

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

2 VOLUMES

I

SIMON FRASER BARTON

DPhil

**UNIVERSITY OF YORK
Department of History**

(April, 1990)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	<u>Page</u>
Table of figures	6
Acknowledgements	7
Abstract	9
Abbreviations	11
INTRODUCTION	13
Notes to Introduction	27
CHAPTER 1 : CLASS, FAMILY AND LINEAGE	30
(a) The articulation of a class	31
(b) Family	57
i) Kinship and Inheritance	58
ii) Lineage	71
iii) Birth and Childhood	82
iv) Marriage	88
v) Old age and Death	108
(c) Noble households	112
i) Household organisation	112
ii) Residence	129

iii) Recreation and Culture	132
Notes to Chapter 1	138
CHAPTER 2 : PROPERTY AND POWER	164
Introduction	165
(a) The aristocratic patrimony	171
i) Rural property	173
ii) Urban property	191
iii) Great landowners	196
iv) Other sources of wealth	201
(b) The Lord and his Manor	206
i) Immune lordships	208
ii) The evidence of the <u>fueros</u>	211
iii) The structure of the Manor	215
iv) The profits of lordship	220
v) Administration	227
(c) Magnates and <u>Milites</u>	235
Notes to Chapter 2	243
CHAPTER 3 : THE NOBILITY AND THE CHURCH	258
Introduction	259
(a) The <u>Adelskirche</u> in León-Castile	263
i) The Proprietary Church	263
ii) Careers in the Church	275
(b) Lay aristocratic piety in León-Castile	280

i) The foundation of monasteries	280
ii) Endowment of the Church	315
iii) Pilgrimage and Crusade	329
(c) Conflict with the Church	334
Epilogue	354
Notes to Chapter 3	357

VOLUME II

Table of contents	374
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 1 : The diplomas of the reign of Alfonso VII (1126-1157)	23
Figure 2 : Property acquisitions by Pelayo Froilaz (1105-1127)	178-9
Figure 3 : 12th century aristocratic <u>fueros</u>	214
Figure 4 : Monastic houses affiliated by lay patrons to independent orders (1142-1176)	297
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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the British Academy for the grant of a Major State Studentship and to the Leverhulme Trust for awarding me a Study Abroad Studentship to enable me to pursue my research in Spain.

A great debt of thanks is owed to all those who have helped bring this thesis to its happy conclusion. Pride of place must go to my supervisor Dr. Richard Fletcher. His criticism, acute yet always kindly, has saved me from many a blunder; he has generously lent me books from his own library; and he has boosted my morale when spirits were flagging.

My thanks are also due to Professor Derek Lomax of the University of Birmingham who has provided welcome encouragement and much useful advice during the course of my research. The counsel of Dr. Raymond McCluskey of the University of St. Andrews made my visit to the archives of León far easier than it might otherwise have been.

In Spain, I am particularly indebted to Dra. Isabel Beceiro Pita of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid: she has helped my work at every turn, lending me books from her own library and by suggesting new approaches to my research that might not otherwise have occurred to

me. From the same institution, Dra. Reyna Pastor, Dra. Isabel Alfonso and José Manuel González have all been of assistance. My thanks must also go to Dr. Manuel Recuero Astray of the Universidad Autónoma in Madrid with whom I paid a most enjoyable visit to the cathedral archive of Burgo de Osma. Professor Antonio García y García of the Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca furnished me with letters of introduction to the Galician archives and treated me with great hospitality on the occasion of my visit to Salamanca. In Valladolid I have been able to count on the friendship and advice of Dr. Pascual Martínez Sopena and have also received useful help from Professor Gonzalo Martínez Díez. In Santiago de Compostela, my thanks are due to Professor Ermelindo Portela Silva and Dra. María Carmen Pallares Méndez.

I am also grateful to Adeline Rucquoi of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, Professor Bernard Reilly of Villanova University, Anna Rodríguez Cano of the British Council in Madrid and Rosamund Jones.

I dedicate this work to my wife Isabel, for whom its completion will come as a great relief. She has been a welcome ray of sunshine when things were gloomy and has put up stoically with the 'labour pains' that inevitably accompany such research. ¡Por fin!

ABSTRACT

The past forty years have seen much distinguished work by French and German scholars on the aristocracy of Early Medieval Europe. In a Spanish context, however, the lay nobility of the kingdom of León-Castile has attracted relatively little scholarly attention: interesting studies of individual families have been produced and promising avenues for research suggested, but studies of somewhat wider scope, dealing with the nobility across the whole kingdom of León-Castile remain few and far between.

