control the neighbouring population. A castle was the centre of an area of command, protection, power, judicial authority and territory.'(145)

Historians are agreed that there was a very substantial increase in castle-building during the 11th and 12th centuries.(146) If on the fringes of Christendom (for example on the frontier between the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula and the Muslims of al-Andalus), the proliferation of such defensive structures responded to an external military threat, the castles that sprang up elsewhere in Europe at this time were related to what Bonnassie has termed 'el clima de violencia y de guerras privadas entre linajes que entonces sucedieron pero, sobre todo, con la quiebra de la autoridad pública.'(147)

Initially, the vast majority of these fortified strongholds would have been of the fairly rudimentary

'motte and bailey' design; that is, an artificial mound crowned with a wooden tower and surrounded by an earth rampart and palisade. In time, however, and particularly after 1150, stone-built fortresses became increasingly common.

Yet, while the growing awareness by historians and archaeologists of the importance of castles in medieval society has been reflected by a spate of learned books and articles, particularly as far as France is concerned, in Spain the discipline of 'castellology', that is, the study of the function and typology of fortified sites, is still very much in its infancy. While the impressive structures of the Later Middle Ages have received some scholarly attention, the fortified sites of the earlier medieval period remain largely neglected and poorly understood. No journal to match the efforts of Château-Gaillard has yet appeared on the scene, and those works that have been published in Spain have largely been limited to mere inventories of castles whose viewpoint is chiefly architectural.(148) Given this glaring historiographical lacuna, therefore, much of what we have to say of fortress-building and the role of the castle in 12th century Leonese-Castilian warfare and society must remain necessarily tentative.

Hardly surprisingly, it is the military function of the castle that our sources most

frequently allude to. Above all, such fortresses provided a safe refuge at a time of invasion or social upheaval. It was, for example, to the castle of Orzilione that bishop Diego Gelmírez fled with the six-year old Alfonso VII after the crushing Galician defeat at the hands of the Aragonese at Viadangos in 1111.(149) Meanwhile, the Chronica relates that though the Almoravid emir Alí was able to storm the frontier towns of Madrid, Talavera, Olmos and Canales,

'fortissimae turres, quae lingua nostra dicuntur alcazares, praedictarum civitatum, non sunt captae, et ibi remanserunt multae reliquiae christianorum.'(150)

Nevertheless, a castle could equally perform a crucial role in offensive warfare, namely to provide a springboard from which attacks against the enemy might be launched. In this way, the Chronica tells us that when, at an unspecified date, Afonso Henriques invaded the Galician region of Limia, he constructed a castle at Celmes and garrisoned it with a force of knights before returning to Portugal.(151) In other words, the Portuguese prince had established a fortified bridgehead from which further raids into Galicia could be despatched. Similar thinking seems to have been behind Alfonso VII's decision to build a fortress at Peña Negra near Mora; the Chronica explains that the emperor, anxious to recover Mora, entrusted the castle to Martín Fernández de Hita 'qui quotidie debellabat

eos, qui erant in Mora, usquequo imperator cepit eum'.(152)

For those members of the aristocracy who rebelled against the Crown, a castle could serve as a headquarters from which the revolt might be organised and behind whose defences the disaffected knights might take refuge from punitive expeditions sent by the king. The Chronica relates, for example, that when Gonzalo Peláez led a revolt against Alfonso VII, the Asturian count 'remansit rebellis in Pruaza et in Buanga et in Alba de Quiros, quae erant castella valde fortissima'.(153) This is supported by a charter of 1 May 1134 which records in its dating clause that 'Gundisaluo comite in rebellione posito in Buanga castro', and by another of December 1135 which states 'comite Gondissaluo Pelaiz sedente in Castro Boanga'.(154) Skilfully directing operations from his base at the castle of Proaza, count Gonzalo was able to defy Alfonso VII during a period of nearly two years.(155) On other occasions, however, the authority of lay magnates themselves might be answered by rebellion. Thus, an intriguing dating clause from a diploma of 1137 records:

'Ramiro Froylaz in Astorica et in Aquilare castello. Sub manu uero illius Nunno Petriz resistente domino in prefato castello'.(156)

In the description provided by the Historia Compostellana of the tumultuous events of the early

12th century, the all-important role played by fortified sites in the warfare of the period is repeatedly emphasised. In particular, we hear of the numerous sieges that took place and of the bitter disputes that possession of castles occasioned.(157) We might recall, for example, the lengthy quarrel which bishop Diego Gelmírez maintained with various members of the Galician aristocracy over the castle of Faro.(158) Castles were also occasionally employed as bargaining counters in negotiations; the knight Arias Pérez, who held Diego Gelmírez prisoner, demanded the fortresses of Oeste and Lanzada in return for the bishop's freedom.(159)

Their military function aside, it is also clear that castles had an important administrative role to play. 'El castillo', Bonnassie has observed, 'era fundamentalmente un centro de mando'.(160) Thus, if it was the duty of a castellan to maintain his fortified dwelling-place garrisoned and victualled, he was also responsible for the government of the territory around. Unfortunately our sources are almost completely silent about this facet of a castellan's activities, but by analogy with the duties of such officials in contemporary France and England, we may assume that castles served as judicial and administrative centres to which men came to settle disputes or to pay their taxes.

In theory, castle building was an exclusively regalian right and those fortresses in the hands of the nobility were held in non-hereditary fief from the Crown. Certainly, we encounter numerous references in the sources of this period to castles being awarded by Alfonso VII as benefices to members of the aristocracy. Perhaps the most celebrated of all was the royal citadel of León, appointment to which was most certainly in the hands of the Crown. Among the incumbents of the famous 'towers' of León we might mention count Rodrigo Martínez, who exercised control from 1126 to his death in 1138, and Ponce de Minerva, who is cited as 'tenente illas turres Legionis' between 1148 and 1168 (161).

Be that as it may, by the 12th century it was by no means uncommon for fortified sites to be held in private hands. While the Historia Compostellana might refer to the many castles held in fief by members of the Galician aristocracy from the Crown or from the archbishop of Compostela, it also makes clear that several other fortresses were built at the initiative of the lay nobles themselves.(162) Others were the result of royal largesse. On 18 November 1153, for example, while the court was at Soria, Alfonso VII granted 'illo castello, quod uocatur Albuher', that is, modern-day Villamanrique del Tajo in the province of Ciudad Real, to his faithful vassal count Ponce de

Cabrera.(163) The charter drawn up by the imperial chancery to record the gift states quite clearly that count Ponce was to hold the castle 'liberum et quietum uos et filii uestri et omnis generatio uestra iure hereditario in perpetuum'. In other words, there is no suggestion that the granting of the castle of Albuher was in any way a temporary benefice from the Crown. Indeed, we hear from another source that some time prior to 1161, count Ponce had in turn granted the castle in question to count Otto, the Genoese governor of Almería.(164)

All too often, however, it is hard to deduce from our sources whether particular fortresses did in fact belong to the Crown or whether they were held in private hands. As Reilly has observed, 'it is difficult to be positive whether a rebellious noble was defending a castle of his own or whether he was in fact capitalizing on his position as a royal castellan'.(165) The dating clauses to the diplomas of the 12th century occasionally mention the names of some of the fortresses that were currently being held by members of the nobility. A charter from March 1126, for example, records: 'Imperante castello de Ulver Ramiro Froilaz. Insimil terra de Cabreyra cum suo castello'.(166) Yet, if the control exercised by count Ramiro over the castle of Ulver in the Bierzo is reaffirmed in numerous documents down to 1169, and if

the Leonese count was able to delegate control of the fortress to his vassals Fernando and Pedro Peláez, it is by no means clear that the fortress in question belonged to count Ramiro by hereditary right, but rather may well have been held in fief from the Crown.(167) This impression is reinforced by the fact that control of Ulver seems to have passed briefly to the Catalan magnate Ponce de Cabrera in 1128, although Ramiro Froilaz was apparently in possession of the fortress once more by 1133.(168)

In this context, we should consider the case of the castle of Aceca near Toledo. The Chronica records that at an uncertain date a knight of the region, one Goscelmus de Ribas, 'vir bellicosus' and 'nimium dives in auro et argento et pane et vino et de omnibus divitiis huius saeculi', asked Alfonso VII for permission to rebuild the castle of Aceca which had earlier been razed to the ground by the Almoravids and its garrison put to the sword.(169) The emperor acceded to his request and Goscelmus, accompanied by his kin, the governor of Toledo, and a great army, journeyed to Aceca to put his plan into effect. Nevertheless, while the Chronica plainly states that Goscelmus de Ribas prudently sought royal sanction before undertaking the reconstruction of Aceca, and gives the impression that it was the knight himself who footed the bill, it is not made clear whether the

fortress in question was his to hold by hereditary right or whether, rather, it was to be held from the emperor as a benefice.

(d) Motivation

In a famous allegory in the Vita-Anselmi of Eadmer, St. Anselm compared the service owed to God with that owed by knights to a secular prince:

'Non enim omnes uno modo militant. Quod etiam in terrenorum curiis principum videre planum est. Est etenim princeps, diversi ordinis in sua curia milites habens. Habet nempe qui pro terris quas de se tenent servitio suo invigilant. Habet qui pro stipendiis in militaribus armis sibi desudant. Habet etiam qui pro recuperanda haereditate quam in culpa parentum suorum se perdisse deplorant, invicta mentis virtute voluntati suae parere laborant.'(170)

For St. Anselm, therefore, military service was motivated for some by a sense of duty to their lord for whom they bore arms in return for a land benefice; for others the reward was money; while others still served to try to win back a lost patrimony. It may be of interest, therefore, to turn our attention to the nobles who served in the wars of the reign of Alfonso VII and to consider their own motives for participating in the various campaigns of the period.

In a society where war assumed such great importance, the role of the medieval warrior was exalted and prowess in battle brought great prestige

and renown. Not only was it regarded as a duty for a knight to serve his lord on campaign, but skill and success in war were seen as essential attributes of a nobleman. In the Poema de Almería, for example, the poet recalls the glorious deeds in battle of Alvar Fáñez and the Cid and praises the warlike qualities of the aristocratic members of the imperial hueste.(171) Thus, count Ramiro Froilaz is described as 'armis edoctus', Pedro Alfonso is said to possess 'virtute potens quasi Sanson', while count Ponce de Cabrera is glowingly portrayed in these terms:

'Pontius ista comes regit agmina nobilis
hasta,/ virtus Sansonis erat hic, gladius
Gedeonis;/ compar erat Ionathae, praeclarus
uti Jesus nave./ Gentis erat rector, sicut
fortissimus Hector./ Dapsilis et verax, velut
insuperabilis Ajax,/ non cuiquam cedit,
numquam bellando recedit./ Non vertit dorsum,
nunquam fugit ille retrorsum.'(172)

and

'Mauris est pestis, fuit Urgi postea testis./
Pontius hic consul fieri gliscit magis exul./
tempore bellandi, quam linquat ense
potiri.'(173)

In the same vein, we are told that the Galician noble Fernando Yáñez was 'militia clarus, bello numquam superatus', while count Manrique Pérez de Lara 'bello gaudebat, belli documenta tenebat'.(174) For the poet, therefore, the prestige acquired by the demonstration of courageous exploits in war formed part and parcel of the nobilitas of the Leonese-

Castilian aristocrat. This impression is reinforced by other passages in the Chronica: Rodrigo Fernández is referred to as 'valde clarum bello', while the Galician noble, Muño Alfonso, whose prodigious exploits on the frontier are described in great detail, is praised as 'vir bellicosissimus'.(175) Similarly, according to the chronicler, drawing inspiration from the Apocrypha, it was the desire to gain prestige and glory which motivated the nobles of Salamanca to launch their raid into the region of Badajoz:

'"Eamus et nos in terram Badaioz et faciamus nobis nomen grande, et non demus nomen gloriae nostrae ullo principi aut duci."'(176)

The financial incentive for participating in war is one that is frequently referred to in our sources. In the León-Castile of the 12th century, as in much of the rest of western Europe, the feudal benefice seems to have been the typical mechanism by which knights generally owed military service to a lord. Count Rodrigo González, for example, when he was appointed military governor of Toledo by Alfonso VII received 'magnos honores in Extremo et in Castella'.(177) Other knights might hope to benefit from the generosity of the emperor or one of his magnates who might grant a permanent gift of land in return for loyal service in their armies, while we have already seen that others in the emperor's ranks

were paid.(178)

But soldiers, both knights and foot-soldiers, were especially interested in winning booty, be it in coin, livestock or slaves. In 1133, the Chronica recounts, a group of 'milites insensati, filii comitum et ducum, et alii multi', who had accompanied the royal expedition as far as Cádiz, decided to attack a nearby island because it was 'plena equis et bobus et erant in illa opes magnae'.(179) Equally, the author of the Poema de Almería, while stressing the spiritual benefits that had attracted the knights to participate in the Almería campaign, also admits that 'argenti pars est, auri promissio sors est'.(180) The desire to go to war in order to win great spoils, however, must have been felt especially keenly along the frontier with al-Andalus. As has already been observed, the large majority of the caballeros villanos, who dominated frontier society and were obliged to serve in war, held no fiefs from other lords and depended on their own wealth to maintain their membership of the knightly class. For others, the freemen who served as foot-soldiers, the acquisition of booty in war might enable them to buy a horse and join the privileged non tax-paying ranks of the caballeros. It is a transformation in status that the author of the Cantar del Mio Cid, writing in the

early 13th century, refers to in his account of the capture of Valencia by the Cid and his followers:

'Grandes son los gozos que van por és logar/
quando Mio Cid gañó a Valencia e entró en la
cibdad./ Los que fueron de pie cavalleros se
fazen;/ el oro e la plata¿quién vos lo podrié
contar?'(181)

The religious motive that could impel a nobleman to go to war was demonstrated by the extraordinary crusading fervour which seized Europe after 1095. It led to thousands of knights taking up the cross and travelling to the Holy Land over the course of the next two centuries to help recapture the city of Jerusalem and to defend Christendom against the attacks of the Muslims. The idea of crusade, assiduously promoted by the Papacy and other churchmen, notably St. Bernard of Clairvaux, declared that such holy wars were legitimized by the personal mandate of God. Participation in such a campaign brought enormous spiritual benefits to the layman, it was promised, namely the redemption of his sins and his martyrdom if he were killed in battle. In the 11th and 12th centuries, therefore, there developed the notion, promoted by the Church, that military activity had a spiritual and penitential value if it were directed against the pagan peoples and was a praiseworthy way to gain the grace of God.(182)

Initially, the crusades proclaimed by the Papacy were directed solely at the Holy Land, but in

his encyclical of 2 April 1123, Calixtus II made it clear that he regarded the wars waged against the Muslims in Spain to have the same salvatory character.(183) The theme was taken up by archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela the following year when he exhorted Christians to take up arms against the Moors in return for complete absolution and remission of their sins:

'Quemadmodum milites Christi et fideles sanctae Ecclesiae filii iter Hierosolymitanum multo labore et multi sanguinis effusione aperuerunt; ita et nos Christi milites efficamur, et ejus hostibus debellatis pessimis Sarracenis, iter quod per Hispanie partes brevius, et multo minus laboriosum est, ad idem Domini sepulchrum ipsius subveniente gratia aperiamus.'(184)

Crusading ideals, therefore, seem to have taken root in Spain in the second quarter of the 12th century and flourished towards the middle of the century with the campaigns against Almería, Lisbon, Lérida and Tortosa.(185) 'It is clear', Contamine has written, 'that Christianity and war, the church and the military, far from being antithetical, on the whole got on well together. They existed in a state of constant symbiosis, each profiting from the other's support.'(186) It will be of interest, therefore, to turn our attention to the reign of Alfonso VII once more to try to discern the extent to which spiritual concerns motivated members of the nobility to go to war.

The close association between Christianity and war is a theme that is constantly stressed in the Chronica. If we are to believe its author, who was undoubtedly a churchman himself, the nobles who campaigned against the Moors were motivated as much by spiritual as by secular considerations to take up arms. The message of the Chronica, common to most medieval Christian historiography, is that victory in war and its subsequent benefits, namely the acquisition of lands and booty, could only be obtained if the participants trusted in God and sought His favour. To this end, prayers were offered before and after a battle. Thus, prior to the action at Lucena against the Almoravids, we are told that the men of Avila and Segovia 'clamaverunt ad Deum caelorum et terrae et ad Sanctam Mariam et Sanctum Iacobum in oratione, ut eos adiuveret et defenderet'.(187) Furthermore, at Montiel in 1143 the troops took communion before going into battle.(188) Victory, if it were forthcoming, was ascribed to God's benign influence, while defeats were blamed on the sins of the vanquished. After the conquest of Oreja in 1139, for example,

'omnis exercitus et principes et duces reversi sunt unusquisque in sua cantantes et laudantes Deum, quia facta est magna victoria in ^{MANU} pueri sui Adefonsi imperatoris'.(189)

The material rewards that stemmed from devotion

to God are made clear by the Chronica in its account of the frontier campaigns of the troops of Salamanca:

'Post haec, egerunt poenitentiam a peccatis suis et clamaverunt ad Dominum et dederunt decimas et primicias Deo
, et Deus exaudivit eos et dedit illis scientiam et audaciam bellandi et cum comite Pontio et cum aliis ducibus imperatoris semper fuerunt in terram Moabitarum et Agarenorum et fecerunt multa praelia et optinuerunt triumphum et duxerunt multas praedas de terra eorum, et civitas Salamantiae facta est magna et inclita militum et peditum, et dives valde.'(190)

It is, perhaps, one of the most eloquent and explicit examples of the philosophy of war propagated by the Church in this period. Noblemen and others, it was declared, could only expect victory in war and its rewards if they were devoted to God and favoured His church on earth. Spiritual and material benefits, therefore, were indivisible from one another. This is also apparent in the Poema de Almería, where we hear of the incentives offered by the archbishop of Toledo and the bishop of León to encourage the knights to go to war:

'Pontifices omnes Legionis sive Toleti,/
exempto gladio divino corporeoque, / orant
maiores invitanteque minores, / ut veniant
cuncti fortes ad proelia tuti. / Crimina
persolvunt, voces ad sidera tollunt, / mercedem
vitae spondent cunctis utriusque. / Argenti
dona promittunt, cumque corona / quidquid
habent Mauri rursus promittitur auri.'(191)

The spirit of crusade was not only manifested in the Almería campaign, however. It was also demonstrated by the support Alfonso VII gave to the

Military Order of Belchite in 1136 'ut ibi Deo seruiant et inde paganos omnibus diebus uite sue expugnent'.(192) In the event, the Order of Belchite proved to be something of a damp squib and was to be overshadowed by the powerful military orders of Calatrava, Santiago and Alcántara which grew up later in the twelfth century. For all that, however, the interest which Alfonso VII expressed in the aims and activities of the confraternity of Belchite demonstrates the potency of crusading ideals that prevailed at the time.