This thesis examines the characteristics of lay aristocratic society in León-Castile during the reign of Alfonso VII (1126-1157). Drawing on the evidence of the narrative sources, together with the ecclesiastical and monastic documents of the period, the chief aims of this research have been as follows:

- to identify those magnates who enjoyed a prominent position in the court of Alfonso VII and to gauge their influence in the kingdom as a whole.

- to examine the feudal ties that bound such men to the king.

- to study the part played by the nobility in the wars of reconquest undertaken by Alfonso VII against the Muslims and the other rulers of Christian

Spain.

- to investigate the local power base of these aristocrats: in particular, to examine their family ties; the organisation of their households; the distribution and extent of their lordships; and their relations with the Church.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Archivo de la Catedral de
AEM	<u>Anuario de Estudios Medievales</u>
AHD	Archivo Histórico Diocesano
AHDE	<u>Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español</u>
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHRG	Archivo Histórico del Reino de Galicia, La Coruña
AL	<u>Archivos Leoneses</u>
BN	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
BRAH	<u>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</u>
CAI	<u>Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris</u> , ed. L. Sánchez Belda (Madrid, 1950)
Cart.Toledo	F.J. Hernández ed., <u>Los Cartularios de Toledo: Catálogo Documental</u> (Madrid, 1985)
CDMR	I. Rodríguez de Lama ed., <u>Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja, II: Documentos (923-1168)</u> (Logroño, 1976)
CDO	M. Castro and M. Martínez Sueiro eds., <u>Colección de documentos del Archivo Catedral de Orense</u> , 2 vols (Orense, 1922- 3)
DMP	<u>Documentos Medievais Portugueses: Documentos Regios</u> , I (Lisbon, 1958)
EEMCA	<u>Estudios de la Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón</u>
ES	<u>España Sagrada</u> , ed. E. Flórez, M. Risco and others (Madrid, 1747-1879)
GRC	J. González, <u>El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII</u> , 3 vols (Madrid, 1960)

- GRF** J. González, Regesta de Fernando II
(Madrid, 1943)
- HC** Historia Compostellana, ed. E. Flórez
(Madrid, 1765) (= ES XX)
- LFH** A. López Ferreiro, Historia de la S.A.M.
Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela, 11
vols (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911)
- OM** Sección de Ordenes Militares
- PA** Poema de Almería, in CAI, 165-206.
- Rassow** P. Rassow, 'Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfons'
VII von Spanien', Archiv für
Urkundenforschung 10 (1928), 328-467 and
11 (1930), 66-137
- RAH** Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid
- SH** Studia Historica: Historia Medieval

INTRODUCTION

It is perhaps no exaggeration to affirm that the past forty years have witnessed a complete transformation in our knowledge of the aristocracy of Early Medieval Europe. The prodigious efforts of French and German scholars in particular - Duby, Schmid and Werner are three names that spring readily to mind - have made it possible to trace the origins and evolution of the privileged aristocratic group across the Early and Central Middle Ages; to unravel the complexities of its family ties; and to analyse the distribution of wealth and power within its ranks. In short, they have enabled us to begin to understand the dominant role played by the nobility within the framework of medieval society as a whole.(1)

Fruit of this endeavour has been the publication of a spate of learned books and articles. If some of the most enlightening studies have taken the aristocracy of medieval France and Germany as their theme, important advances have been made in other parts of Europe too. Mattoso, for example, has almost single-handedly investigated the character and concerns of the medieval Portuguese aristocracy; and there have been important studies of the nobility of Anglo-Saxon and Norman England.(2)

It is somewhat surprising, therefore, given this explosion of studies devoted to the nobility of Early Medieval Europe, that in a Spanish, or to be

more precise, Leonese-Castilian context, the subject has received decidedly little attention. For, if at least the nobility of medieval Catalonia has been the object of some important researches, 'el estudio de la aristocracia medieval de los reinos de Castilla y León está en gran medida por hacer', as Martínez Sopena has rightly observed.(3)

That is not to say, of course, that the nobility of León-Castile has never attracted the attention of scholars. The eruditos of the 17th and 18th centuries, the most eminent of whom was perhaps Salazar y Castro, compiled numerous works dedicated to celebrating the illustrious past of some of the greatest aristocratic lineages of the Peninsula.(4) Not surprisingly, such works were chiefly given over to the tracing of the genealogy of these families. Much of what was discovered remains of singular importance today, not least because a good many of the documents that were edited have long since disappeared.