It is rather more difficult, however, to judge the extent to which the lay nobility of León-Castile were motivated by such spiritual considerations to go to war. Certainly, the frequent donations of lands and privileges they made to the churches and monasteries of the kingdom are proof enough of the depth of lay piety. There are, moreover, various other pieces of information which demonstrate the extent to which the nobility shared the crusading zeal of the Church. We hear from the Chronica that when count Rodrigo González lost the emperor's favour he journeyed to the Holy Land to fight against the Muslims:

'Peregre profectus est Hierosolymis et ibi commisit multa bella cum Sarracenis fecitque quoddam castellum valde fortissimum a facie Ascaloniae, quod dicitur Toron, et munivit eum valde militibus et peditibus et escis, tradens illud militibus Templi'.(193)

It might well have been the case that count Rodrigo, recently exiled and stripped of his honores by the emperor, was motivated to go to Jerusalem by the prospect of winning new lands, just as many other landless adventurers seem to have gone to the East in this period. Nevertheless, other Spanish magnates were also making the long journey to Jerusalem; for example, a donation made by count Fernando Pérez to the Galician monastery of Sobrado on 1 May 1153 records that it had been drawn up 'anno quod ego comes Fernandus secundo in Iherosolimam perrexi...'.(194) Another revealing passage from the Chronica recalls that the Galician noble Muño Alfonso, in penance for killing his own daughter,

'voluit peregrinare in Hierusalem, sed Raymundus, archiepiscopus Toletanus, et caeteri episcopi et clerici, rogati ab imperatore ut non peregrinaretur, praeceperunt ei in poenitentia ut semper debellaret Sarracenos, sicut fecit usquequo ab eis occisus est'.(195)

We have no idea when the events described took place, but they are revealing for two notable reasons. Firstly, they seem to indicate that the Holy Land was still regarded in secular circles as the most appropriate place to participate in religious wars of this kind, rather than waging campaigns against the Muslims of the Peninsula. Certainly, we encounter numerous charters of the early 12th century drawn up

by laymen about to undertake the long journey to the Holy Land, while the Historia Compostellana refers to the large number of Galicians who took up the cross in 1120.(196) The use of the word peregrinare by the chronicler should not disguise the fact that Muño Alfonso expected to fight during his visit to the East. After all, in another reference to the exiled count Rodrigo González, the Chronica states that 'peregrinus factus est, et abiit trans mare in Hierosolimis causa orationis, sicut superius scripsimus', without making any reference to the bellicose activities of the count.(197) An expedition to fight the pagans, therefore, was regarded by contemporaries as a pilgrimage which would purge the participants of their sins. Thus, in a donation made to the Galician monastery of San Martín de Jubia on 12 July 1137 it is revealed that the benefactor, a local aristocrat called Melendo Rodríguez, 'volens ire Ihierosolimam propter purganda peccata in juventute commisa'.(198)

Secondly, it is interesting to note from the Chronica's reference to Muño Alfonso that the emperor specifically asked the archbishop of Toledo and other churchmen to dissuade the Galician noble from his purpose and instead to demonstrate his penitence by fighting the Muslims of al-Andalus.(199) Concern within the Peninsula that the popularity of the

crusading ethic might lead to large numbers of Spanish nobles leaving for the Holy Land had been reflected as early as 1100 in a letter of Pope Paschal II.(200) And we have already mentioned the appeals made by archbishop Diego Gelmírez in 1124 for knights to direct their energies towards fighting on the frontier with al-Andalus. The passage in the Chronica seems to reflect the same anxiety that the small, but undoubtedly important, exodus of Leonese-Castilian knights towards the campaigns in the Near East might fatally undermine the effectiveness of the emperor's own struggle with the infidel. Church and State came together, therefore, to try to persuade noblemen like Muño Alfonso to demonstrate their crusading zeal against the Muslims of al-Andalus, an attitude encouraged by the Papacy's willingness to grant to all those fighting the Muslims of Spain the same remission of sins that had been conceded to the defenders of the eastern Church.(201)

As the Chronica describes in elaborate detail, Muño Alfonso was apparently one of those who fought on the frontier for overtly spiritual reasons, but we are told of several others who left their homes in northern Spain to campaign against the Almoravides. For example, we are told that Tello Fernández, who came from the Leonese town of Saldaña, held the castle of Aceca near Toledo before being taken prisoner by

the Almoravids in 1128.(202) Elsewhere, the death of Rodrigo González is reported, who is described as 'strenuum militem de terra Legionis, qui fuerat in Toletum cum aliis militibus in auxilium christianorum'.(203) Clearly, therefore, the quest for personal prestige and the acquisition of wealth were not the only incentives that drew noblemen of León-Castile to fight in the wars of the 12th century. In addition, a strong sense of duty that the nobility owed to Alfonso VII, from whom they held extensive honores, as well as religious and even patriotic sentiments all played a part in encouraging their participation in the numerous military campaigns of the reign.

(e) Risks and Rewards

The historian Orderic Vitalis, in his account of the battle of Brémule in 1119, speaks of an action involving no fewer than 900 knights, but records that there were astonishingly only three fatalities:

'They were all clad in mail and spared each other on both sides, out of fear of God and fellowship in arms; they were more concerned to capture than to kill the fugitives. As Christian soldiers they did not thirst for the blood of their brothers, but rejoiced in a just victory given by God for the good of the holy Church and the peace of the faithful.'(204)

Casualties in battle could be limited, therefore, by

the armour the knights wore and by the moral and religious code which governed their behaviour. Moreover, the readiness to take prisoners was undoubtedly motivated by the prospect of collecting a lucrative ransom in return.

Much the same picture greets us when we examine the campaigns that were fought between the Christian kingdoms of the north of the Iberian Peninsula in the 12th century. The Chronica, in its account of the wars fought by Alfonso VII and his magnates in Portugal and Navarre refers only to widespread ravaging and plundering of the land and not to any large-scale loss of life.(205) Pitched battles were few and far between, as was the case in medieval Europe as a whole, and probably resulted in few casualties. The Chronica demonstrates, however, that the taking of prisoners was a widespread practice. At the battle of Cernesa, for example, count Rodrigo Vélaz was captured by the Portuguese before being rescued by two of his armour bearers, while in 1140 count Ramiro Froilaz was defeated and captured by Afonso Henriques and only released once a peace had been arranged between the two kingdoms.(206) Elsewhere, it is reported that the Galician Fernando Yáñez captured several Portuguese nobles and left them 'expoliatos magnis divitiis', which presumably means that they were ransomed.(207) Although foot-soldiers might occasionally play an

important role in such set-piece affairs, the impression given by our sources is that, in common with the action at Brémule a few years earlier, pitched battles were essentially great melees between groups of knights, in which the aim would be to unhorse your opponent and take him prisoner. As Contamine has observed, we often receive the impression that the aristocratic warfare of this period could easily change 'into a sort of great tourney, half serious, half frivolous...' (208) Thus, in its account of the campaign of Valdevez in 1141, the Chronica comments:

'Sed multi duces et milites sine praecepto imperatoris, et milites regis, descendentes de castris, commiserunt bellum inter se, et multi corruentes de equis in terram, capti sunt ex utraque parte.' (209)

That is not to say that such encounters were entirely without risk; after all, Afonso Henriques was wounded by a lance hurled by one of the pedites of Fernando Yáñez, while at the battle of Viadangos in the reign of Queen Urraca, the Historia Compostellana speaks of heavy losses on both sides. (210)

Conflict between Christian and Muslim, as the Crusades to the Holy Land demonstrated, could be a good deal bloodier, however. Pitched battles remained the exception rather than the rule, but sieges might often end with the victors putting the vanquished garrison to the sword. As far as such warfare in Spain

was concerned, the element of risk in the campaigns against the Muslims varied greatly. On the one hand, it seems likely that the lightning raids that the Christians living along the frontier periodically launched into al-Andalus generally sustained limited casualties. The aim of such algaras was the devastation of the countryside and the taking of prisoners and booty, rather than the bringing to battle of the local Muslim forces. A heavy penalty could be paid, however, if such a raiding party was intercepted by a Muslim army, as the Chronica describes in its account of the disastrous raid into the region of Badajoz that was carried out by a group of knights from Salamanca.(211)

The taking of prisoners was not unknown, of course, and there are several references in the Chronica to the large-scale capture of men, women and children by the Christian armies, presumably with a view to selling them as slaves.(212) The ransoming of prisoners did occur: the bishop of Lescar, captured at the battle of Fraga in 1134, was taken by the Almoravides to Valencia and had to pay 3000 maravedís to secure his freedom.(213) Similarly, we hear that when Muño Alfonso was captured,

'ductus est in Cordubam et miserunt eum in carcerem et afflixerunt eum fame et siti. Post multos autem dies, dedit pro se aurum et argentum multum et mulos et equos et arma multa et redimens se venit in Toletum.'(214)

A charter drawn up by count Osorio Martínez and his wife Teresa Fernández in October 1148, meanwhile, records that at that time the alferez.-imperatoris, Nuño Pérez de Lara, lay captive in the Andalusian city of Jaén.(215) He must have been ransomed shortly afterwards, however, for by 30 January of the following year he was at Burgos with the other members of the court of Alfonso VII.(216) Other Christian captives were taken to North Africa where they might be recruited into the the armies of the Almoravid emir.(217) By the same token, it seems more than likely that Muslim aristocrats captured by the Christians were also ransomed for large sums of money, although the Chronica has nothing to tell us on the matter.

In general, however, the fighting along the frontier with al-Andalus seems to have been marked by a much higher level of bloodshed than occurred between the Christians of the north. One of the most famous victims of this warfare was count Rodrigo Martínez, who perished at the first siege of Coria in 1138.(218) Yet quite apart from those knights who fell in battle, both sides seem to have demonstrated far less clemency than seems to have been the case in the north. The Chronica relates that the Almoravides executed the garrison of 300 knights when they captured the castle of Aceca and a further 250 when they stormed the

Portuguese fortress at Leiria.(219) On the Christian side, the troops of Alfonso VII had no compunction in putting to the sword any Almoravides they came across during their raids into al-Andalus, while the execution of prisoners was not infrequent.(220)

Moreover, from the account of the Chronica there is some evidence that the Christians who lived on the frontier held markedly different attitudes towards their Muslim foes than did those who lived further to the north of León-Castile. The taking of heads as grisly trophies of battle, for example, was a common practice on both sides of the frontier.(221) After the Christian victory at Montiel in 1143, for example, the heads of the defeated emirs of Seville and Granada, Al-Zubayr and Ibn Zeta, were paraded on spears through the streets of Toledo by Muño Alfonso.(222) And when Muño Alfonso himself was defeated and killed by the Almoravids in the same year, his corpse was dismembered and hung from a high tower above Calatrava, and we are also told that the victors 'multa capita militum christianorum praeciderunt'.(223)

There is no evidence, however, that the knights of northern Spain indulged in this practice and in general they would appear to have acted with rather less fanaticism than those who lived on the frontier. A revealing example is provided by the siege of Oreja

in 1139 when, after a long and patient blockade, the emperor agreed to let the Muslim inhabitants of the city go in peace if they gave up the city to him.(224) The people of Toledo, however, were not best pleased at what they regarded as an unwarranted display of clemency and Alfonso VII was forced to provide an armed escort to allow the Muslims to go away in safety:

'Post hoc, dimisit eos abire in Calatravam et cum eis Rodericum Fernandi, qui eos custodiret, quia Toletani volebant eos occidere.'(225)

Equally revealing, is the account of the battle between Sayf al-Dawla and the Christian magnates Manrique Pérez, Armengol de Urgel, Ponce de Cabrera and Martín Fernández, which took place at Chinchilla in 1146.(226) The Chronica relates that the Muslim king was defeated and captured in battle by some of the knights of the counts and taken to their tents. At that moment, however, the chronicler records, there arrived a group of 'milites quos dicunt pardos', by which he means those who lived on the frontier, who recognized Sayf al-Dawla and killed him on the spot.(227) Seeing this, we are told, the counts 'nimium contristati sunt', no doubt lamenting the lost ransom that they had hoped to acquire.(228)

Yet, if the risks of waging war in al-Andalus were decidedly higher, so too were the rewards. The

Chronica describes in great detail the immense booty that the Christian raiders amassed for themselves in the course of the numerous expeditions to the south of the frontier. To cite but one example, the spoils taken during the campaign in al-Andalus in 1133 are described as follows:

'Et captivitationis quam fecerunt virorum et mulierum non erat numerus, et praedationis equorum et equarum, camellorum et asinorum, boum quoque et ovium et caprarum non erat numerus. Frumenti, vini et olei abundantiam in castra miserunt.'(229)

And the booty taken by Muño Alfonso after his victory at Montiel ten years later would appear to have been even richer:

'Capti sunt autem multi duces et principes et multi milites nobiles; similiter captivati sunt plurimi pedites, sicut unusquisque christianorum secundum vires suas potuit ducere. Acceperunt autem argentum multum et aurum, et vexilla regalia, et vestes pretiosas, et arma optima et loricas et galeas et scuta, et equos optimos cum suis sellis et mulos et mulas et camellos oneratos multis divitiis.'(230)

The spoils of war were divided up among the troops with one fifth destined for the emperor, 'sicut mos est regum', notes the Chronica.(231) The fueros of the late 12th century record that a mounted caballero was entitled to twice as much booty as a common foot-soldier and this may well have been the case in the time of Alfonso VII too.(232) Almost inevitably, part of this wealth found its way to the religious institutions of the kingdom. In 1175 a

Castilian nobleman, Munio Sánchez, promised the Cistercian abbey of Huerta:

'Do preterea si bellum cum sarracenis fuerit decimam quinte que ad me pertinuerit illius belli in quo presens fuero. abstracta expensa quam ego et homines mei expendimus.'(233)

The captives taken would have been sold off as slaves, or else ransomed, both of which constituted a lucrative source of income for the nobles.

Finally, the other material reward that a nobleman might hope to glean from his participation in war, was the granting of land by the emperor, either in perpetuum, or else in usufruct in the form of a feudal benefice. As we have already had cause to observe, Alfonso VII rewarded several of his magnates with vast tenencias in return for their service in war. Notably, count Manrique Pérez held the region around Baeza after the conquest of that city in 1147.(234) Moreover, Alfonso VII made several gifts of land to nobles who had distinguished themselves in battle. Thus, while the army was at Baeza on 18 August 1147, prior to advancing to assault the port of Almeria, Alfonso VII granted the vill of Alcanadre to Rodrigo de Azagra 'propter seruicium quod multociens mihi fecisti et maxime propter illud quod fecistis mihi in adquisicione Baecie ciuitatis...'(235) Two months later, again at Baeza, on 25 November, the emperor rewarded García Pérez for his service 'quod in

terra Maurorum in acquisitione Baecie et Almarie et in
aliis multis locis mihi fecistis et cotidie
facitis'.(236)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. E. Lourie, 'A Society organised for War: Medieval Spain', Past and Present 35 (1966), 54-76.
2. R.A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c.1050-1150', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 37 (1987), 46-7.
3. Of the studies to have appeared on this subject, the most important are A. Palomeque Torres, 'Contribución al estudio del Ejército en los estados de la Reconquista', AHDE 15 (1944), 205-351; J.F. Powers, 'The Origins and Development of Municipal Military Service in the Leonese and Castilian Reconquest, 800-1250', Traditio 26 (1970), 91-111; idem, 'Townsmen and Soldiers: The Interaction of Urban and Military Organization in the Militias of Mediaeval Spain', Speculum 46 (1971), 641-55; idem, A society organized for war. The Iberian Municipal militias in the central Middle Ages, 1000-1284 (Berkeley, 1988). In a wider European context, the most useful works are J. Beeler, Warfare in Feudal Europe, 730-1200 (Ithaca, 1971); Contamine, War in the Middle Ages; J.F. Verbruggen, The art of warfare in western Europe during the Middle Ages (Amsterdam, 1977)
4. Contamine, War in the Middle Ages, xii.
5. Powers, 'Origins and Development', 95-6.
6. CAI, §117, 162.
7. Lourie, 'A Society organised for War', 65.
8. Mackay, Spain in the Middle Ages, 54.
9. Powers, 'Townsmen and Soldiers', 642-3.
10. Lourie, 'A Society organised for War', 58.
11. ibid., 72.
12. CAI, §72.
13. ibid., §115.

14. Serrano, Obispado, III, 159.
15. AC Zamora, 8/7.
16. BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 144r-v.
17. CAI, §30.
18. ibid., §139.
19. ibid., §145.
20. Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 51-2.
21. CAI, §145.
22. ibid., §19.
23. ibid., §75.
24. ibid., §34.
25. ibid., §43-4.
26. ibid., §145.
27. ibid., §78.
28. ibid., §82.
29. ibid., §82.
30. ibid., §191.
31. ibid., §195.
32. ibid., §4.
33. ibid., §131.
34. ibid., §75, 81.
35. C.J. Bishko, 'The Castilian as Plainsman: The Medieval Ranching Frontier in La Mancha and Extremadura', in The New World looks at its History, ed., A.R. Lewis and T.F. McGann (Texas, 1963), 50; reprinted in Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History (London, 1980).
36. CAI, §111, 109, 112, 119, 126-9.
37. ibid., §130.

38. ibid., §144.
39. ibid., §143, 162-8, 178-83.
40. For example, the last eight confirmants of the diploma drawn up at Oreja on 12 September 1139: AC Zamora, 8/7.
41. CAI, §150.
42. AHN, Clero, 1826/16; Rassow, 78-9.
43. LFH, IV, ap. x, 28-30.
44. Galicia-Histórica, 433-5.
45. AC Segovia, Pequeño Cartulario, fol. 8r-v. The diploma is partially edited by Colmenares, Segovia, I, 250-1.
46. CDMR, 181.
47. Docs.Salamanca, 94-5.
48. BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 139r-v, 4,357, fol. 86r, 9,194, fol. 111r, 13,093, fol. 86r.
49. AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 77r-v.
50. AC Zamora, 8/6.
51. ibid., 8/7.
52. Docs.Burgos, 213-14.
53. Rassow, 80-1.
54. ibid., 81-3.
55. AC Segovia, 1-17bis. It has been partially edited by Colmenares, Segovia, I, 269, 280-1 n. 13.
56. ibid., 270.
57. Docs.Oviedo, 399-400.
58. Fletcher, 'Diplomatic and the Cid revisited', 337-8.
59. CDO, I, 145-7.
60. LFH, IV, ap. xvii, 46-8. A more reliable text is provided by J. Carro García, 'El privilegio

- de Alfonso VII al monasterio de Antealtares', Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos 7 (1952), 145-57.
61. AHN, Códices, 1439B, fol. 5r-v.
 62. CDMR, 218-19.
 63. Rassow, 99-100. The charter of the emperor purportedly drawn up at Burgos on 12 September 1147 is a forgery: Docs.Oña, I, 236-8.
 64. HC, 586; infra, n. 43.
 65. HC, 586.
 66. CAI, §145; AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 77r-v.
 67. CAI, §154. A diploma issued by the infanta Sancha Raimúndez on 27 October 1139 is dated 'eo anno, et mense quo capta est Aurelia': García Calles, Doña Sancha, 139.
 68. HC, 168.
 69. CAI, §78-9. According to Sánchez Belda (CAI, xlii) 'la campaña de "Cernesa" debió ocurrir a fines de 1139 o a principios de 1140'. For a detailed analysis of the Portuguese campaigns of 1137-1141, see A. Botelho da Costa Veiga, 'Ourique - Vale de Vez', Anais...Ciclo.da fundação da nacionalidade, I (Lisbon, 9-186), who would redate the battle of Cernesa to September 1141.
 70. Alfonso VII and his entourage can be located at Salamanca on 3 February (BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 90r-v and 13,093, fol. 123r-v) and 13 February (García Luján, Privilegios reales, I, 58-60). The court was at Zamora on 24 February (AC Zamora, Tumbo Negro, fol. 22v-23r), 28 February (Serrano, Vega, 158-60) and 1 March (P. Floriano Llorente, 'El fondo antiguo de pergaminos del Instituto "Valencia de D. Juan". Documentos reales. Primera serie: año 875-1224', BRAH 168 (1971), 466-8). By 25 March the emperor had reached Segovia (AC Segovia, 1-18), before returning to Salamanca once more by 10 May (Rodríguez Fernández, Palencia, 236-9). On 23 May the court was at Toledo (Docs.Oviedo, 399-400).
 71. H. Salvador Martínez, El Poema de Almería (Madrid, 1975), 180-1 n. 72.