Yet, the example set by the genealogists was not followed by succeeding generations of historians. Studies devoted to the nobility of León-Castile became few and far between. True, during the intervening years there have still been some valuable contributions to our knowledge: the chapters dedicated by González to the great Castilian and Leonese noble

families of the 12th and early 13th centuries and Moxó's study of the extinction of the chief lineages of the 'nobleza vieja' are particularly worthy of mention.(5) Yet, at the very time when scholars elsewhere in Europe were beginning to look at the medieval nobility in a new and different way, the genealogical bias of such studies has inevitably tended to appear somewhat antiquated in its scope and concerns.

The reasons for this long-standing historiographical lacuna are not hard to find. For, if the abundant documentation pertaining to the noble lineages of the 14th and 15th centuries has given rise to a considerable number of valuable studies, the archives of the aristocratic families of the Central Middle Ages have long since disappeared.(6) Instead, the historian who wishes to discover something of the nature of lay aristocratic society before the 14th century must resign himself to a long and patient search for those scraps of information relevant to his purposes that have been preserved in the ecclesiastical archives. We can but agree with Portela and Pallares that 'la información sobre la nobleza laica no está a la altura de su papel directivo en la sociedad medieval'.(7) It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a good many historians, faced with the infinitely richer sources provided by the episcopal

sees and monastic houses of León-Castile, have concentrated their research on the development of ecclesiastical institutions.

During the course of the past two decades, however, it is fair to say that Spanish historians have tentatively begun a long-overdue reappraisal of the aristocracy and its role in Leonese-Castilian society in the centuries prior to the advent of the Trastámaras. In 1970, a perceptive essay by Moxó set out in broad terms the state of knowledge at that time and suggested possible avenues for future research.(8) Today, many of Moxó's assertions can be challenged, but his synthesis remains valuable and has provided a decisive impulse to a new generation of medievalists. Proof of this are the clutch of important studies on the medieval nobility of the Early and Central Middle Ages that have appeared. Particularly worthy of note is Carlé's 'Gran propiedad y grandes propietarios', which provides a revealing insight into the expansion of aristocratic patrimonies during the 10th and 11th centuries.(9) To Martínez Sopena, meanwhile, we owe two valuable studies, which have contributed greatly to our understanding of the character and concerns of certain Leonese lay aristocratic families.(10) Moreover, the numerous articles that have been dedicated by other historians to various noble families of this period are yet further sign of the

growing interest in the medieval aristocracy.(11) Notwithstanding these important contributions to our knowledge, Estepa Díez, to whom we owe several useful studies on the nobility, has sounded a warning note:

'El esfuerzo de síntesis...se hace necesario, pues nos podemos perder en la maraña de datos acerca de las diversas familias, sus ramificaciones, la dispersión de sus patrimonios y la propia actuación jurisdiccional que ejercen a través de la detentación de cargos administrativos'.(12)

The aim of this present study is to provide just such a work of synthesis, by undertaking an analysis of Leonese-Castilian aristocratic society during the reign of the emperor Alfonso VII (1126-1157). Rather than trace the fortunes of a single noble family or even a group of families across successive generations, as has hitherto been the typical modus operandi of those studying the nobility, it was decided to attempt a broader approach, albeit within a shorter time span.

The reign of Alfonso VII, which remains little-studied and poorly understood even today, features prominently in the history of 12th century León-Castile. Initially a period of reconstruction after the ruinous wars which had marked the rule of his mother Urraca, the latter part of the reign saw the emperor Alfonso, as he became after 1135, dominate the political and military scene of the Peninsula. Under his leadership the Reconquista took on new urgency and

spectacular, if ultimately ephemeral, gains were made at the expense of the Muslim inhabitants of al-Andalus.

Moreover, it was during this very period that the aristocracy as a social group appears to have undergone important changes: there are signs that noble men and women were starting to conceive of family in a new way; relations with the Church took on new character; and we observe members of the nobility beginning to acquire properties and administrative duties far from their patrimonies in the wake of the military campaigns on the southern frontier.