72. PA, v. 61, 113, 163, 186, 204, 243, 259, 266, 275.
73. Recuero, Alfonso VII, 186-7 n. 63; Rassow, 108-9 and Docs.Silos, 75-6.
74. Rassow, 81.
75. CAI, §136.
76. ibid., §90.
77. Historia-Roderici, 936.
78. HC, 132-3, 152-3. Elsewhere we hear that Alfonso VII ordered archbishop Diego and count 'G' (which presumably refers to Gutierre Vermúdez) 'per literas suas' to make war on the rebel Arias Pérez: HC, 443.
79. CAI, §30, 90, 186; Minguella, Sigüenza, I, 380-1.
80. M. Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the familia regis under Henry I', History 62 (1977), 15-23; J.O. Prestwich, 'The military household of the Norman kings', English Historical Review 96 (1981), 1-35.
81. Prestwich, art.cit., 34.
82. Green, op.cit., 25.
83. CAI, §57.
84. ibid., §135, 187.
85. HC, 586.
86. BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 91r and 13,093, fol. 134r-v. Published by Muñoz y Romero, Colección de fueros, 165.
87. HC, 447.
88. For example, CAI, §135, 147, 187.
89. ibid., §135.
90. ibid., §115, 117, 120, 143, 162.
91. ibid., §120, 143.

92. R. de Urena y Smenjaud ed., Fuero de Cuenca (Madrid, 1935).
93. Powers, 'Origins and Development', 102.
94. For references to the armour and weaponry carried by knights of the period, see CAI, §81, 137, 167.
95. R.C. Smail, Crusading Warfare (Cambridge, 1956), 113.
96. ibid., 114.
97. A point stressed by J. Gillingham, 'Richard I and the Science of War in the Middle Ages', in War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in honour of J.O. Prestwich, ed. J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), 78-91.
98. CAI, §137.
99. ibid., §13, 120, 128, 137. Some of the Aragonese infantry at the battle of Viadangos in 1111 carried only staffs (fustibus) according to the HC, 122.
100. For example, E. Mayer, Historia de las instituciones sociales y políticas de España y Portugal durante los siglos V al XIV, 2 vols (Madrid, 1925-6), I, 276-7.
101. CAI, §81.
102. ibid., §8, 19.
103. ibid., §19.
104. ibid., §159.
105. Mackay, Spain in the Middle Ages, 30.
106. C.W. David ed., De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi. The Conquest of Lisbon (New York, 1936), 134-5.
107. HC, 122; CAI, §149.
108. CAI, §138.
109. Cart. Toledo, nos. 84-5, 89, 90; Alfonso Antón, Moreruela, 297-8. Another Moreruela charter attributed to the hand of Hugo medicus,

purportedly drawn up on 22 April 1144 (Alfonso Antón, op.cit., 295-7), is a forgery.

110. CAI, §52, 56, 165.
111. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 188.
112. HC, 128.
113. CAI, §169.
114. HC, 122.
115. CAI, §111, 117.
116. ibid., §14. Similarly Reilly, (Alfonso VI, 187-8), has argued that a cavalry force of around 750 knights was probably the norm for a great campaign in the late 11th century.
117. Caffaro, De Captione Almerie et Tortuose, ed A. Ubieto Arteta (Valencia, 1973), 24.
118. ibid., 24.
119. Smail, op.cit., 90, 109-10, 175, 179, 184.
120. CAI, §162, 165, 179.
121. See A. Navarrete, Historia marítima militar de España, 2 vols (Madrid, 1901), I, 140-9.
122. On the Genoese fleet at Almería, see Caffaro, 22-6 and PA, v.333-43.
123. BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 144r-v; AC León, no. 331; Cart.Toledo, nos. 81-2; AHN, Códices, 115B, fol. 25r-v.
124. HC, 198-9.
125. ibid., 424-5.
126. C. Johnson ed. and trans., Dialogus de Scaccario (London, 1950), 2.
127. Grassotti, 'Para la historia del botín y de las parias', 156-9.
128. ibid., 158-9.
129. supra, page 380, 383.
130. HC, 447; Rassow, 67-8.

131. HC, 452.
132. On the popularity of Vegetius in medieval Europe, see A. Murray, Reason and Society in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1978), 127-9 and Contamine, op.cit., 210-12.
133. Vegetius, Epitoma rei militaris, ed. C. Lang (Leipzig, 1885), 69.
134. Smail, op.cit., 24.
135. See, for example, CAI, §50, 135.
136. ibid., §131-5.
137. ibid., §34.
138. ibid., §34.
139. ibid., §36.
140. ibid., §37.
141. ibid., §42.
142. Caffaro, 24, 27.
143. Córdoba had already been invested when on 22 May 1150 the emperor made a grant to the priest Pedro: 'facta carta in Corduba in barrio de Cubas quando imperator tenebat eam circumdatam' (Cart.Toledo, no. 74). Another charter was issued on 3 June to confirm a gift of property to Pelayo Calvo (Cart.Toledo, no. 76) and Córdoba was still besieged on 23 July when the emperor granted land near Astorga to Pelayo Cautivo (Muñoz y Romero, Colección de fueros, 165). The siege had been lifted some time before 15 August, however, when we can see the emperor with his followers at Jaén 'quando imperator veniebat de illa cerca de Corduba' (Valcarce García, San Isidoro de León, 109-10; Gualart and Laguzzi, 'Algunos documentos reales leoneses', 368-9).
144. Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 129.
145. Contamine, War in the Middle Ages, 45-6.
146. ibid., 46.
147. Bonnassie, Vocabulario Básico, 44.

148. Typical of the genre is C. Sarthou-Carreres, Castillos de España (4th ed., Madrid, 1963). The Boletín de la Asociación Española de Amigos de los Castillos, or Castillos de España as the journal has been known since 1967, has likewise concentrated on the architectural features of such structures.
149. HC, 123. Reilly (Urraca, 77 n. 102) has suggested that Orzilione is to be identified with the fortress of Orcellón in the modern province of Orense.
150. CAI, §102.
151. ibid., §75.
152. ibid., §143.
153. ibid., §31.
154. Floriano Llorente, San-Vicente-de-Oviedo, 300-1, 305-7.
155. CAI, §44.
156. Quintana Prieto, Tumbo-de-San-Pedro-de-Montes, 251-2.
157. HC, 132-3, 135-6, 314-16.
158. ibid., 356-9.
159. ibid., 110-11.
160. Bonnassie, Vocabulario-Básico, 45.
161. Rodrigo Martínez is first cited as tenente of León in the diploma issued by Alfonso VII on 18 July 1126 (AC León, no. 1015). Ponce de Minerva appears in the same role from at least 30 August 1148 (AC León, no. 15) until 13 July 1165, and again between 20 January 1167 and 9 April 1168 (GRF, 188).
162. HC, 314-15.
163. Rassow, 121-2.
164. Martín Rodríguez, Orden-de-Santiago, 199.
165. Reilly, Urraca, 265.

166. Quintana Prieto, Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes, 230-1.
167. ibid., 234-7, 244-6, 253-4, 274-8, 281, 284-6, 290-1, 295-6, 306-7.
168. ibid., 239-40, 244-5.
169. CAI, §130. The destruction of Aceca is referred to in ibid., §33, 42, 97, 109. 'Goscelmus de Ribas' is mentioned in a royal charter of 27 October 1136 (Colmenares, Segovia, I, 247-8) and the following year, on 12 May, he appears among the witnesses to a grant by Alfonso VII to the see of Toledo (Rassow, 76-7). In 1138, moreover, he confirms a diploma of archbishop Raimundo of Toledo as 'Goscelmus de Acecha', which suggests that the reconstruction of the fortress may have taken place shortly before (Cart.Toledo, no. 39).
170. R.W. Southern ed., The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer (London, 1962), 94-5.
171. PA, v.211-14, 220-28.
172. ibid., v.94, 117, 163-9.
173. ibid., v.180-3.
174. ibid., v.187, 312.
175. CAI, §131, 162.
176. ibid., §122.
177. ibid., §23.
178. HC, 447.
179. CAI, §38.
180. PA, v.49.
181. C. Smith ed., Poema de mio Cid (Oxford, 1972), lines 1211-14.
182. Contamine, War in the Middle Ages, 270-9.
183. Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, ed. P. Jaffé, revised by S. Löwenfeld and others (Leipzig, 1885), no. 7116.

184. HC, 427-30. The passage quoted appears on page 428.
185. See G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries', Traditio 9 (1953), 227-35; Fletcher, St...James's...catapult, 297-9 and 'Reconquest and Crusade', 42-3.
186. Contamine, op.cit., 296.
187. CAI, §117.
188. ibid., §165.
189. ibid., §156.
190. ibid., §124.
191. PA, v.25-32.
192. Rassow, 'La Cofradía de Belchite', 221.
193. CAI, §48.
194. AHN, Clero, 527/6. There is another reference to the pilgrimage of count Fernando in AHN, Clero, 1126/6.
195. CAI, §185.
196. HC, 291-2.
197. CAI, §125.
198. Montero Díaz, Jubia, 80-1.
199. CAI, §185.
200. HC, 29-31, 88-9.
201. supra, n. 183.
202. CAI, §109.
203. ibid., §113.
204. The...Ecclesiastical...History...of...Ordericus Vitalis, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80), VI, 241.
205. CAI, §73-89.
206. ibid., §78, 82, 86.

207. ibid. §81.
208. Contamine, War in the Middle Ages, 291.
209. CAI, §83.
210. ibid., §81; HC, 122-3.
211. CAI, §122-3.
212. ibid., §36, 131, 167, 169, 187.
213. ibid., §59.
214. ibid., §112.
215. Calvo, Gradefes, 306-7.
216. CDMR, 222.
217. CAI, §33, 103-6, 109.
218. ibid., §138.
219. ibid., §109, 80.
220. ibid., §40, 134, 123.
221. The practice of head-taking in battle enjoyed a long tradition in al-Andalus. It is referred to, for example, by Ibn Hayyán in his Crónica del Califá. 'Abdarrahman III-an-Nasir-entre-los años 912-y-942-(al-Muqtabis,-V), translated by M.J. Viguera and F. Corriente (Zaragoza, 1981), 150. It is also mentioned by Ibn Al-Kardabus in his account of the battle of Zalaca in 1086 in his Historia de al-Andalus, ed. F. Mañillo (Madrid, 1986), 119.
222. CAI, §166-9, 172, 174.
223. ibid., §183.
224. ibid., §152.
225. ibid., §155.
226. ibid., §192-3. According to Recuero, Alfonso VII, 174 n. 8, it is doubtful that Manrique Pérez and Ponce de Cabrera actually took part in the battle of Chinchilla.

227. ibid., §193. On the milites .pardos, see Pastor, Resistencias.y.luchas.campesinas, 125-6.
228. CAI, §193.
229. ibid., §36.
230. ibid., §167-8.
231. ibid., §173.
232. See Pescador, 'La caballería popular' (1962), 172-82.
233. García Luján, Huerta, 52-3.
234. Thus in the diploma Alfonso VII had drawn up at Baeza on 25 November 1147, count Manrique is styled 'tenens Toletum et Baeciam' (Rassow, 99-100).
235. CDMR, 218-9.
236. Rassow, 99-100.

CONCLUSION

Over the course of the preceding five chapters it has been possible, by painstakingly piecing together the surviving evidence from the diplomatic and literary sources, to sketch the character and concerns of lay aristocratic society in 12th century León-Castile. Yet it will also have become patently obvious that these same sources allow us only the most superficial of insights into the day-to-day concerns of the nobility. We can guess that the lay magnates of the kingdom were men of considerable wealth; we have seen that they frequently attended the royal court and that they apparently spent much of their time on military campaigns; we also know that they were generous patrons of the churches and monasteries of the kingdom. There is nothing very surprising about all this, however; for much the same could be said of the aristocracy of almost any part of Europe at the same time.

Our attempts to venture beyond such bland generalisations are hampered at almost every turn by the inadequacies of our sources. It is no easy task to construct grand hypotheses on the basis of a scattering of charters and assorted witness lists. Reading between the lines, however, we may assert that the 12th century was one of important changes for the members of lay aristocratic society. We have suggested that in this period there are signs of an embryonic

collective sense of lineage among noble families, although such tendencies would not be consolidated until well into the following century. Moreover, we have seen that lay patronage of the Church took on new important new guises. Above all, however, what is most striking to us is that the challenges and rewards provided by the Reconquista saw laymen begin to acquire interests and responsibilities far from their original patrimonies. We get the impression that the nobility of this period was far less provincial in character than had hitherto been the case; the Leonese-Castilian magnates who made up the curia imperatoris towards the end of the reign of Alfonso VII seem markedly different in their concerns to the aristocratic fideles who had attended the court of queen Urraca. It is to be hoped that future studies on the nobility will help to confirm these impressions and lead to a more profound understanding of the evolution of Leonese-Castilian aristocratic society across the Middle Ages.

APPENDIX 1

SELECTED ARISTOCRATIC CHARTERS

Included below are transcriptions of 24 documents drawn from the period 1122-1183. They have been selected to illustrate certain features of aristocratic society that we have drawn attention to in the course of this thesis. With the exception of four charters (numbers I, II, XI, XIV), the documents included in this Appendix have not been previously edited. The punctuation and spelling of the originals are retained, but not the capital letters.

I

25 July 1122

Vermudo Pérez de Traba grants arras to his wife Urraca Enríquez.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 526/5. Original.

Ed: Vaamonde Lores, Ferrol-y-Puentedeume, 67-68.

(Chrismon) Quoniam in legibus priorum Patrum est sancitum ut femine que viris legitime copulantur / a propriis uiris aliquid dotalitio asequantur. Ego <Uere> mudus Petri in Dei omnipotentis nomine. nullius cogente imperio. nec suadente articulo sed propria mea uoluntate. integraque animi affectione. / tibi dulcissime uxori mee. infanti domne Orrache. filie comitis domni Anrrich. et regine domne Tarasie. facio textum firmissime scripture. de propriis meis hereditatibus quas habeo de patre meo / comite domno Petro. siue de matrimonio meo. seu de ganantia. quarum uidelicet nomina sunt. Veranio. Aancoure. monasterio Uiones. cum suis hereditatibus siue hominibus. Carris cum suis directis. Vigo. / Uarzena de Sumio. Nugeirosa. cum suo cauto. et cum suis directis. medio de Castro. et Limodre. Villa de sancto Matheo. que

fuit domni Lucii. Villa Uentosa. medium de Baucis
Portugalensis monasterii. cum / omni sua uoce. siue
hereditates quas ambo ganauimus. uel ganauerimus. Item
monasterium de Genroco cum omnibus adiuntionibus
suis. et Ueranio cum suo cauto. Habeas illas et
possideas. absque / alio herede tam in uita quam post
mortem. et sit tibi a modo licentia a filiis que de me
et te nati fuerint. et si peccate impediante filii uel
defuerint pro animabus nostris concedantur. Et si uero
/ quod non est credibile nec possibile aliquis parentum
meorum uel extraneorum. contra huius mee institutionis
paginam uenire presumpserit. quisquis fuerit. quod
calumniatus fuerit pariat / duplicatum. et hac carta
robur plenitudinis obtineat in perpetuum. et pariat
solidi .XXX^o.I^o. Ego Ueremudus filius comitis domni
Petri. et uox mea. uobis infanti domne Orrache et uoci
/ uestrum in hac cartula. quam fieri uolui manu mea
roborauit. Era M. C. LX. et quotum .VIII. kalendas
Augusti. In temporibus regis domni Adefonsi. Didacus
archiepiscopus.../

Ego archiepiscopus domnus Didaci scripsi hoc signum

(1st column):

Archidiaconus domnus Petrus Cresconiz confirmat

Baiam domno Petro Lias confirmat

Domno Bernaldo confirmat

Abbas domno Roderigo de Antealtares confirmat

(2nd column):

Petrus ts.

Pelagius ts.

Iohannes ts.

Munio ts.

Adefonsus ts.

(3rd column):

Ego Uermudo Petriz <conf.>

Petrus Guterriz conf.

Petrus Igareiz conf.

Adefonsus Anaiaz conf.

Furtunius Ueremudiz conf.

Froila Atanz conf.

Vistruario Atanz conf.

(4th column):

Suaris abba conf.

Pelagius abba conf.

Martinus abba conf.

(5th column):

Comitissa domna Maior conf.

Comitissa domna Lupa conf.

Munia Froilaz conf.

Uisclauara Froilaz conf.

Petrus scripsit

II

9-October 1138, Santiago de Compostela

Vermudo Pérez de Traba refounds the monastery of San Pelayo de Genrozo for his daughter Urraca.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 526/7. Original.

Ed: Vaamonde Lores, Ferrol y Puentedeume, 70-73.