The sources for this study fall broadly speaking within two categories:

a) **Narrative sources:** particular mention must be made of the anonymous Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, a panegyric in prose and verse which covers the events of the period 1126-1147.⁽¹³⁾ If Sánchez Belda is right, and the Chronica was the work of bishop Arnaldo of Astorga (1144-1152/3), then we can establish its composition as having taken place some time between 1147 and 1152. It is a notable piece of historiography for several reasons: for one thing, the providential tone of the work, which is reinforced by a pastiche of references taken from the Old Testament, portrays Alfonso VII as an instrument of divine will; as the

leader of a chosen people. Moreover, the strong crusading spirit which pervades the author's poetic account of the conquest of Almería marked a novel departure in Leonese-Castilian historical writing. For our own purposes, the Chronica is an invaluable source, for it has much to tell us of the magnates who attended the court of Alfonso VII and of the military campaigns they waged on his behalf. Furthermore, the Poema de Almería, in the truncated form it has come down to us, consists largely of a lengthy and stylised description of the chief members of the lay nobility who took part in the campaign of 1147.

The second major literary work of the period we should mention is the Historia-Compostellana, which relates the history of the see of Santiago de Compostela across the period 1095-1139.(14) The Historia is a curious work: commissioned by the then bishop of Compostela, Diego Gelmírez, it comprises both a registrum, or collection of documents pertaining to the see, as well as a celebration of the deeds of bishop, later archbishop, Diego. It has been described as 'a plain and at times almost embarrassingly candid record of a great prelate's gesta'.(15) Moreover, it was the work of several writers, although just how many authors actually took part in its composition has been a matter for fierce debate.(16) Among other things, the Historia provides

us with a graphic description of Galician society in the early 12th century and is particularly informative about the activities of the local aristocracy and its relations with the Church.

b) **Diplomatic sources:** These may be divided into two groups. First of all, the diplomas issued by Alfonso VII provide us with an invaluable record of the lay magnates who attended the court and made up the core of the royal curia. The chancery of Alfonso VII was the object of an admirable study by Rassow in 1927-8, who provided a detailed analysis of the chancery members and their methods.(17) Moreover, Rassow edited no fewer than 57 charters of the emperor and compiled a regesta listing a total of 372 royal diplomas. Valuable though his study remains today, Rassow's work was far from definitive. Apart from drawing on those documents that had already been edited, he based his study on the evidence of the pergaminos, but not the cartularies, held in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, as well as one volume of the 18th century Burriel transcriptions that are held in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Gayoso and Salazar collections from the Real Academia de la Historia. He did not visit any provincial archives, however. The limitations of Rassow's work were highlighted by Reilly in 1976 in a study of the

Alfonsine chancery during the years 1116-1135.(18) Reilly identified no fewer than 180 royal diplomas from this period, of which some 47 were forgeries or suspicious, whereas Rassow had been acquainted with only 92 charters, of which 13 he classed as spurious or doubtful. As Reilly himself has observed, 'this evidence points to a chancery larger, better organized and far more regular in its methods and output than Rassow believed'.(19) As far as the chancery products of the period 1136-1157 are concerned, no detailed study has yet been published, although Recuero, in his study of the reign of the emperor, refers to a large number of charters that do not appear in Rassow's catalogue.(20) As far as my own research is concerned, it has been possible to extend these findings yet further. Taking the reign as a whole, I am currently aware of some 747 diplomas of Alfonso VII, of which at least 124 are forgeries and a further 52 survive only as notitiae; that is to say, almost exactly twice the number that were known to Rassow. In Figure 1, the 571 surviving genuine charters of the emperor are set out according to year. Drawing on the evidence of the witness lists appended to such charters, it is possible to build up a fairly detailed picture of aristocratic court attendance during the reign of Alfonso VII, particularly for the period after 1134 when chancery output seems to have