Si potentibus huius seculi hominibus propter mundi honorem. nostra munera impertimur. conuenientur pauperes Christi ob diuinum eius amorem adiuuare. et eorum inopiam releuare debemus. Igitur ego Ueremudus Petriz filius dompni comitis Petri Froyle. et uxor mea / infans dompna Urracha comitis Henriqui filia et regine Tharasie. una cum filiis et filiabus nostris et omni uoce nostra. necnon cum omnibus aliis filiis uel filiabus. quos de uxoribus meis preoribus habui.

considerantes hanc miseram et transitoriam uitam. que
finem / clauditur. ut ad illam que fine caret
peruenire ualeamus. damus et concedimus Deo
omnipotenti et beate Marie semper virgini. omnibusque
sanctis Dei. monasterium et hereditatem sancti Pelagii
de Genrozo. que habet iacentiam in territorio Nemitos.
in cuius hereditate / nouiter edificatur monasterium
sancte Marie Dei genitricis de dominabus. que sita est
in ripa fluminis uocitati Menedi. cum omnibus
adiunctionibus et appendiciis suis et bonis. et
exitibus. et criatione. quantisque eidem conueniunt
uel con / uenire debent. per suos terminos et loca
antiqua. uobis filie mee dompne Urrache Ueremudi. et
omnibus sanctimonialibus. tam presentibus quam futuris
usque in finem seculi. que uitam sanctam secundum
regulam beati Benedicti sancitam. in eodem monasterio
duxerint. / et in Dei seruicio fideliter ibidem
permanserint. Cuius monasterii medietatem habui ego
Ueremudus Petriz de auis meis et parentibus. sicut
postea euenit mihi in particione. inter fratres meos
et sorores. Et aliud dimidium extitit auorum meorum et
propinquorum. et / cecidit in regalengum. et ego
postea meo seruicio et fidelitate. abstraxi illud a
dompno Adefonso Hyspaniarum imperatore per kartulam
firmitudinis et ueritatis. Nunc autem amore Dei. et
pro nostrorum remissione peccatorum. et spe uite
eterne. uobis prefate filie mee / dompne Urrache

Ueremudi. et omnibus sanctimonialibus successoribus
uestris in Christo. que predictum monasterium nouiter
edificatum. in ordine sanctimonialium incepistis.
concedimus et confirmamus sicut prediximus. Deo et
uobis. et successoribus uestris. predictum monasterium
/ de Genrocio. ubi et fundatum est monasterium ad
honorem sancte Marie integrum. in ripa fluuii Menidi.
cum omnibus suis bonis quecumque eidem monasterio de
Genrocio pertinent uel pertinere debent. intus et
extra. supradicta ratione seruata. / Et damus uobis
testamentum domni imperatoris. quod mihi condam
medietatem eiusdem monasterii fecit ut ab <ill>o
presenti die ad honorem <Dei> omnipotentis eiusque
seruicium. et pro salute et remedio animarum
nostrarum. parentumque nostrorum. habeatis
possideatis. et firmiter / teneatis. uos et
succedentes uobis in perpetuum. Et ego Veremudus Petri
comitis filius prefatus. et u<xo>r mea. et omnis filii
uel filie mee. seu parentes uel propinqui. et omnis
uox nostra. numquam requiramus aliquid iure
hereditario ab ipso monasterio. sed / contineamus. et
defendamus de seculari impulsione. et adiuuemus idem
monasterium pro posse. et omnis habitantes in eo. Hoc
autem tali pacto statuimus. ut si aliqua gentis mee
femina. ad sanctitatis huius ordinem. et habitum
sanctimonialium uenire uolue / rit. statim ibi
recipiatur. eo tenore et pactione seruata. ut nullum

habeat in eodem monasterio iure hereditario dominium.
nisi licentia et uoluntate abbatisse que aliis
prefuerit. Abbatisa autem que secundum Deum. et
canonum instituta eligi de / buerit. ex propria loci
congregatione. consilio archiepiscopi ecclesie sancti
Iacobi eiusque canonicorum. et abbatis monasterii
Antealtarium eligatur. Ego prefatus Veremudus Petriz
et uxor mea. et filii mei. hic in ciuitate Compostella
propriis manibus et robore / nostro hoc scriptum
confirmamus. Qui presentes fuerunt. Abbas domnus
Rudericus monasterii Antealtarium hoc scriptum
confirmat. Kardinalis dompnus P. Fulcios conf.
Kardinalis domnus Petrus Timarum conf. Pelagius
Iohannes presbiter conf. Ciprianus Pelaez presbiter
conf. / Facta hac serie testamenti. die VII. idus
octobris. Era I.C.L.XX.VI. Regnante dompno imperatore
Adefonso Hispaniarum. et uxore sua imperatrice dompna
Beringaria. et archiepiscopo domno .D. cathedram
pontificii obtinente / loci sancti Iacobi. /

Si uero quod absit aliqua persona potens uel impotens
cuiuscumque condicionis tam nos quam filii nostri seu
extranei. hoc saluberimum institutum. et ualitudinis
testamentum. quacumque temeritate irrumpere uel
aduenare presumpserit. quisquis fuerit. qui / taliter
egerit. pariat uel pariamus uobis uel uoci uestre.
decem libras auri purissimi et quadrantem. et temptata

.in duplo componat. et cum Iuda Domini sui et magistri
proditore. perpetuas luat penas. et hec testamenti
scriptura omni tempore. in ualitudine roboris /
consistat. Facta serie testamenti et confirmata coram
presentia domni Guidonis Lascurrensis ecclesie
episcopi. et sancte Romane ecclesie legati. et domni.
D. Compostellanorum archiepiscopi. in loco apostolico
sedis apostolice beati Iacobi. eiusque canonicorum. et
multorum / bene natorum. clericorum. militum quoque et
ciuium. /

Ego Guido Lascurrensis ecclesie episcopus hanc
supradictam paginam laudo et confirmo ad Dei honorem
et sancte Virginis et aliarum Deo seruientium
sustentationem in perpetuum. et legatus Rome hoc facio
signum. (Signum)

Didacus Dei gratia Compostellane sedis archiepiscopus.
hoc scriptum robore suo conf. Anno sui pontificatus
XXX^oVI^o. (Rota)

Petrus Elie ecclesie beati Iacobi decanus et
archidiaconus conf. (Signum)

Petrus Cresconides ecclesie et huius terre
archidiaconus conf. (Signum)

Cresconius Pelaez iudex conf. (Signum)

Abbas Recendus de Bergundio conf.*

Abbas domine Martinus de Osario conf.*

Abbas Martinus de Suandres conf.*

Adefonsus Arias miles conf.*

Rudericus Petriz de Cul conf.*

Petrus Nuniz de Saltu conf.*

Rezenus Froilaz conf.*

Petrus Danieliz sedis apostolice canonicus et iudex
conf. (Signum)

Ego Domna Lupa comitissa Petri comitis filie hanc
testamenti seriem laudo et conf.

Rodericus abbas Antealtarium. (Signum)

Uimara Ruderici... ecclesie sancti Iacobi chanonicus
et diaconus presbiter conf. (Signum)

Fernandus clericus et sancti Iacobi notarius qui
notuit et confirmat.

(The names of the confirmants marked with an asterisk
were written by the scribe Fernando)

III

23. August 1140

Rodrigo Froilaz draws up a will prior to going off to war to Portugal.

Ms: AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 98r. Cartulary copy of the 13th century.

Era. I^a. C^a. LXX^a. VIII^a. et quot X^o kalendas Septembris. Iubileo. Ego Ruderico Froylat. mando ad mea ida de illo fossado de Portugale. si ego ibi mortuus fueri. quod sedeat factum post obitum meum. In primis ad monasterium de Antealtares ut corpus meum mando tumulari. Bestias duas pro anime mee. Ad monasterium sancti Iusti. Totas meas hereditates et plantatos et casalia earum. et mea mula rosela et tercia. Et mando ad illo priore et ad fratre meo Pelagio Froylat quod filem illum uestitum et calsiatu et sellas et frenos et quantum a me pertinet mittam pro anima mea. et illo priore et iermano meo iunctem se cum illos alios. et solvam meas debitas. et cuire ista mandacione per manus de illo priore de sancti Iusti et de Pelagio fratre meo. Siquis hoc de parte mea uel de extranea ad irrumpendum uenit pariat d.

solidos. Qui fuerunt: Petrus testis. Pelagius testis.
Didacus testis. Petrus qui notuit.

IV

28 January 1141

Count Osorio Martínez and his wife Teresa Fernández grant land at Villa Vega to the abbey of Aguilar de Campóo for the good of the soul of their son Rodrigo, who had been buried there.

Ms: AHN, Códices, 994B, fol. 6r-v. Cartulary copy of the 13th century.

Principium scripti maneat sub nomine Christi. Sub ipsius nutu eiusdemque imperio qui cuncta creavit ex nichilo. demumque perditumque hominem restauravit sanguine suo proprio. Ego quidem Ausorius comiti una pariter cum uxor mea Taresia Fernandiz. non per me tunc neque per extortabilia corpora nostrorum. sed propria nobis aduenit uoluntas. et damus atque concedimus nostra propria hereditate que habemus in Uilla Uega. damus illa ad atrium sancte Marie

Uirginis. et ad sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancti Iohannis Baptiste et sancti Pelagii martiriis. et ad reliquie que in ista continentur ecclesia. et ad cultores qui in eo loco sunt ut habeant inde solacium. et animas nostras habeant inde remedium. et pro anima de nostro filio nomine Ruderico qui quiescit in loco isto. ut habeatis et possideatis. et de illa hereditate tenet solare de Martin del Espina. et do uobis in illa uilla que superius resonat meos palacios cum illa diuisa del comite Ruderico Martinez meo ermano. et tota illa hereditate que habeo in Uilla Uega. nisi tantum illo solare que iam dixi. do uobis illa hereditate cum exitus et regressitus et cum suis terminis per cunctis locis. Et des hodie inceptus de nostro iure sit abraso et in uestro sit tradito atque confirmato. Siquis uero ego comes Ausorius aut uxor mea Taresia Fernandiz comitissa aut filiis nostris uel ex genere nostro aut rex. aut comes aut potestas. quislibet homo regula ista contrariare uoluerit. et ad iudicium pulsauerit. in primis ira Dei ueniat super illo. et lugeat penas in inferno inferiore cum Iuda traditore. et ad regiam partem exsoluat quindecim libras auri. et ad uobis cultores ecclesie sancte Marie illam hereditatem duplatam uel melioratam similem in talem loco. Et scriptura ista plenam habeat firmitatem. Facta scriptura ista notum die V^a feria kalendas Februari. Regnante Anfonso

imperator. cum imperatrice Berengaria in Leione et in
Castella. et in Toletto. Sub era M. C. LXX. VIIII. Ego
comes Osorius in Aquilare. et in Leuana. et in Campos
et in Leione. Comes Rudericus Gomez in Asturias et in
Castella. Didago Munioz maior domno de nostro
imperatore. Ponz de Uenerua alferiz. Ego quidem
Osorius comes una pariter cum uxor mea Taresia
Fernandiz hereditatem illam damus atque concedimus ad
atrium sancte Marie Uirginis. et ad uobis abbas
Iohannis. et ad cultores ecclesie qui ibidem sunt. Et
scriptum istum fieri iussimus. et manibus nostras
signum roborauimus. Testibus quoque ad roborandum
tradimus. Cide testis. Vellide testis. Hic testes
sumus legente audiuius. et de manibus nostras signum
roborauimus.

13 February 1146, Valencia de Don Juan

Alfonso VII grants his land at Villamoros to Ponce de Minerva and his wife Estefanía Ramírez.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 1794/8. Original.

Reg: Rassow, 442; L.Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales de la Edad Media referentes a Galicia, no. 243.

In nomine domini. Ego Adefonsus imperator Hispanie. una cum uxore mea imperatrice Berengaria. uobis domno Poncio de Minerua. et uxori uestre domne Stephanie. / propter seruicium quod mihi fecistis et facitis dono iure hereditario omne ius et omnem hereditatem regiam quam habeo. uel habere debeo in Uilla Mauros / que est in territorio Legionensi inter Ual de Sabuco. et Uilla Torel et ex altera parte Archauogia est posita. Dono inquam uobis terras quas ibi habeo. / uel habere debeo. uineas. et montes. et ualles. et collacios. et solares. et ortos. et ingressus. et egressus. et aquas. et pascua. et omnes alias causas que in eadem uilla mei iuris / sunt. et esse debent. quocumque loco sint. Eo uero modo dono uobis domno Poncio et uxori uestre omnem hereditatem quam in predicta uilla habeo.

et habere debeo / quatenus uos et filii uestri et
omnis generatio uestra eam in perpetuum libere et
quiete possideatis iure hereditario. et sine aliquo
contradicto faciatis de ea quicquid uolueritis. /
Siquis autem in posterum de meo uel alieno genere hanc
mee donationis paginam infregerit. sit a Deo
maledictus. et in inferno cum Iuda proditore sine fine
/ dampnatus nisi resipuerit. et insuper pectet regie
parti mille morabetinos. et reddat hereditatem
dupplatam. / Facta carta Coianque. Idus Februarii. Era
M^a. C^a. LXXXIIII. imperatore Adefonso imperante in
Toleto. Legione. Saragocia. Naiara. Castella. /
Gallecia.

Ego Adefonsus imperator hanc cartam quam iussi fieri.
una cum uxore mea confirmo. et manu mea roboro.

(1st column):

Iohannes Legionensis episcopus conf.

Martinus Ouetensis episcopus conf.

Arnaldus Asturicensis episcopus conf.

(2nd column):

Comes Poncius maiordomus imperatoris conf.

Comes Ramirus Frolez conf.

Comes Rodericus Gomez conf.

Comes Amalricus conf.

(3rd column): <SIGNUM IMPERATORIS>

(4th column):

Guterrus Fernandez conf.

Garsias Pedrez sororius imperatoris conf.

Abril de Legione testis.

Anaia Rodriguez maiorinus in Legione testis.

Petrus Mango maiorinus in Luna et in Coianqua testis.

Geraldus scripsit scriptor imperatoris per manum
magistri Hugonis cancellarii.

VI

25 May 1150

Odoario Ordóñez grants land at Carualieto to Alvaro Rodríguez and his wife Sancha Fernández de Traba in order to secure the release of his relative Pedro Tinea from prison.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 1126/4. Original.

In temporibus intendentem(?) imperatoris Adefonsi. sub eius manu eiusque dominio comes domnus Fernandus apud Sanctum Iacobum / nobilis et potens. In Luco episcopus G. Uallibriensi sede episcopus P. Ego Odarius Ordonis uobis domno Alvaro Rodriquidis / et uxori uestre infanti domne Sencie facio kartam perligabile scriptum de quarta de Carualieto integra pro centum solidos / quos pepigi dare pro cognato meo Petro Tinea qui erat pressus. suo pro forfacto quod occiderat Suarium Ouequiz. et ipsa / hereditas fuit de matre mea domna Eluira Pelagiz. et est sita in Uallonica. iuxta sanctam Mariam. in circo mon / tes Currus. et Petras. per terminos de Lama Mala. et de Uales. et de Milieirolos. et Denendriz. et de Ualoncia. et Lancia / et per terminum de casal de Nuno Petriz. do et concedo cum casalibus. et arboribus. et palludibus. cum egressu uel regressu montium / cum omnibus suis prestanciis que ad eam pertinent. Siquis conatus fuerit eam ad imrumpere. pariat ipsam dupla / tam et post uocem regis tres libras auri mundi pariat. Itaque de hinc de iure nostro ablata. et in uestro tradi / ta et confirmata habeatis uos et posteritas uestre uel cui dederitis sedeat amen. Facte karta dona / cionis die VIII. kalendas Iunias. Era M^o. C^o. LXXX^o VIII. Ego Odarius Ordoniz. uobis domno A. R. / et uxori uestre infanti domne S. hic manus roboro cum germanis meis /

Gontrode Ordoniz. Urraca Ordoniz. Azenda Ordoniz si
possit.

Qui presentes fuerunt

Martino ts.

Ridrico ts.

Petro ts.

Fernando ts.

Nuno ts.

Fernando ts.

Martinus notuit.

VII

22 September 1150

Count Ramiro Froilaz grants to his sons Alfonso and
Froila the arras that he should have awarded to their
mother.

Ms: AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 232. Original.

Reg: Rodríguez, Otero de las Dueñas, no. 232.

(Chrismon) In Dei nomine. ego comes Ramirus facio
kartam arrarum filiis meis Adefonso Ramiri et Froile

Ramiri propter arras quas non dederam matri sue. / et
iunxi me cum comite domno Petro et cum mea germana
Maria Froalaz. et cum domno Poncio de Minerua. et cum
Fernando Brauolio et cum sua uxore / et cum Didago
Fernandiz et cum Fernando Pelagii. et cum Iohanne
Petritz et stabiliui cum eis ut darem predictis filiis
meis totam integram partem illam / suprine mee
Stephanie Diez. quam ei abstuli propter aleuem quam
fecit. qui me nolente et ceteris bonis parentibus
uirum accepit. Et propter hoc quod / aliis uxoribus
meis comitisse domne Santie et comitisse domne Elo
dederam arras. Matri uero istorum filiorum non
dederam. Do istis filiis meis Adefonso / Ramiri. et
Froile Ramiri integre partem illam quam predixi extra
illa criacione que est foris de portis. Notum diem
quod erit. X^o kalendas / Octubris. Era milesima
centissima LXXX. VIII^a. Regnante imperatore Adefonso.
in Legione et in Toletto et in Saragoça. sine regina.
Iohannes episcopus / in sede sancte Marie Legionensis.
Armiger regis Nuno Petri. Maiorino maior Didaggo
Monniz. Ego comes Ramirus uobis filiis meis / Adefonso
Ramiri. et Froala Ramiri. in hanc kartam manus meas
roborauit et signum feci. (Signum) Fernando Brauolio
confirma. Gutier / Padiella conf. Didacus Fernandi
conf. Iohannes Petri conf. Fernando Pelaiz conf. /
Cidi hic testes. Velidi hic testes. Dominico hic
testes. Michael notuit presbiter.

VIII

February 1152

Count Manrique Pérez divides up his lands in the village of Cedillo between the settlers named

Ms: AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 71va-b. Cartulary copy of the 13th century.

Reg: Cart.Toledo, no. 86 (photo lam. XII).

(Chrismon) In Dei nomine et eius gratia ego comes Amalricus facio cartam donacionis populatoribus de Cidello eiusdem aldeae ut semper illi. et filii eorum et omnis generacio que ex eis processerit. habeant. et teneant atque hereditario iure imperpetuum possideant. et faciant de hereditatem. illa quicquid uoluerint. dare siue uendere. ~~quicumque~~ uoluerint saluo tamen iuro meo. Tibi scilicet Petro Nigro. hereditatem de quatro iugos. Sancte Marie hereditatem per duos iugos. Benedicto hereditatem per unum iugum. Pelagio Garganta. hec per tres iugos. Enego Paschal. hereditatem quam tenet. Garsie. hereditatem quam tenet. Christoual. hereditatem quam tenet. Semen Ferro. cum hereditate. quam tenet. Pascha Flayn. cum sua hereditate. Domingo Blasco. hereditatem quam

tenet. Peidro Domingo. per unum iugum. Enego Domingo.
et Blasco Domingo. hereditatem quam tenent. W.
Benedicto Joan Mezmude. uno iugo. Raimundo de
Fontanelas Peidro sobrino de Petro Nigro.

<Signum>

Eodem modo facio cartam illis de Ualaguera. Valerio
Enego in Ualaguera. hereditatem per tres iugos. Petro
Iohannes hereditatem quam tenet. Nunno similiter.
Castellano. Peidro Pelaez. don Polo. Peidro Longo.
pater de Peidro Pelaez. Facta carta mense Febroario.
in era MCLXXX. Existente Aldefonso imperatore in
Toleto. et in tota Hyspania imperante. Alcaid in
Toleto. Guter Roiz. Alguazil Steuan aben Bran.
Alcaldes Antolin Nigro. Julian de Capello.

IX

1153

Count Ramiro Froilaz makes a grant of land at
Villaseca to García and Teresa Pérez in recognition of
their loyal service.

Ms: AHD León, Fondo Gradefes (xerox), no. 71.

Original.

(Chrismon) Magnum est enim satis titulum donationis in qua nemo potest actumque largitatis inrumpere neque foris legem proibere sed quicquid grato animo / et spontanea mea uoluntate donatur uel offertur nullo modo inrumpatur sed auerius rectas omnibus afirmetur et constanter sed arguatur. Ego comite domno / Ramirus. ad tibi Garcia Petri. et uxor tua Taresa Petri. in Domino Deo eterna salutem amen. Ideo placuit michi ut faciam uobis kartulam donationis sicuti feci de mea / hereditate propria que habeo in terrietorio Legionensi in Uilla Seca. ab integro mea portione do ea uobis. ut abeatu donetis uendatis faciatis de ea que tua extiterit / uoluntas pro tuo seruitio que mihi semper fecisti cum directa uoluntate. que placuit mihi benigne. et est determinata per suis terminis directis. de prima parte Uilla / Dote. de .II^s. parte sancta Eulalia. de .III^s. parte Uilla Uicens. de .IIII^s. Cabranes. et ista hereditate iacet in Aradue. et Taradue. in illa alfoze de Maiorga. Ita ut / de hodie die uel tempore sit hereditate de meo iure abraza et uestro dominio sit tradita et confirmata. et si aliquis homo ad inrumpendum uenerit uel uenero quisquis / ille fuerit sit. maledictus. et excomunicatus et cum Iuda traditore dampnatur. et idem partem qui ista uoce pulsauerit pectet. mille morauetinos aureos. et ipsa he / reditate duplata uel triplata. Facta kartula donacionis sub era M^s. C^s.

LXXXX^a. I^a. Imperante domno Adefonso cum imperatrice
Enrica in Spania. / Iohannes episcopus in sede sancte
Marie. Villicus in Legione Roderico Gonzalvez. Tenente
turres Poncio de Uinebra. / et roboratione unas luas.
obtimas.

Confirmadores:

(1st column):

Comite domno Petrus conf.

Comite domno Osori conf.

D<omn>o Poncius de Uinebra conf.

(2nd column):

Aprili conf.

Martinus Didaz conf.

Petrus Didaz conf.

(3rd column):

Martinus Cornelie conf.

Fernandus Brauolio conf.

Guter Padela conf.

(4th column):

Petrus testis.

Dominicus testis.

Iohannes testis.

Dominicus notuit

1. June 1153

Settlement of the dispute between count Pedro Alfonso and his wife countess María Froilaz, and count Ramiro Froilaz and his wife countess Elo Alvarez over the water of Villanueva.

Ms: AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 232 bis. Original.

Reg: Rodríguez, Otero-de-las-Dueñas, no. 232 bis.

Era M^a. C^a. nonagesima. I^a. Orta fuit intemptio inter illo comide domno Petro et uxor sua comitisa Maria. et illo comide domno Ramiro / et illa comitissa don Elo que abuerunt super illa aqua que uenit per illo corral et uenerunt inde ad iudicium et iudicauit que saluassat illa / comitissa domina Maria. Et uenit illo comide cum rogo et cum amore et cum dilectione ad sua germana comitissa domina / Maria que soltasset illa aqua de Uilla Noua que andasset per illo corral. per et dedit illa aqua per conuenimento que non faciat super illa aqua / nulla kasa cubertam nec nullo labore super illa. qui cuberto sedeat. Et si aliquis hoc ad inrupendum uenerit tam de gens / mea quam de extraneis sedeat excommunicatus et cum Iuda separatus et non

uideat que bona sunt in Iherosolimam nec pax in
Israhel. et pariat / in captum mil morabetis de auro
puro. et des faciat illo labore. Regnante rex Adefonso
inperatore in Legione / et in Toieto cum regina
inperatrix domna Richa. Iohannes episcopus in Legione
sede sancte Marie. Comide domno Ramiro tenente /
Aruoleo et Aguilar. Poncio de Minerba tenente illa
torres de Legione. Martin Nebzaniz maiorino in Legione
/ et in Coancha. Comide domno Ponz maiordomo in corte
de illo imperatore. Facta kartula notum die quod erit
kalendas / iunias. Et de homines bonos que fuerunt in
adomento. Petro Karro confirma. Fernan Braollo
confirma. Gutier Padiella confirma. / Rodrigo Pelaiz
de Peniella confirma. Pelagio Mantega confirma. Petro
Karisag confirma. Isidro Petriz de Uadabia confirma /
Velasco Petriz confirma. Lop Goncaluiz confirma /

Ego Petro Fernandez notuit. <Signum>

(In different hand): Et super illa presa que intemptio
habent non sedeat kasa cuberta sinno poste per que
passent / et si illo comide domno Ramiro aut illa
comitissa don Elo / aut qui ista kasa heredas prenda
quarta de illa aqua / per cima del corral et faciat in
illa sua uolumptate / et tornela al molino

c.1153-4(?)

Count Armengol VI of Urgel informs his vassals in the town of Valladolid of the agreement he has reached with the bishop of Palencia concerning the church of Santa María.

Ms: AC Palencia, Armario 3, legajo 8, documento 3.
Original.

Reg: San Martín Payo, 'Catálogo del Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia', no. 475.

Ed: Docs.Palencia, 86-7.

Ermengaudus comes Urgelli fidelibus suis et amicis omnibus hominibus de Ualedolido maioribus et minoribus salutem. Volo quod sciatis me bene concordatum esse cum episcopo de Palentia de ecclesia sancte Marie. et super suo honore. ita quod / placet mihi et uolo ut ecclesia sancti Antonini habeat eam et episcopus. et seruiat ei semper et sit obediens. et roborauit priuilegium et affirmaui quod fecit de illa meus auolus ecclesie sancti Antonini. et donum quod inde feceret firmum et stabi / le semper esse uolo. Preterea uolo sciatis quod episcopus ponit ibi pro

abbate archidiaconum domnum Nicholaum et placet mihi
et uolo. et meo factum est consilio. Nunc mando uobis
ut quicumque tenet aliquid de illa ecclesia siue
uineas. siue ortos. / siue acenias. siue molinos. siue
terras tornet illud ecclesie quicquid sit. Volo namque
ut ipsa reformetur et restituatur in suo honore et sua
dignitate. et habeat omnas suas directuras que illi
pertinent. et sit bene ornata sicuti de / bet esse. Et
qui aliter fecerit id est qui inde aliquid retinuerit.
non habebit pacem mecum nec amiciciam.

XII

February. 1154

Greo Pérez places himself under the protection of
count Pedro Alfonso and his wife countess María
Froilaz.

Ms: AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 233. Original.

Reg: Rodríguez, Otero de las Dueñas, no. 233.

(Chrismon) In nomine patris. et filii. et spiritus
sancti. Regnantis in secula seculorum. Amen. Ecce ego

Greo Petri uobis comite domno Petro Adefonso et uxori
uestra comitissa domna Maria Froilaz facio cartam
testamenti / de spontanea mea uoluntate et liberum
arbitrium de propria mea hereditate quam abeo de auis
et parentibus meis in territoriis Pesicus. et Aliande.
et Tinegii. et in Ripa de Oue. scilicet in illos
monasterios. / Do uobis in illos de Pesicus. in
Ciuugio. et in Bergundio. et in monasterio de Heremo.
et in uilla Ciprian et in sancto Tirso. et in
territorio Aliande in illo de Zalii. et in territorio
Tinegii in illo de Obona / et in Ripa de Oue in illo
de Sarantes. Do uobis in istos monasterios
suprascriptos in illa mea racione que mihi conuenit in
diuisione inter fratribus et heredibus meis de illa
mea porcione illa medietate / in illa. Do uobis illos
tali pacto ut in diebus uestris et meis. semper me
adiuuetis in uictum et uestimentum et in tota
bonitate. Ita ut de odie die et tempore ista mea parte
de istos monasterios suprascriptos de / iuri meo sint
abstersa et in iuri uestro sit tradita. per secula
cuncta. Quod si aliquis homo tam de gente mea quam de
extranea et hanc cartam testamenti infringere
uoluerit. sit maledictus / et excommunicatus. et a
corpore et sanguine Christi segregatus. et cum Iuda
traditore lugeat in eterna dampnacione. et pariat
uobis uel ad qui uocem uestram pulsauerit ipsum quod
pulsauerit duplatum uel / triplatum. et insuper mille

morabitinos. et hanc cartam testamenti abeat roborem
firmitatis. Facta carta testamenti. Era. C^a. L^a.
X'.II^a. post milesima. et in mense Febroario. /
Regnante Imperatore Adefonso cum imperatrice domna
Rycha. et cum filiis suis Sancius et Fredenandus. In
Legione et in Tholeto. et in Cesaragusta. et in Roda.
/ Comes Poncius maiordomus Imperatoris tenente
Almaria. (...)ensem sedem / Comes Almarricus tenente
Beaciam. et alia multa oppida. Iohannes episcopus
Legionensem sedem. / Comes Petrus cum comitissa domna
Maria tenente tunc Tinegio. Petrus episcopus
As<turic>ensem sedem. / Fredenandus Iohannis tenente
Montor. Iohannes abbas Cauriensem cenobium. / Nunnus
Petri armiger imperatoris. /

Qui presentes fuerunt. Pelagio Menendiz hic fuit.
Isidro Petri hic fuit. Gonzaluo Enniquiz hic fuit.
Adefonso Martiniz hic fuit. Petro Pardo hic fuit.
Petro Guillieniz hic fuit. Gonzaluo Rodriquiz hic fuit.
Pelagio Uicioso et frater eius Guter Iohannis hic
fuerunt. et aliorum filii bonorum qui ibi fuerunt.
Coram testes. Petrus testes. Iohannes testes.
Pelagius testes.

Ecce ego Greo Petri hac cartam testamenti quam fieri
iussi manus meas roboravi et signum feci.

Aluarus notuit.

XIII

24 August 1154

Fernando Yáñez grants an estate at Oliveira to the church of Tuy.

Ms: AC Tuy, 10/24. Original.

Licet inter pacificas mentes. quorundam testimonio roboretur auctoritas. oportunum tamen est. ut pro memoria conditio. adibeatur litterarum. Igitur ego Fernandus / Iohannis concedo sedi sancte Marie. Uluariam cum tota sua directura. pertinente ad ipsam Uluariam. Istam hereditatem mando predicte sedi pro anima mea. et pro / anima regine domne Urrace. in cuius tempore et seruicio eam ganavi. et ipsam me heredavit. iubente et concedente Adefonso filio eius Yspanie imperatore et / qui amplius me in multis et in omnibus benigne me honoravit. quam mater sua. et contra inimicos meos me usque ad mortem adiuuando et defen / dendo liberavit. Siquis contra hoc factum et scriptum meum tam de generatione quam extranea uenire temptauerit et inquietare uoluerit mille libras / auri persoluat. et sententiam excomunica<tio>nis perpetue exsoluat et cum Iuda Domini proditore. et Datan et

Abiron. quos uiuos terra absorbunt* penas inferni luat
et hoc / scriptum meum semper sit firmum et
inuiolatum. Sub era M^a. C^a. LX'II^a. et quot VIIII
kalendas Septembris. Iohannes primas Toletane sedis
archiepiscopus cum canonicis suis conf. /

Aluazil Stephanus Embram conf.

Sancius Benaias conf.

Pelagius Fromeste miles conf.

R. de Monte Gumariz conf.

Michael Fernandi conf.

Dum Siui conf.

Petrus Aluazil <et Maria Asstra>*

confirmant

Omnes bone memorie Toletane ciuitatis

laudant et confirmant.

* = Added in later (17th century?) hand.

XIV

October 1155, Toledo

Count Pedro Alfonso grants a bath house in Toledo to Miguel Azarafi for him to repair and put in working order.

Ms: AHN, Códices, 1046B, liber III, p. 328-9. 13th-century cartulary copy.

Ed: Martín Rodríguez, Orden de Santiago, 174-5.

In Christi nomine. Ego Petrus Alfonsi comes nutu consilio et auctoritate domini mei Aldefonsi imperatoris facio tibi Micaeli Azarafi cartam de ipso balneo quod excellentissimus iam dictus imperator michi in barrio Sancte Leocadie infra ciuitatem Toleti tribuit et concessit. Facio inquam eam tibi eo // quod mee et utilitati tue prouidens. tradidi tibi totum illud prefatum balneum quatinus illud labores et eius diruta rehedifices et solum de lateribus sic facias. et omne opus ei necessarium usquoque balneet. de subera tua expleas. excepta aena. quod uulgariter dicitur caldera. quam pepigi et sollicitus sum bonam, et bono quilibet huius ciuitatis balneo conueniente de meo censu integre ibi ponere. Igitur quia solum et

quod ibi est edifici. et caldeiram pono. sit tota
tocius mea medietas. quia quod nunc memini prodest ad
fructum et ad perfectionem ducis. omnem tocius balnei
medietatem alteram tibi libere et quiete cum omnibus
proficuis intra hoc balneum et extra huic medietati
pertinentibus accipias. Possideas hanc tocius balnei
ceterique eius proficui totam medietatem tu et filii
tui et heredes eam quibus dimiseris. habendo
potestatem vendendi. concambiandi. donandi quilibet
hereditario iure et sine alicuius contradictionem. Et
si aliqua cogente causa hanc tuam medietatem uendere
uolueris. pro tanto precio si in ea michi uoluntas
fuerit eam michi uendas. Si uero. postquam perfectum
fuerit et balneauerit. aliqua in parte seu in toto
dirutum fuerit. aut nobis aliquid plus componere
placuerit in eo uti unius rei participes medietatem
expense quisque nostrum persoluet. Facta carta Toleti.
era M^o C^o LX^o III^o. mense Octobrii. Ego P. Malden
filius ts. Martin Salvado rez ts. Thome Iben Iahia
ts. Vicent Martin ts. Saluator ibidem musarrafa ts.
Micael Iohannis ts.

10. November 1155, Ayllón

García Garcés and his wife Sancha Pérez sell the vill of Alcolea to count Manrique Pérez for 1000 maravedís.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 378/5. Original.

Reg: Indice de los documentos...de los monasterios de Nuestra Señora de la Vid y San Millán de la Cogolla, 136.

(Chrismon) In nomine Domini amen. Ego Garcia Garciez et uxor mea / dompna Sancia placuit nobis atque conuenit non per metum / neque per hebrietatem sed propria nostra accessit uoluntas uendimus / uobis comite Amalric et ad uxor uestra illa uilla que uo / catur Alcolea et dedistis nobis precium quantum nobis et uobis / placuit. mil morabetinos. et uendimus uobis illam uillam cum montibus et fontibus cum / pratis et pascuis. cum ingressibus et regressibus et cum omnibus suis terminis et pertinenciis / et cum omnibus suis directuris. et hoc facimus ut ab hac die in antea habeatis / libram et quietam iure hereditario in perpetuum. Si uero aliquis homo de gens nostra / aut de extraneis. hoc nostrum factum disrumpere uoluerit.

a Deo fiat maledictus / et excommunicatus et cum Iuda
traditore dampnatus in inferno inferiori dampnatus /
et apars cui lex iusserit pectet in cauto decem milia
morabetinos. et de super / uobis comite Almarich illa
uilla duplata uel meliorata in tale simili / loco.
Facta carta in Ailon. IIII. idus Nouembris notum diem
.VI^s feria. / Imperante imperio Adefonso imperatore.
Toleto. Legioni. Gallecie. Castelle. / Naiare.
Saragocie. Baecie. Amduiare. Almarie. Et subtus illum.
Sancio. / et Fernando. regibus. Comes Poncius maior
domino de illo im<pera>tore. Gonzalbo / Maraion
alferez. Ego Garcia Garciez et uxor mea <Sancia> hanc
cartam / fieri iussimus et proprias manibus nostras
roborauimus atque confirmauimus. / Hec sunt testes
que uiderunt / et audierunt.

(1st column):

Sancius rex filius imperatoris

Comes Poncius maiordomino imperatoris

Garcia Gomez

Melend Berganz alferez rex Fernandus

Ponz de Benebra.

Athoreia.

(2nd column):

<Signum>

Sancius cancellarius comite Almarich scripsit. hoc
signum fecit.

(3rd column):

Fernand Cautiuo

Rex Fernandus

Comes Petro Asturiano

Don Nunno

Don Albaro

Concello de Ailon uisores et auditores.

Cid. Bellid. Anania.

Era M.C.L.XXXX.III.

XVI

December 1155

Count Ponce de Cabrera and Fernando Rodríguez grant
their half of the village of Pulgar to a group of
settlers.

Ms: AHN, Códices, 996B, f. 103rb.

Reg: Cart.Toledo, no. 110.

In Dei nomine et indiuidue trinitatis. patris. et filii. et spiritus sancti. amen. Quia licet unicuique homini facere de suis propriis rebus secundum suam uoluntatem ideo placuit nobis comiti Poncio atque Fernando Ruderici quod facimus cartulam donationis et confirmationis uobis Petro Rufo et uestre mulieri et filiis uestris omnique generationi uestre de illam medietatem quam nos habemus in Polgar. ut tertia pars sit uestra. et omnibus successoribus uestris. iure hereditatio in perpetuum. et placet nobis et Garsie Petri. et domno Terrico. atque domno Durando. ut unusquisque nostrum habeat sextam partem in illa uilla Polgar. Siquis homo uel mulier tam de nostra generatione / quam de extranea hoc nostrum donum receptare uoluerit. sit maledictus et excommunicatus et cum Iuda proditore in inferno dampnatus et pectet regie parti. mille morabetinos. Facta carta sub era M^o C^o LXXXIII^o. mense Decembrio. Albar Petriz testis. Petrus Pelagii testis. Garcia Iohannis testis. Micael Petriz testis. Pedro Petriz testis.

XVII

1157

Settlement of a dispute between count Ponce de Cabrera and the abbey of Sahagún.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 899/11. Original.

Reg: Vignau, Indice de los documentos del monasterio de Sahagún, no. 1633.

(Chrismon) In era M^a.C^a.LX^a.V^a. Facta fuit contencio inter comitem Poncium Gueraldi et tercium Dominicum abbatem sancti Facundi de hereditate sancte Eugenie / que est iuxta Melgar. asseuerante ipso comite et suis quod sue partis deberet esse. abbate uero et monachis econtra asserentibus quod secundum scripta / testatorum et secundum ius ab antiquis temporibus habitum sub iure ecclesie sancti Facundi permanere deberet. Nunc igitur ego Poncius consul / abbatis et monachorum auditis rationibus. et ueriseorum scriptis et auctoritatibus intellectis. nec secularibus nec diuinis legibus uolens contraire. / sed salubri consensu utrisque obtemperans. supradictam hereditatem et si qua alia sunt ibi. que a nobis uel a nostris concussa sunt. inuiolabili et incommutabili / lege

intemerata et inuiolata et inconcussa tam in solaribus
quam in ecclesiis. in aquis et aqueductibus. in
exitibus et regressibus. in pascuis. in molendinis. et
/ molendinariis. et in omnibus que intra et extra
sunt. sub iure ecclesie sancti Facundi. et abbatis et
monachorum presencium et futurorum inperpetuum
permanere / uolumus. sub execracione et
excomunicacione proibentes ne quis nostri uel alieni
generis contra hanc ueracissimam et rationabilem
nostre discussionis et / cognicionis sentenciam audeat
uenire. et ipsam hereditatem concutere. uel ipsos
seruos Dei amplius inquietare presummat. / Siquis
autem nostrorum uel extraneorum iustam et sanam atque
uerissimam hanc nostram discussionem seu certissimam
salubremque cognicionem infirmare uel / confringere
uoluerit. sit excomunicatus. et cum Iuda Domini
proditore puniatur in eterna dampnacione. et ad partem
sancti Facundi et abbatis et monachorum / uel qui
eorum uocem pulsauerit. decem libras auri purissimi
reddere cogatur /

Facta karta era M^o.C^o.LX^o.V^o. Regnante rege Sancio
filio Adefonsi imperatoris in Toletto et Castella. et
fratre eius Fredinando / regnante in Legione et
Gallecia. Sancia infantissa tenente Graliar et
infantaticum. /

Comite Lupo armigero regis Sancii. Iohanne

archiepiscopo et Hispaniarum primate ecclesiam
Toletanam regente. Gomez Gundissalui maiordomo eius.
Petro episcopo Burgensem. Comite Manrico tenente
Toletum. Bosone maiorino in Carrione et Saldania.
Raimundo episcopo. Palentinam. Dominico tercio.
abbate. ecclesiam sancti Facundi regente.