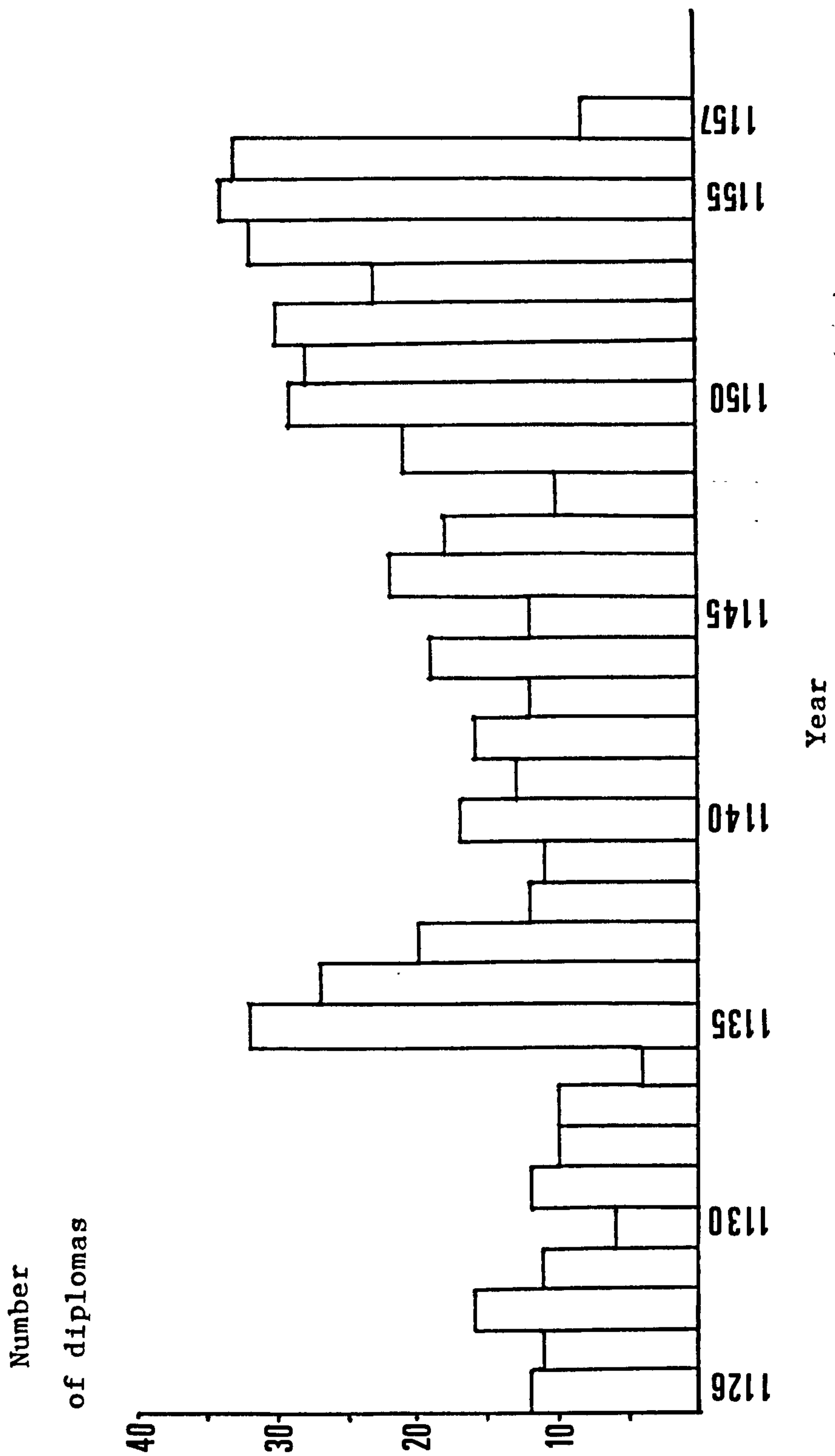


FIGURE 1 :
 Diplomas of the reign of Alfonso VII (1126-1157)

increased considerably.

In addition to this sizeable collection of royal charters, use has been made of the corpus of 'private' documents, notably those pertaining to noble landholdings, lawsuits, monastic endowments and so on. Some of these have been transcribed and are included in the Appendix at the end of this thesis. Nevertheless, our diplomatic sources can also be desperately laconic: they have practically nothing to tell us of the true extent of aristocratic patrimonies, or of the way in which nobles organised their households and administered their lordships. As will become all too apparent in the coming pages, so much of what we have to say must remain hesitant and tinged with doubt.

For all that, enough evidence survives to make such a synthetic approach to the aristocracy viable and worthwhile. By combining the results of our own labours in the archives with the findings of other historians, it is hoped to highlight both the possibilities and, of course, the grave limitations of our sources and in this way to be able to portray the characteristics of 12th century aristocratic society from a wider perspective. As we mentioned earlier, the aim of this thesis has not been to provide an in-depth study of the greatest lay families of the kingdom. Where sufficiently detailed studies of

individual nobles and their kin already exist, attention is drawn to them in the notes. Only in the case of those nobles about whom little or nothing has been written, has a certain amount of biographical material been included. Nevertheless, even if an overtly genealogical approach has been avoided, the fact that we know so much more about the interests and activities of the great magnates of the kingdom, who travelled regularly to the royal court and led military expeditions on behalf of the Crown, means that the names of certain prominent lay figures - such as the members of the Lara family of Castile, or the Trabas of Galicia - crop up repeatedly.