Ego Poncius comes hanc kartam quam fieri iussi. roboro
et confirmo adiecto signo. (Signum)

(1st column):

Rodericus Petri conf.

Didacus Almadran conf.

Petrus Martini conf.

Martinus Didaci conf.

(2nd column):

Petrus Dominici conf.

Dominicus Micaheli conf.

(3rd column):

Dominicus tercius abbas sancti Facundi

Petrus Christofori prior maior conf.

Guterius prior minor conf.

Dominicus sacrista maior conf.

Martinus armarius maior conf.

(4th column):

Iohannes cellarius maior conf.

Pelagius botecarius maior conf.

Petrus refectoriarius maior conf.

Petrus de Olea magister maior conf.

(5th column):

Velascus infans conf.

Lupus infans conf.

Fredinandus infans conf.

Didacus infans conf.

Citi ts. Xap ts. Vellit ts.

Dominicus notauit et confirmat.

XVIII

21 September 1161, Santiago de Compostela

Settlement of a dispute between Vermudo Pérez de Traba and the monks of the abbey of Tojos Outos.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 556/4. Original.

AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 10r-11r. 13th-century cartulary copy. Part of the left-hand margin of

the original is missing; the gaps have been filled from the copy in the Tumbo of Tojos Outos.

In nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis. patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. Notum est quod domnus Ueremudus Petri. ad honorem omnipotentis Dei. et beate uirginis Marie omniumque sanctorum. cepit edificare quoddam monasterium. quod uocatur Nogueirosa. quod conuocato abbate sancti/ <Iusti> de Tribulis Altis. domno Pelagio. suisque monachis. scilicet domno Cresconio Muniz. et eius fratre Petrus Muniz. monasterium illud illis donauit et eis ceterisque sub regula beati patris Benedicti uiuentibus. per testamentum imperpetuum. deliberauit et confirmauit. Recepto autem ab ipso sancti Iusti abbate prefato m / <onasterio> de Nogueirosa. illi duo fratres domnus Cresconius. et domnus Petrus. cum aliis in eodem monasterio remanserunt. ipsique diligenter et assidue ceperunt edificare atque construere. monasterium illud. in que edificio multa propria consumpserunt. Abbatem uero ibidem elegerunt. qui uocabatur abbas domnus Rudericus. / <de Nog>ueirosa. Preterito autem longo tempore. predictus domnus Ueremundus Petri hunc mundum diuina inspiratione conmotus. dimisit et Deo omnipotenti adhesit atque sub regula beati Benedicti

in monasterium Superaddi. monachum se constituit. Uxor uero eius infantissa domina Urracha sub eodem habitu. et in eadem / <reg>ulam in prefato monasterio de Nogueirosa Deo uotam se fecit. Unde maxima inter monachos ipsos de Nugueirosa. et domnum Ueremundum orta est controuersia. Qua propter presentati fuerunt. ante domnum Fernandum ecclesie beati Iacobi electum. et coram omni Compostellano capitulo. presente abbatesancti Iusti domno <Aria> / cum monachis suis eiusdem monasterii de Nugeirosa. et presente. et domno Ueremudo cum suo abbate Superaddi. domno Egidio. et aliis consociis monachis. Dictisque. et auditis utriusque partis. suis sanctis assertionibus. domnus Ueremudus. ut catholicus. et sapiens atque discretus uir. rogauit. ut hoc monasterium quod dici / tur Nugeirosa. amore Dei. et sui. coniugi sue infantisse domne Urrache. dimitterent. ipsique monachi qui in eo habitabant ad sanctum Iustum redirent. et tunc. propter hoc quod iniuste uidebatur eis. tunc propter reintegrationem iamdicti sui monasterii quod admittebant. et in quo multa expendiderant. et multum labora / uerant. tunc propter amorem omnipotentis Dei. et sancti Iusti. et pro remissione suorum peccatorum. ac parentum indulgentia. donare monasterio prefato sancti Iusti de Tribulis Altis. et abbati domno Arie eiusdem loci omnibusque monachis ibidem Deo seruiantibus. uillas suas. scilicet Candum. et Cunis.

et Felgaria. atque Car / <uali>du cum omnibus bonis
suis. et hoc utrique parti placuit. Ea propter ego
Ueremudus Petri. una cum uxore mea infantissa domna
Urracha. et cum filiis. et filiabus meis. et omni uoce
nostra. per huius serie paginam toto corde. et tota
uoluntate. uobis domno Arie eiusdem monasterii de Tri
/ bulis Altis abbati. omni monachorum conuentui.
eiusdem loci presentibus et futuris amore omnipotentis
Dei ac sanctorum Iusti. et Pastoris. quorum reliquie
in eodem uero monasterio a fidelibus uenerantur.
facimus textum scripture firmitatis. et kartam
donationis siue conmutationis imperpetuum ualituram.
de omnibus / illis hereditatibus nostris siue
uillulis. que uocantur. Carualidu. et Felgaria. et cum
Cunis. et uillaria mea de Insula. et duas partes de
Sexta de Candu. que iacent in terra de Gintinis. loco
certo. in ripa fluminis Tamaris. uidelicet per aquam
mediam de Tamar. per aquam de Murcigo. in Festu / et
per ipsum uallinum. et per Archas de Quenna et per
Aballadouiras. et per Cubitum de Candano de Oronia.
per uallum de Cunis. per Archas super campo Rium. et
per ipsam aquam que discurret de campo Ruiura et
intrat in mare. quomodo fuit antiquitus diuisum cautum
ipsius uille regie de Candu. ap / auis meis. scilicet
comite domno Pelagio. et comite domno Froyle. et patre
meo comite domno Petro Froile. ab illa ecclesia que
uocatur sanctus Iacobus de Corozo. quam contulit domna

comitissa Guntrode monasterio de Antealtaria. et etiam cum uilla mea que uocatur Egia integra. quam olim contuleram mona / sterio sancti Christofori de Dercione cum aliis meis hereditatibus. sicut in meo testamento resonat. et modo confero uobis. et monasterio uestro cum ipso monasterio de Dercione. iam de populato peccatis exigentibus. Que hereditates siue uillule michi Ueremudo Petriz euenuerant ex parte auorum. et pa / <rentum meorum>. et ex ganantia. Has siquidem hereditates meas seu uillas supranominatas. cum omnibus beneficiis suis. et adiunctionibus. uidelicet casis. et casalibus. hereditatibus. et omnibus hominibus illis qui intus sunt ex mea creatione. et intus in predictis uillis morantur. et cum omni uoce / <earumque di>rectura ipsius fluminis Tamaris. Alueru usque ad Miro. seu etiam cum montibus. et fontibus. proficuis. et suis omnibus prestationibus tam intus quam extra. per suos antiquos terminos. suasque antiquas diuisiones. et cum omnibus suis populationibus. que ad modum nos eas in iure obtinuimus. / et pro iure huc usque possidemus. ita libere. et integre uobis supradictis ac monasterio uestro sancti Iusti eas donamus. et perpetualiter iure hereditario concedimus. pro animabus nostris. et parentum nostrorum. quatinus in die magni iudicii Ihesu Christum possimus habere patronum. et cum electis in parte dextera sedere. A modo igitur / et

deinceps uillas illas atque hereditates cum omnibus beneficiis earum iure hereditario habete. et imperpetuum in pace. in tranquillitate possidete. /

Si uero aliqua ecclesiastica secularisque persona. tam nostre propinquitatis quam extranee contra hoc nostrum factum ad irrumpendum uenire temptauerit. qualiscumque fuerit. tam filius noster quam filia. nepotes uel neptes. seu aliquis ut diximus propinquus nobis uel extraneus. potens uel impotens / maledictus sit. et excommunicatus. et a corpore aut sanguine domini nostri Ihesu Christi segregatus. donec ad condignam satisfactionem uenerit. et hanc maledictionem super quemcumque fuerit semper fructificet. in seculo isto. et in futuro. cum Iuda proditore domini in inferno damnepnetur. Insuper pro temeritatis / ausu uobis et uoci uestri monasterii. V^s. milia solidorum persoluat. et uillas illas. duplatas uel triplatas. tamen hoc factum nostrum perhenniter maneat firmum. et ratum. Facta donationis ac conmutationis scriptura apud Compostellam. die XI^o kalendas Octobris. Sub era I^o C^o LX' ^s VIIIII^s. Anno V^o. quo obiit famosissimus imperator domnus Adefonsus. et cepit regnare filius eius inclitus. Rex domnus Fernandus. In Legione. Gallecia. et Asturiis.

Ego Ueremudus Petrici hoc scriptum quod fieri iussi propria manu et proprio roboro confirmo. Infantissa domna Urracha manu propria confirmo et roboro. filia eius Urracha Uermuiz conf. Ego Fernandus Ueremudi hanc scripturam manu propria confirma et roboro. Ego Sudarius Ueremudi propria manu hanc scripturam roboro et conf. Ego Sancia Ueremudi hoc scriptum mea manu concedo et roboro. Ego Tarasia Ueremudi hoc textum scripture manu mea dextra roboro et concedo atque confirmo. Ego Egidius monasterii Superaddi abbas hoc scriptum propria manu confirmo et roboro. Ego Fernandus ecclesie beati Iacobi humilis electus. conf. Archidiaconus Iohannes Tirant conf. Omnibus fratribus monasterii Superaddi unanimiter conf. Ego Petrus Pardus Dei gratia Compostellane ecclesie decanus quod uidi. et uerum noui propria manu conf. Ego Petrus iudex conf. Ramirus Pelaiz canonicus conf. Ego Petrus abbas scripsi et conf.

XIX

20 February 1171

Count Rodrigo Alvarez grants the church of San Salvador de Sarria to the see of Lugo in attonement for having destroyed the church of Santa María de Mal.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 1325E/23. Original.

(Chrismon) Ad referendas omnipotenti Deo gratias. rationali creatione omni tempore. et sine intermissione coeuigilandum est. ut qui ei soli irritatis relicto tramite peccamus. per eum qui solus potens / est peccata dimittente. ad ueritatem reduci peccatorum obolitione hic primam resurrectionem contrito et humiliatio corde suscipiendo secundam resurrectionem precepta iocunda delectabili et suauissima / immutatione intrepidi recipere ualeamus. Iuxta namque magistri nostri uocem. omnes resurgemus. sed non omnis inmutabimer. Hanc itaque (...)tabilem iocundam et suauem inmutationem. ego comes / Rodericus. Deo propitiante habere cupiens. qui olim diabolico furore arreptus. armata manu extra me exiens. ecclesiam sancte Marie de Mal in territorio de Uentosa que est in Lucensi episcopatu. partim /

demolitus. partim ignis combustione in cinerem redigens destruxi. in me rediens. omnipotente Deo in me oculum misericordie sue reducente. corde contritto et humiliato. huius modi iuxta facultatis mee / habundantiam quantulamcumque satisfactionem creatori meo facio. Offero itaque tibi patri meo piissime Iohannis Lucensis ecclesie episcopo. pro sacrilegii compositione. et ecclesie sancte Marie Uirginis. cui Deo / auctore presides et successoribus tuis ecclesiam sancti Saluatoris de Sarria perpetuo habendam cum omnibus que habet uel habere debet. sicut eam domnus meus piissimus rex Fernandus. remoto iure possessionis / sue quantum ad illum spectat. michi in possessionem perpetuo tradidit habendam. Istam qui ecclesiam sicut supradictus est cum omnibus directuris suis do et trado per huius scripture paginam. uobis et successoribus uestris in here / ditate. ut omnipotentis Dei oculi hoc meum factum licet imperfectum. ad salutem anime mee uidere non dedignetur. Ab hinc meo iure remoto in uestrum ius perhenniter duraturum transeat. / Si autem aliquis propinquus uel extraneus contra hanc cartam testamenti temerario ausu uenire temptauerit. maledictionem omnipotentis Dei incurrat. cum Iuda traditore in inferno penas luiturus. et / duplato quod calumpniatus fuerit. hoc deuotionis mee factum firmum. stabile. et

inconcussum in secula seculorum permaneat. Facta est.
Era. M^a CC^a VIIII^a. et quotum X^o kalendas Marci. /

Ego comes Rodericus hoc quod fieri iussi manu propria
roboro et conf. (Signum)

Regnante rege domno Fernando

(1st column):

Egidius Sancii conf.

Arias Petriz conf.

(2nd column):

Qui presentes fuerunt. Sancius Roderiguiz conf.

Rodericus Uelasquiz conf.

(3rd column):

Petrus testis.

Iohannis testis.

Pelagius testis.

Petrus notuit.

28. February 1171

Pact between countess Sancha González de Traba and her son Vermudo Alvarez.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 1325E/24. Original.

In era M^oCC^oVIII^o. et quotum II. kalendas Marcii. Hoc est pactum et placitum scriptum inter comitissam domnam / Sanciam. et filium suum Ueremudum Aluari. Uidelicet quod ego Ueremudus Aluari do et trado uobis matri / mee iam dicte comitisse domne Sancie. totam hereditatem meam ecclesiasticam et laicalem. similiter / et totam meam creationem que ad me spectant. ex omni parte ubicumque potuerint inueniri ubique terrarum. et / (.....) ut in omni uita mea secure et quiete possideatis eas et habeatis quolibetcum<que> uiuatis. et / quolibetcumque loco terrarum sitis. Hec do et trado uobis. quia ego extra me. et extra sensum meum pessime errans. / super uos et contra uos. cum armatis militibus et peditibus fui. contra uos pugnaui. hominibus uestris et uassallis / ibidem interfectis. etiam domos super uos incendi. aurum. argentum. equos. mulas. uestimenta. innumeras etiam peccunias. / et

omnia quacumque apud uos erant. rapui et uastauit. Hec omnia ad minus ualentia VI mille morabitanos. / Et quia ego sic Deo et uobis erraui. et hunc maximum errorem et desonram feci. pro errore isto et desonra. ut me / in amorem uestrem et benedictionem recipiatis. et mihi parcatis. Sicut dixi supradicta omnia uobis do et trado. tenore / supradicto et conuenientia. et ut in omni uita uestra. in his et super his non uos inquietem. nec in aliquo corrumpam. / et hoc sub fidei lacrimatio. et pacis osculo munio et confirmo. Quod si de hoc in aliquo deiciauero et erraui. / nisi citius emendare festinauero. quasi per iurii et osculi reus habear et existam. et (.....) hoc ad (.....) tatur / et super me remaneat. /

(1st column):

Ego Ueremudus Aluari hoc scriptum quod fieri mandauit. manu propria roboro et conf.

Comes Rodericus qui huic facto interfuit roborat conf.

Garsia Fernandi de Cubelos presens. conf.

Gundisaluus Gundisaluiz presens conf.

Rodericus Uelasquiz presens conf.

Petrus Nuniz presens conf.

Rodericus Nuniz presens conf.

Rodericus Frolaz presens conf.

Fernandus Fernandi conf.

(2nd column):

Iudex Petrus conf.

Archidiaconus Suarius conf.

Cantor Petrus conf.

Micahel tesararius conf.

Sebastianus Rodriguiz conf.

Canonici et burgenses conf.

(3rd column):

Nuno testis.

Munio testis.

Petrus testis.

Petrus notuit.

XXI

1171, junio, 23.

Division of the village of Azaña between count Ponce de Minerva and the canons of Toledo cathedral.

Mss: AC Toledo, 0.3.A.2.2. Original.

AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 90vb.

Reg: Cart.Toledo, no. 159.

In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Hec est carta diuisionis que fuit facta auctoritate domni C. Toletani archiepiscopi et Yspaniarum primatis. inter canonicos Toletane ecclesie. et Poncium comitem. de / aldea de Azania. Elegerunt comes et canonici octo homines ad diuidendum eandem aldeam. qui diuiserunt eam in quatuor partes. Sed hec diuisio tali conueniencia facta fuit. ut diuiderent / quod habebat ibi comes Poncius per medium. et canonici eligerent ad accipiendum. medietatem ipsius particionis. Similiter diuiderent quod habebant ibi canonici. et Poncius comes eli / geret ad accipiendum. medietatem ipsius particionis. Elegerunt ergo canonici in parte comitis. de uia que est super fontem que uadit usque ad terminum de Fontalba. et de uia que ua / dit de ipsa aldea usque ad terminum de Pantola et acceperunt eam. Et retinuerunt sibi in parte sua quam tenebant. de termino de Ocner. usque ad terminum de Hylesques. Comes Poncius / eligit in parte canonicorum. de uia que est super fontem. a termino de Fontalba usque ad terminum de Hylesques. et accepit eam. Et retinuit sibi in parte sua quam tenebat. de uia que / uadit ad Pantola usque ad uiam Toletanam. que uadit usque ad terminum de Ocner. Prata quoque diuiserunt ita. Acceperunt canonici de fonte superius. Accepit comes Poncius / de fonte inferius. Aliud pratum remansit erga Ocner quod non fuit diuisum. et est commune per

medium. canonicorum et Poncii comitis. Et ita
diuiditur tota aldea de Azania. per medium / Facta
carta viiii kalendas iulii, era MCCVIIIIII./

Ego W. prior conf.

Ego P. archidiaconus confirmo.

Ego Iohannes sacrista conf.

Ego Iohannes Toletane ecclesie magister scholarum conf.

Ego Nicolaus presbiter conf.

Ego Benaias filius Sancius testis.

Ego Forto presbiter conf.

<Arab witnesses>:

Félix Sánchez y Martín b. Sancho b. Ylyanis y Fernand
b. Hasan, que escribió./ Y al-hakim (juez) Domingo b.
'Aly b. Wáid y Salomón b. Aly b. Wáid. Yuanes b.
Ayub .

1173, -septiembre.

Count Ponce de Minerva grants his half of Azaña to a group of settlers.

Mss: AC Toledo, O.3.A.2.3. 13th century copy.

AHN, Códices, 996B, fols. 59rb-60ra.

Reg: Cart.Toledo, no. 164.

In Dei nomine et eius gratia. Ego Poncius Comes dono populatoribus illam medietatem de Façania que me contigit. decem et nouem iugis bouum sufficientem ad annum et uicem. ut unumquodque habeat seminaturam per octos cafizios. Tali / modo hereditatem illam eis dono. ut teneant et possideant illam hereditario iure imperpetuum. Ipsi. et uxores eorum. et filii. et omnis generatio eorum. Dono eis inquam cum pratis et pascuis. et et aquas. et ingressibus et egressibus. et omnibus / pertinentiis suis preter duo prata. et duas sernas. que michi retineo. Pratum unum terminatur cum illo quod habeo cum senioribus Sancte Marie. Aliud pratum incipit de illa carrera de ual de Martin Descalço. usque ad fontem ultra ri / uum. Serna una terminatur de illa carrera de Cardadal. usque ad

terminum de Iliesques. Sicut ego terminaui eundo eques cum illis. de prato Sancte Marie usque ad limitem quem ego mandaui facere. apud Collium. / Alia serna terminatur de carrera Toletane. usque ad carreram de Pantoiha. et terminatur in prato de Palombec. et finitur in prato quod est ex parte de Pantoiha. Hec sunt nomina populatorum. P. Dominici cum uno / iugo. Sancius Gasco et Vidal Longo. cum uno iugo. D. Guillelmi. cum uno iugo. Raymundus de Aromag cum uno iugo. Martinus Pelagii. cum uno iugo. D. Ceia. cum uno iugo. Suero. cum uno iugo. Jo / hannes Lobon et Sancho Cufba cum uno iugo. Raymundus de Cidielo. cum uno iugo. Michael gener ipsius. cum uno iugo. Salvador Pelaez et P<eidro Alfonsi> cum uno iugo. Salvador Uincenti. et Johannes Pelaez. cum uno iugo / Vitalis Garsie. cum uno iugo. A<n>dreas de Occania cum uno iugo. D. Surdus cum uno iugo. Johannes de Cidielo et Domenga cum uno iugo. Martinus Dominici cum uno iugo. D. de Batres. cum uno iugo. Ra / ymundus et Esquierdo cum uno iugo. Tali pacto uobis predictis populatoribus. prephatam hereditatem dono. ut unoquoque anno de unoquoque iugo. detis michi semper uel cui ego mandauero. unum kaficium de ordeo. et / alterum kaficium de tritico. et faciatis michi. tres operationes in anno. duas in seminando. et terciam in triturando. aut in barbechando. Sed in diebus quibus operationes istas feceritis. meus maiordomus dabit

uobis panem / et uinum. et pulmentum. Super hoc totum dabitis michi si uenero. uel Comitisse uxori mee si uenerit. unum prandium. semel in anno. uidelicet. tres carneros. et unum tocinum. et duodecim gallinas. et duos kaficios de / ceuada. et decem arrouas de uino. et centum et sexaginta panes. Et hoc erit a festiuitate Sancti Michaelis. usque ad aliam festiuitatem Sancti Michaelis. sequentis anni. Et si ego uel comitissa infra annum uenerimus. si ui / deritis certum nuntium cum litteris meis dabitis supradictum prandium. filio meo. uel filie. uel nepoti. ut quisquis horum uenerit. cum certo nuncio accipiat. Sed si ego uel comitissa. uel aliquis istorum propinquorum meorum / non uenerimus. si annus transierit. numquam amplius prandium illud de illo preterito anno a uobis exigatur. Preterea concedo uobis mediam sernam que est inter pratum de illa aldea et illam carreram de Pantoiha. ad faciendos ortos. / et uineas. De uineas quoque quas ibi plantabitis. postquam fructum fecerint. dabitis michi fideliter sextum fructus in vineis. Si uero aliquo tempore uineas illas michi partiri placuerint. uos habeatis duas partes imper / petuum hereditatis et ego terciam. Si feceritis ortum de acenia <dabit>is michi similiter sextum fructus. De ortis uero de Cigonar. neque de palombare nichil michi dabitis. Si forte aliquis uestrum hereditatem suam uoluerit / uendere. et si ego

fuero citra serram. prius faciat michi scire. et si ego uel filius meus uoluerimus comparare eam pro tanto precio quantum alius dare uoluerit. et dederimus ei precium. accipiamus illam. Et si ubicumque fuero in expeditionem regis. expectent me donec ueniam. et non uendat. Si autem fuero ultra serram in regno regis Aldefonsi. uel in regno regis Fernandi faciat scire meo maiordomo. et expectet XL diebus. et si tunc non compara / uero. uendat cui uoluerit. qui idem forum et seruitium michi faciat quod ipse facere solebat. Si aliquis uestrum calumpnia fecerit. iudicetur ad forum Toleti. et pectet michi aut roget me pro calumpnia illa. Pratum / quod habemus in simul. non disrumpatur ad pascendum. nisi quando uos omnes unanimiter uolueritis. Hec omnia que continentur in carta ista que pertinent ad forum et ad seruitium meum. facietis michi dum ego uiuus / fuero. postea uero facietis illi qui me hereditabit. aut illi cui ego dimisero. Quicumque uero siue sit de genere meo aut alieno si hanc cartam et eius tenorem. quisquis sit uiolare uel labefactare uoluerit. sit a Deo maledictus / et excommunicatus nisi statim penituerit. et cum Iuda traditore in inferno dampnatus. quinetiam pectet regie parti centum libras auri. Facta carta mense Septembris. Era M^o.CC^o.XI^o. Regnante rege Aldefonso filio re /gis Sancii in Toletis. et in Strematura. et in Castella. Archiepiscopo existente Celebruno. In

Toleto alcaed. Fernand Martinez. Alcaldes. Don Melendo et Petro Diaz. Aluazil Feliz Sanchiz. Almoxerif Domingo auen Seruand. / Ego domnus Godiel testis. Ego Johannes Dominici testis. Stephan Cibrian. testis P. Alfacen testis. Bernardus sancti Nicholay. testis presbiter. Ego Johannes presbiter sancti Nicholai testis. Ego P. Michaelis testis. Pedro Petrez testis Don Cardiel testis / Garssia Cosso testis P. Stephanus testis Polo adalil testis Romeu Stephan. testis Nicholaus Andres testis.

XXIII

1176

Archbishop Cerebruno of Toledo rents some houses in that city to count Nuño Pérez de Lara and his wife countess Teresa Fernández.

Ms: AHN, Códices, 987B, fol. 48v-49r.

Reg: Cart.Toledo, no. 178.

In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Ego C. Dei gratia Toletane sedis archiepiscopus. et Hispaniarum

primas dictus. cum consensu conuentus eiusdem ecclesie. uobis comes Nunio. et uxori uestre comitisse domne Teresie pro multis beneficiis que nobis contulistis. et ad huc uita comite collati. estis. acomodamus domos illas que fuerunt infantisse domne Sencie. et sunt in uico sancti Nicholai. Acomodamus siquidem eas uobis ita ut omnibus diebus uite uestre eas possideatis. et reparetis et in meliorem statum eas omnimodo reformatis. Pro censu autem. quinque morabetinos. in festo Pasce. singulis annis persoluatis. Et post mortem uestram. statim eas liberas et quietas sine ulla contradictione in ius et dominium sancte Marie. cuius sunt dimittatis. Testes huius rei sunt qui hic sua nomina scribunt. Era M^a. CC^a. XIII^a. Ego C. Dei gratia Toletane sedis archiepiscopus licet indignus. et Hyspaniarum primas dictus. subscribo.

(1st column):

Ego Guillelmus prior conf.

Ego P. archidiaconus conf.

Ego archidiaconus C conf.

Ego Guillelmus archidiaconus conf.

(2nd column):

Ego Iohannes magister scholarum conf.

Ego Henricus archidiaconus conf.

Ego Raimundus capellanus conf.

XXIV

1183

Count Pedro Manrique and his sister María pawn the vill and castle of Agosin to the abbey of La Vid for 1000 maravedís.

Ms: AHN, Clero, 378/21. Original.

Reg: Indice de los documentos...de los monasterios de Nuestra Señora de la Vid y San Millán de la Cogolla, 140.

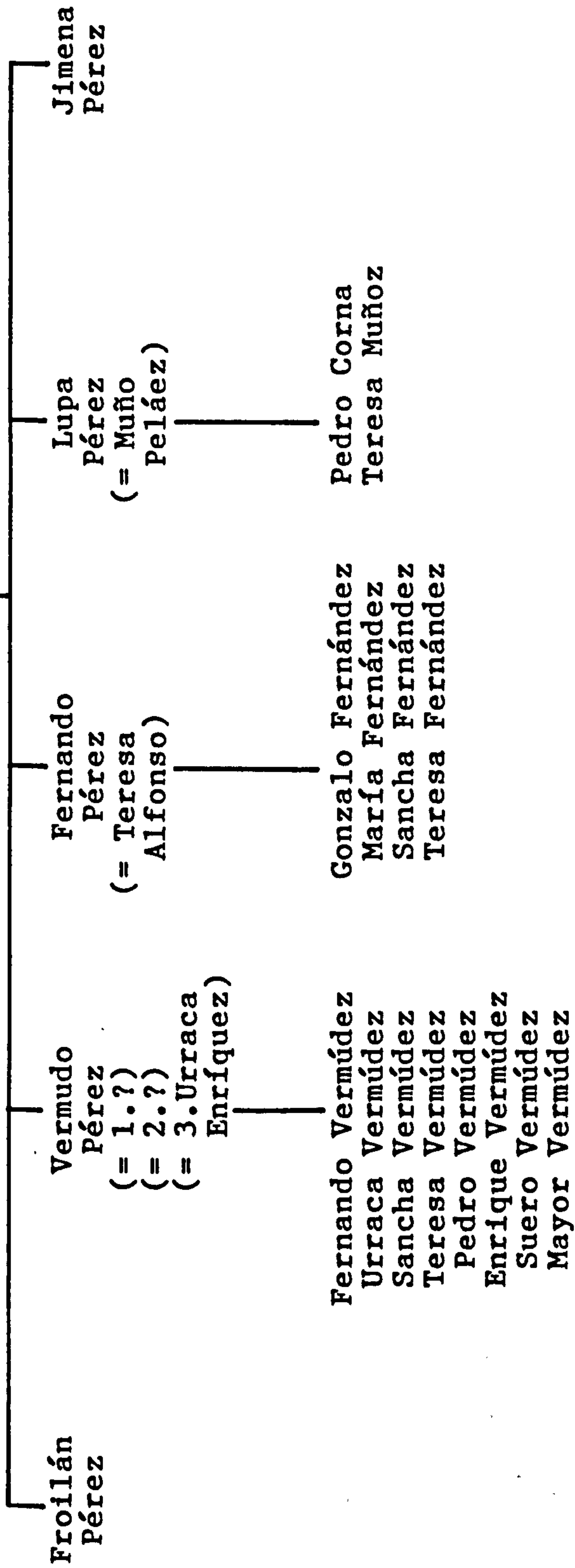
In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi amen. Ego comes Petrus (.....) diuino et mea ermana domna Maria damus in pignore monas / terio sancte Marie de Uite et uobis domno Dominico abbati eiusdem loci et successoribus et fratribus uestris tam presentibus quam futuris uillam que / dicitur Agosin pro mille morabetinis quos accepimus a uobis. Damus itaque uobis prefatam uillam cum ingressibus et egressibus scilicet castellum / cum

ortis et molendinis cum hereditatibus et uineis et
pascuis et defesis cum riuis et piscariis et fontibus
cum montibus et uallibus et / cum omnibus directuris
suis tali pacto ut illam libere et quiete habeatis et
possideatis nullo contradicente donec de prefata pecu
/ nia plene redintegremini. Facta carta coram rege
Aldefonso. Era. M^a. CC^a. XXI^a. Quicumque ergo hoc
nostrum factum aliquo modo / uiolare temptauerit sit
maledictus et excommunicatus et cum Iuda domini
traditore in inferno dampnatus. insuper pectet in coto
/ duo milia morabetinos. Medietatem supradicto
monasterio et medietatem regi. Huius rei sunt testes.
Guterrius Ferrandez filius Ferrandus / Brauogio.
testis. Sancius Martinez. testis. Gonçaluo Diaz.
testis. Loppe Breio. testis. Petrus Petri de
Arniellas. testis. Garcia Stephani. testis. Iohannes
Matheo. / de Burgos. testis. Don Petrion ierno de
Fernando Ocemenez. testis.

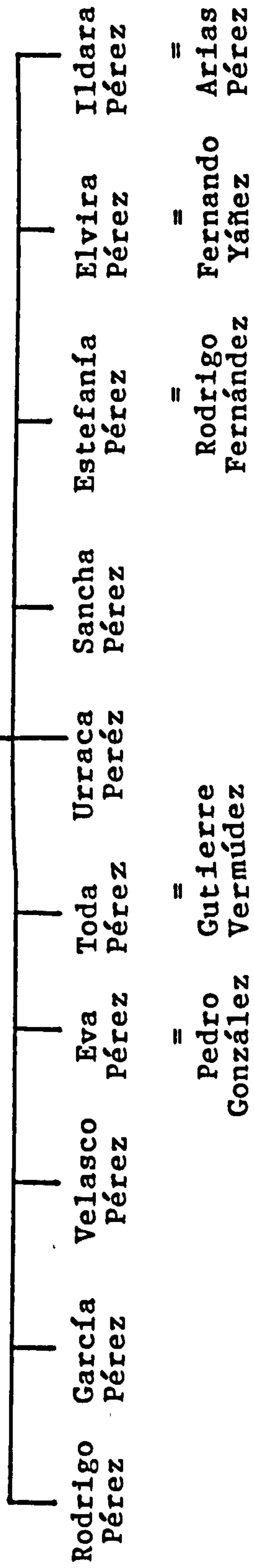
APPENDIX 2

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

PEDRO FROILAZ (= 1. Urraca Froilaz)



PEDRO FROILAZ (= 2. Mayor Rodríguez)



THE DESCENDANTS OF COUNT PEDRO FROILAZ DE TRABA (II)

VERMUDO OVEQUIZ

Suero Vermúdez
(= Enderquina
Gutiérrez)

Alfonso Vermúdez

Urraca Vermúdez

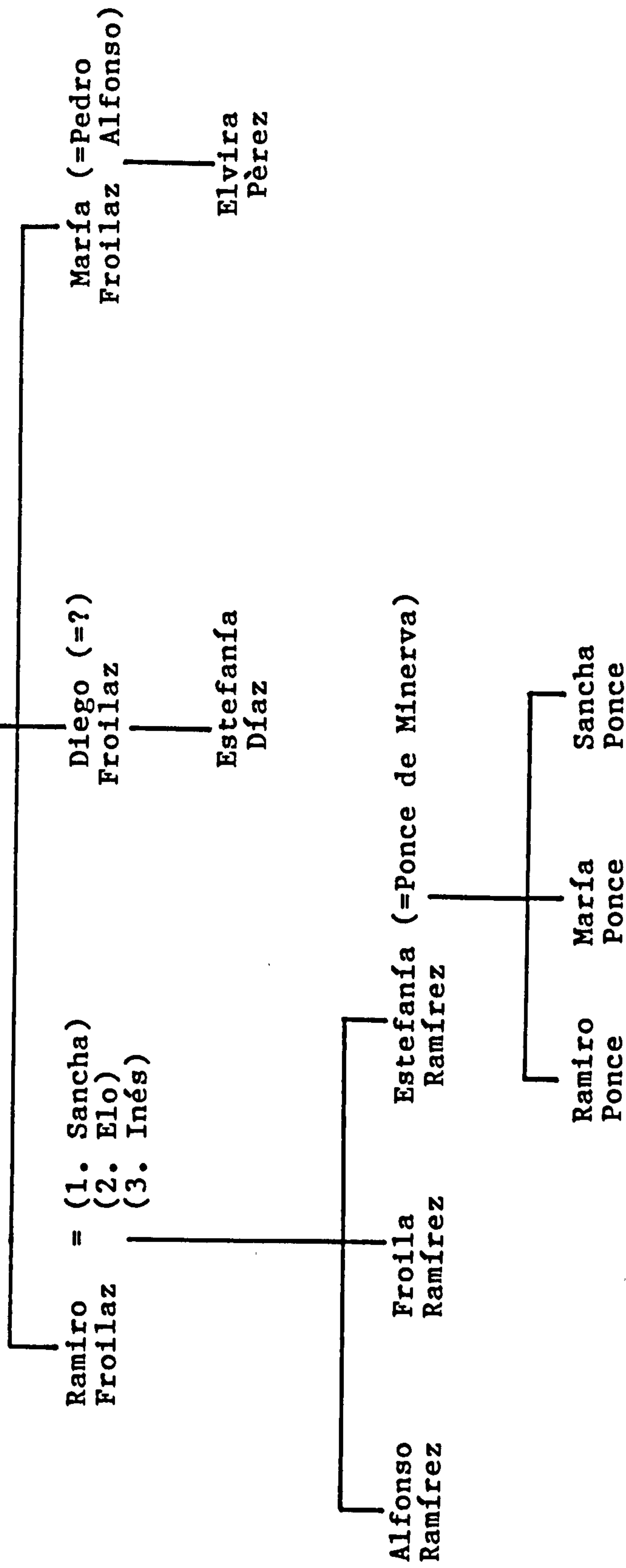
Gutierre Vermúdez
(= Toda Pérez)

Pedro Alfonso
(= María Froilaz)

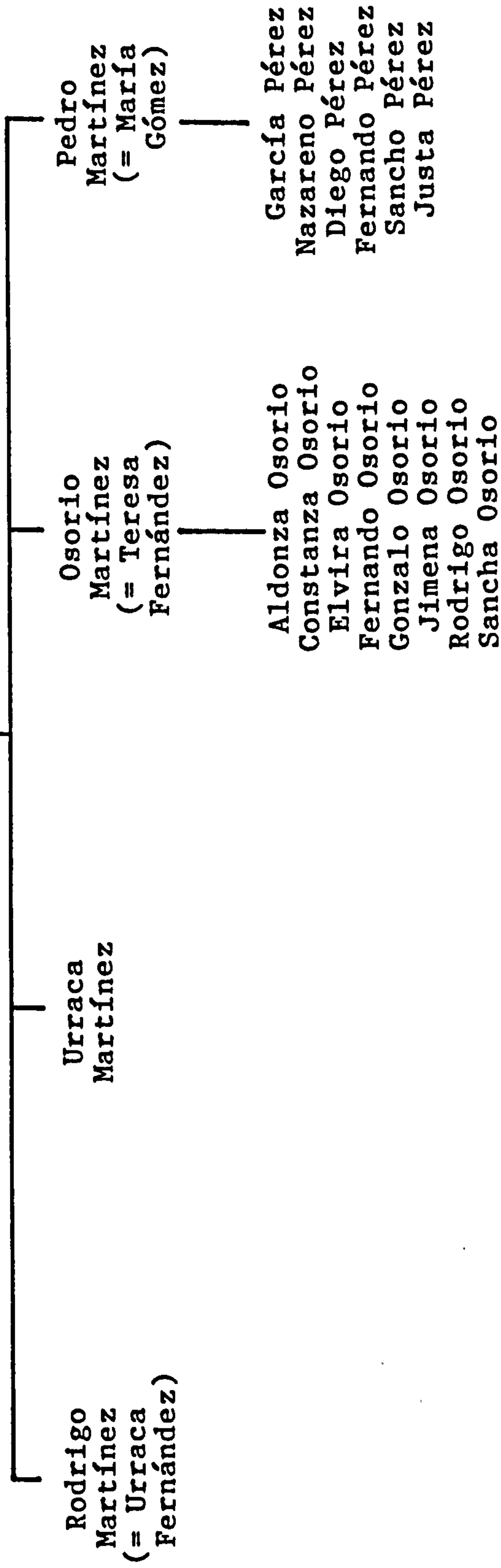
Elvira Pérez

Vela Gutiérrez
(= Sancho Ponce)