Our study of the lay aristocracy has been divided into five sections. In Chapter 1 the privileged class that we call the nobility is considered, the characteristics of aristocratic families are examined and an attempt is made to discover something of the organisation of noble households. In Chapter 2 particular attention is paid to noble landholdings and to the peasants who worked them. The relations between the lay nobility and the Church are subjected to analysis in Chapter 3. The close ties that bound monarchy and nobility together are considered in Chapter 4, taking as a test case the court of Alfonso VII. Finally, in Chapter 5 the vital role played by lay magnates in the numerous military

campaigns of the reign of Alfonso VII is studied and a general sketch of the conditions of warfare in the first half of the 12th century is provided.

As far as the chronological scope of this study is concerned, only in Chapters 4 and 5 have we confined our enquiry to the period 1126-1157. For the rest of the thesis, however, these limits have not been strictly observed and we have drawn on a wide range of 12th century materials in the course of our research.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. In this thesis no distinction is made between the terms 'aristocracy' and 'nobility'. Two useful collections of studies on the medieval nobility are to be found in F.L. Cheyette ed., Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe (New York, 1968) and T. Reuter ed., The Medieval Nobility (Amsterdam, 1979).
2. J. Mattoso, A nobreza medieval portuguesa. A família e o poder (Lisbon, 1981) and Ricos-homens, infanções e cavaleiros. A nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII (Lisbon, 1985). Among recent studies of the Anglo-Norman nobility, particular mention should be made of D. Crouch, The Beaumont Twins. The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, 1986).
3. P. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder en León durante el siglo XI. La "casata" de Alfonso Díaz', SH 5 (1987), 33-87, at page 33.
4. Typical of the genre is L. Salazar y Castro, Historia genealógica de la Casa de Lara, 4 vols (Madrid, 1697).
5. J. González, El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII (Madrid, 1960) (hereafter GRC), I, 259-363 and Reinado y Diplomas de Fernando III, 3 vols (Córdoba, 1980-6), I, 124-78; S. de Moxó, 'De la nobleza vieja a la nobleza nueva. La transformación nobiliaria castellana en la baja Edad Media', Cuadernos de Historia 3 (1969), 1-210.
6. For a useful review of recent studies on the nobility of the Later Middle Ages, see M.C. Quintanilla Raso, 'Nobleza y señoríos en Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media. Aportaciones de la historiografía reciente', AEM 14 (1984), 613-39.
7. E. Portela and M.C. Pallares, 'Elementos para el análisis de la aristocracia altomedieval de Galicia: parentesco y patrimonio', SH 5 (1987), 17.
8. S. de Moxó, 'La nobleza castellano-leonesa en la Edad Media. Problemática que suscita su estudio en el marco de una historia social', Hispania 30 (1970), 5-68.

9. M.C. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad y grandes propietarios', CHE 57-58 (1973), 1-224.
10. P. Martínez Sopena, La Tierra de Campos Occidental. Poblamiento, poder y comunidad del siglo X al XIII (Valladolid, 1985), 327-422; 'Parentesco y poder', 33-87.
11. Recent studies include: A. Prieto Prieto, 'El conde Fruela Muñoz. Un asturiano del siglo XI', Asturiensia Medievalia 2 (1975), 11-37; E. García García, 'El conde asturiano Gonzalo Peláez', Asturiensia Medievalia 2 (1975), 39-64; J.M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, 'Elvira Pérez, condesa de Urgel. Una asturiana desconocida', Asturiensia Medievalia 4 (1981), 93-129; idem, 'El conde don Rodrigo Alvarez de Sarria, fundador de la orden militar de Monte Gaudio', Compostellanum 28 (1983), 373-98; idem, 'El conde Osorio Martínez y los marqueses de Astorga', Astorica 7 (1988), 11-31.
12. C. Estepa Díez, 'La nobleza leonesa en los siglos XI y XII', Centro de Estudios Astorganos "Marcelo Macías": Cuadernos 1 (1984), 6.
13. L. Sánchez Belda, Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris (Madrid, 1950).
14. E. Flórez ed., Historia Compostellana, published in ES XX (Madrid, 1765).
15. R.A. Fletcher, St. James's catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela (Oxford, 1984), 301.
16. On the creation of the Historia Compostellana, see especially B.F. Reilly, 'The "Historia Compostelana": Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish "Gesta"', Speculum 44 (1969), 78-85; L. Vones, Die "Historia Compostelana" und die Kirchenpolitik des nordwestspanischen Raumes (Cologne, 1980); and most recently F. López Alsina, La Ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), 44-93.
17. P. Rassow, 'Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfons' VII von Spanien', Archiv für Urkundenforschung 10 (1928), 327-467 and 11 (1930), 66-137.

18. B.F. Reilly, 'The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: the period 1116-1135 reconsidered', Speculum 51 (1976), 243-61.
19. ibid., 261.
20. M. Recuero Astray, Alfonso VII. emperador: el imperio hispánico en el siglo XII (León, 1979).

CHAPTER 1

CLASS, FAMILY, LINEAGE

(a) **The articulation of a class**

The origins, reality and status of the nobility of western Europe during the Middle Ages have dominated scholarly debate during the course of the past half century. The subject has attracted the attention of some of the most distinguished minds of the academic world and stimulated an enormous output of writings.(1) Lamentably, space does not permit us here to follow in any great detail the cut and thrust of this long-standing historiographical debate, but we may at least provide a brief outline of the chief questions that have been examined.

Isidore of Seville, writing in the 7th century, pithily defined nobilis as 'cuius et nomen et genus scitur'.(2) The reality was undoubtedly rather more complex. Today, expressing things in the simplest of terms, we might define the nobility as a group whose members were set far and above the rest of medieval society on account of the social power and privileges that they wielded. How exactly one might come to enjoy and maintain such status is rather more disputed, however. Recent historiography has debated at great length the relative importance that factors such as birth, wealth, service to the Crown and power over other men might have played in moulding the nobilitas of such lay notables.(3) Marc Bloch, for example,

averred that in medieval Francia such power was only initially achieved by merit and personal achievement and that the group was, to begin with at least, open to all freemen.(4)

A radically different view to the meritocratic model proposed by Bloch has been set out by Werner and the members of the so-called 'Freiburg school' headed by Tellenbach.(5) These scholars have argued for a stricter caste model in which the privileges that belonged to the noble class were enjoyed by a very restricted number of favoured families and that any upward or downward social mobility that took place occurred only within this small group. To be 'ortus parentibus nobilibus', therefore, became the sine-qua non for belonging to the ranks of the nobility. Thereafter, factors such as economic wealth, political influence and power, military prowess and Königsnähe, as German historians have termed the importance of royal favour, could all be significant in enabling certain nobles to occupy the upper echelons of the privileged social group. Parallel to this debate, the legal position of the nobility has likewise been the object of much learned discussion, with some historians arguing that 'aristocracy' and 'nobility' are different concepts which should not be employed interchangeably.(6)

Yet, for all the abundant literature that the

scholarly debate has generated, attempts to isolate common characteristics and 'universal truths' among the nobility of western Europe as a whole have met with limited success. 'As soon as one becomes more specific', Génicot has commented, 'the variations become more noticeable and one is forced to make distinctions, not only in time but probably also in space.'(7) His comments are echoed by Poly and Bournazel, for whom 'savoir qui est noble est d'abord affaire de temps et de lieux'.(8) Thus, what may have been true of 12th century France or Germany may not have always applied in contemporary Italy or Spain.

The origins of the nobility of medieval León-Castile are hedged about with doubts and controversy. There seems to be general agreement that the Muslim invasions of the early 8th century shattered not only the power of the Visigothic monarchy, but also of the aristocracy that served it. The extent to which any of these powerful and wealthy Visigothic families were able to preserve their privileged position in the nascent Christian kingdom of Asturias is less clear, however. According to García de Valdeavellano, for example, some of them probably formed 'una nobleza hereditaria de segunda categoría, fundada en el prestigio de la sangre', while Moxó, for his part, prefers to speak of the 'quiebra brusca' of the Visigothic aristocracy and of the gradual development