FROILA DIAZ (= Estefanía Sánchez)

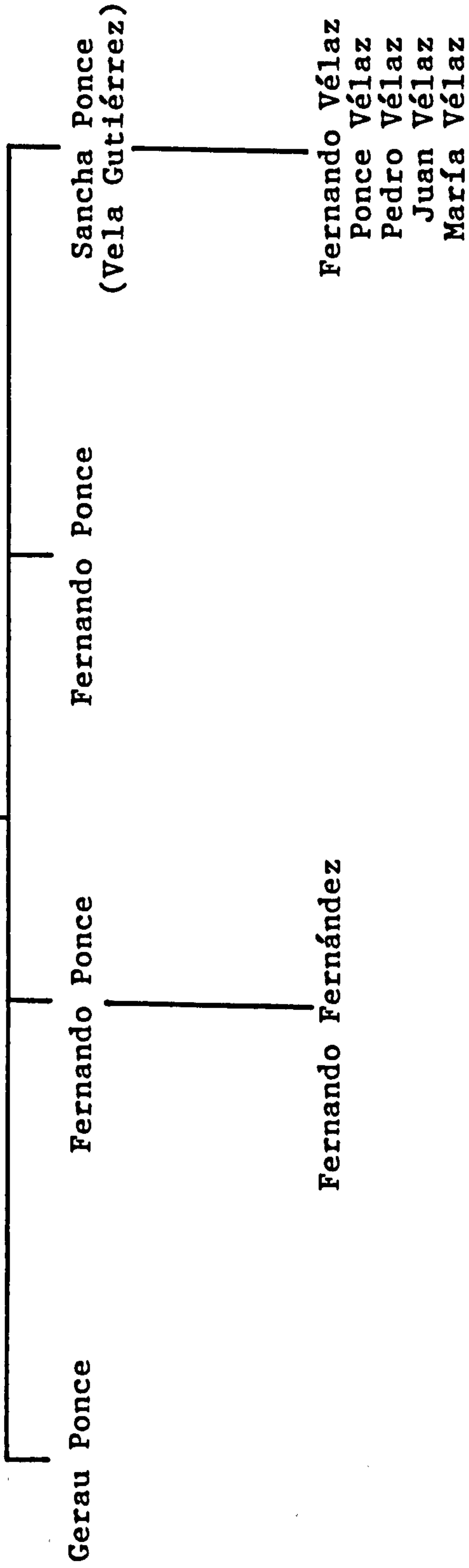


MARTIN FLAINEZ

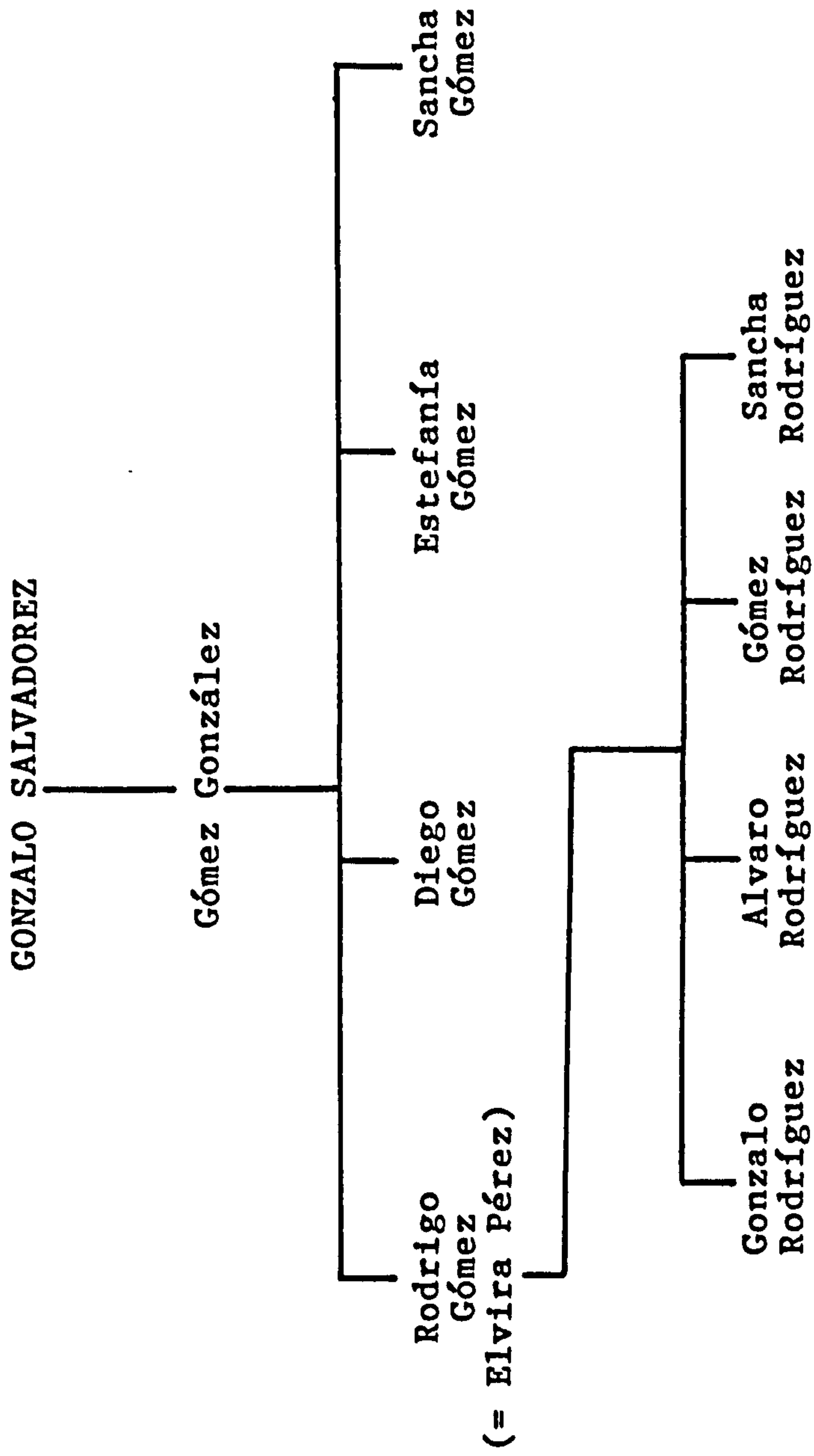


THE DESCENDANTS OF COUNT MARTIN FLAINEZ

PONCE DE CABRERA (= María Fernández)

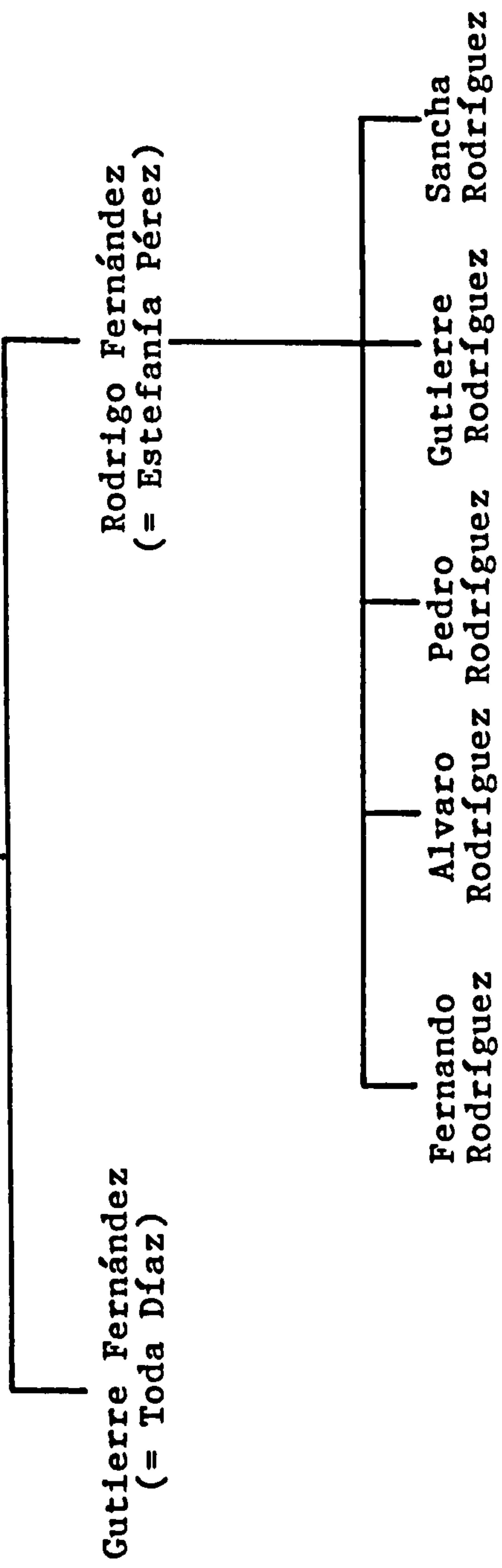


THE DESCENDANTS OF COUNT PONCE DE CABRERA

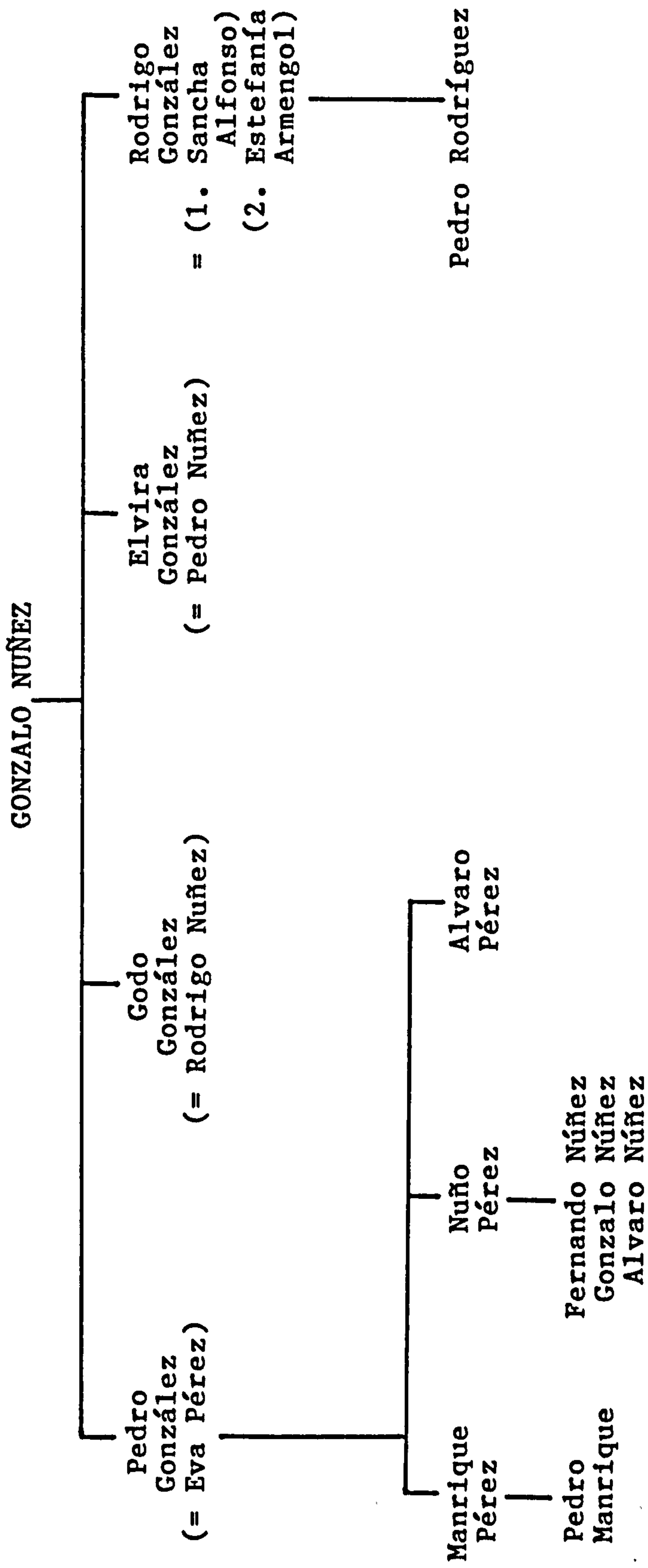


THE DESCENDANTS OF GONZALO SALVADOREZ

FERNANDO RODRIGUEZ (= María Ansúrez)



THE DESCENDANTS OF FERNANDO RODRIGUEZ DE CASTRO



THE DESCENDANTS OF GONZALO NUÑEZ DE LARA

MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS CONSULTED

I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Burgo de Osma

Archivo de la Catedral

Coruña

Archivo Histórico del Reino de Galicia

León

Archivo de la Catedral

- (i) Fondo Particular
- (ii) Fondo de monasterios
- (iii) Fondo Catedral

Archivo de San Isidoro

Archivo Histórico Diocesano

- (i) Fondo General
- (ii) Fondo de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas
- (iii) Fondo de Santa María de Gradedes
- (iv) Fondo de San Pedro de Dueñas
- (v) Fondo de Santa María de Carrizo

Lugo

Archivo de la Catedral

Madrid

Archivo Histórico Nacional

(i) Sección de Clero: the following carpetas have furnished me with materials:

169	Bujedo
174	Campajares de Bujedo
180	Las Huelgas

225	Fresnillo de las Dueñas
230	Gumiel de Izán
238	Herrera
249	Ibeas de Juarros
351-2	Rioseco
378-9	La Vid
490	Bugallido
491	Caabeiro
494	Cines
497-8	Monfero
511	Monzonzo
512	San Martín Pinarío
518-9	San Payo de Antealtares
524	Santiago de Compostela cathedral
526-33	Sobrado
556	Tojos Outos
824-5	Carbajal
832	San Miguel de Escalada
835	Espinareda de la Vega
868	Gradefes / Encarnación de León
890-908	Sahagún
928	"
948	Nogales
961-5	Eslonza
977-9	Trianos
1023	Cañas
1030	Nájera
1048	San Millán de la Cogolla
1081	Santa Eulalia de Devesa
1082	Ferreira de Pallares
1107	Lorenzana
1126-9	Meira
1185	Mondoñedo cathedral
1214	Peñamayor
1238	Pombeiro
1325C-H	Lugo cathedral
1334	" "
1430-1	Celanova
1437-8	Melón
1481	Montederramo
1506	Naves
1508-11	Osera
1565	Rocas
1616-18	Villanueva de Oscos
1646	Oviedo - varios
1647-9	Aguilar de Campóo
1718	Cerrato
1740-1	Entrepeñas
1749-50	Armenteira
1784	Carboeiro
1786	Lérez
1794-5	Oya
1857	Poyo
1861	"

1977	Los Huertos
3134	Toledo - varios
3404	Aniago
3411	Armedilla
3436	Retuerta
3439	Valvení
3440	Valbuena de Duero
3576	Toro
3580	Valparaiso
3581	Zamora cathedral
3584	San Salvador de Zamora

(ii) Sección de Códices: the following manuscripts have been consulted (all the numbers given bear the 'signatura B'):

15	Tumbo de Osera
60	Tumbo de Oya
91	Becerro de Rioseco
104	Tumbo de Sacramenia
105	Cartulario de Santa María la Real de Nájera
114	Tumbo de Meira
115	Indice del archivo de San Isidro de Dueñas
162	Inventario de escrituras de San Pelayo de Cerrato
259	Tumbo de Monfero
279	Privilegios concedidos al monasterio de Rioseco
323-5	Cartulario de Melón
417	Libro-Tumbo (letra B) de la catedral de Lugo
986	Tumbo de Celanova
987	Becerro segundo de la catedral de Toledo
988	Becerro segundo de Sahagún
989	Becerro gótico de Sahagún
994	Becerro de Aguilar de Campóo
996	Becerro primero de la catedral de Toledo
1002	Tumbo de Tojos Outos
1008	Tumbo de Osera
1040-1	Libros de Aniversarios de la catedral de Lugo
1043	Tumbo Viejo de la catedral de Lugo
1044	Tumbo de Lorenzana
1197	Colección de Privilegios de la catedral de Astorga
1439	Tumbo de Caabeiro

(iii) Sección de Ordenes Militares: the following carpetas have been consulted:

Orden de Santiago: a) Archivo de Uclés: 94
b) Archivo de San Marcos de León:
373, 383-5
Orden de Calatrava: 417-19, 455-6
Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén: 568, 574, 577-8, 580

(iv) Sección de Diversos:

Archivos Familiares y Personales: Serie General: Fondo no. 13 : Inventario del Archivo Julio Mos-Valladares - Legajo 278.

(v) Sección de Osuna:

Carpeta no. 12.

Biblioteca Nacional

Sección de Manuscritos: the following manuscripts have been consulted:

712	(<u>Privilegios varios de Ciudades, Iglesias y Monasterios</u>)
720	(<u>Privilegios de las Huelgas y otros</u>)
4357	(<u>Indice de las Escrituras de la Santa Iglesia de Astorga</u>)
5928	(<u>Noticias de la Santa Iglesia de Mondoñedo, 1763</u>)
13093	(<u>Colección Burriel: Documentos papales, reales, y particulares del Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo</u>)
19418	(<u>Fray Malaquías de la Vega, Casa de Castro</u>)

Real Academia de la Historia

Colección Salazar

Santiago de Compostela

Archivo de la Catedral

- (i) Pergaminos sueltos
- (ii) Tumbo A
- (iii) Tumbo B
- (iv) Chartularum ac diplomatarum collectio maxima

Archivo Histórico Diocesano

- Fondo San Martín Pinarío:
- (i) Serie San Martín
 - (ii) Serie Priorato de Sar

Archivo de la Universidad

- (i) Fondo San Martín Pinarío
- (ii) Fondo Moraime

Archivo de San Payo de Antealtares

- (i) Fondo de Antealtares
- (ii) Fondo de Cornellana
- (iii) Libro de traslado de los privilegios y de otras escrituras antiguas que se hallan en el Monasterio de San Martín de la Ciudad de Santiago (1779)

Instituto del Padre Sarmiento

Archivo Parroquial de Sar

Segovia

Archivo de la Catedral

Sigüenza

Archivo de la Catedral

Toledo

Archivo de la Catedral

Museo de Santa Cruz

Tuy

Archivo de la Catedral

Zamora

Archivo de la Catedral

- (i) Legajos
- (ii) Tumbo Negro

Archivo Histórico Provincial

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Catálogo de los documentos privados en pergamino del archivo de la catedral de Orense 888-1554) (Orense, 1973).

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Santa María de Arbas. Catálogo de su archivo y apuntes para su historia (Madrid, 1980).

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Gil Merino, A.,
Archivo Histórico del Reino de Galicia. Guía del Investigador (La Coruña, 1968).

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Privilegios reales de la Orden de Santiago en la Edad Media. Catálogo de la serie existente en el Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid, n.d.).

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