of 'una nueva y distinta nobleza'.(9) More recently, however, Mínguez has argued that there was a definite continuity across the threshold of the 8th century and that 'gran parte de la aristocracia de los siglos IX y X tiene antecesores directos en la época visigoda'.(10) Nevertheless, our sources for this period are so meagre that such assertions are almost impossible to prove. The debate need not detain us too long here. Instead, it may suffice to say that from the beginning the Asturian kings were accompanied by a small group of fideles and proceres palatii who, whether they were of Visigothic, Cantabrian or some other origin, aided the fledgling monarchy in its wars against the Muslims and in the administration of the expanding kingdom. By their service and ties of loyalty to the Crown, their prominent role in the repopulation of the territories reconquered from the Muslims and, above all, by their feats of arms, there evolved a distinctive aristocratic group at the head of Leonese-Castilian society during the course of the 8th and 9th centuries. Even so, our vision of these aristocrats, via the sparse charters and chronicles of the period, is blurred and it is hard for us to tell whether we are yet dealing with a fully-fledged nobility conscious of its distinctiveness and its privileged position within society.

From the 10th century onwards, the rather

fuller materials that the historian has at his disposal have made for several revealing studies of some of the greatest noble families of León-Castile.(11) It has been possible to trace reliable genealogies for some of the most important families down to the 12th century and beyond and to reconstruct, at least in part, the distribution and extent of their patrimonies. Already by the 11th century, Carlé has identified the Leonese aristocratic group as 'compacto, bastante cerrado al parecer, y constituido por una serie de familias casi siempre relacionadas entre sí por vínculos de parentesco'.(12) Yet, it was in the very 11th century, according to Moxó, when 'la primitiva y embrionaria nobleza de la época anterior ofrece claros síntomas de agotamiento', giving way to what he labelled the 'nobleza vieja' of the Central Middle Ages.(13) In particular, Moxó claimed, the 12th century was the crucial period in this transformation, for it was at this time that a good many of the great noble lines sprang up and the nobility acquired a legally defined status of its own.(14) Nevertheless, the studies of Carlé and Martínez Sopena, among others, have demonstrated that the 'break' that Moxó claims to see between what he terms the 'aristocracia primitiva' and the 'nobleza vieja' is entirely illusory.(15) True enough, certain noble lineages may be said to have taken root during

the 12th century, we need only think of those founded in León-Castile by the Catalan magnates Ponce de Cabrera and Ponce de Minerva, but for numerous great aristocratic families, their pedigree may be traced back with a fair degree of certainty to the early 11th century and beyond. In other words, there was a good deal more continuity across this period than Moxó had given credit for. Moreover, Moxó's claim that the nobility developed a legal status of its own during this period must also be called into question; historians today, rather, would agree that legislation in this vein did not evolve until after the 12th century.(16) Even so, that the 12th century marked a particularly important period in the evolution of the Leonese-Castilian nobility is scarcely to be doubted. Estepa Díez, for one, has claimed that the century 'fue un momento clave en la confirmación de eso que llamamos nobleza'.(17) Indeed, he is willing to be even more specific:

'Me atrevería a decir y sugerir como hipótesis que el reinado de Alfonso VII fue fundamental para darse esos pasos, al tiempo que otros en la propia evolución de la monarquía castellano-leonesa.' (18)

Estepa may well be right, of course, but, as we shall see, the sources that we have at our disposal for this period are far too laconic for us to confirm the hypothesis with any degree of certainty. Nevertheless, after this all too brief sketch of the development of

the Leonese-Castilian nobility across the period 711-1100, it is time for us to pause and examine in rather more detail the characteristics of that privileged social group in the 12th century.

By the time of the early 12th century the gradations of power or class in Leonese-Castilian society had begun to crystallize into broadly recognisable forms. Even so, there is still a disquieting vagueness about the way in which contemporaries referred to the social distinctions of the population. The Chronica, for example, describing the great council and crown-wearing ceremony that took place at León in May 1135, narrates only that 'omnes maiores et minores congregati sunt', while elsewhere he merely states that 'omnes nobiles et ignobiles et omnis plebs, iuncti sunt iterum in ecclesia Beatae Mariae...' (19) In its account of the preparations for the wedding between king García of Navarre and the infanta Urraca in 1144, however, the chronicle is rather more detailed:

'Imperator, propriis militibus et cunctis comitibus et principibus et ducibus, qui in toto suo regno erant, ut unusquisque eorum cum sua nobili militia parati venirent ad regales nuptias, missis legatis, praecepit... Venit autem imperator, et cum eo uxor sua imperatrix domna Berengaria, et maxima turba potestatum, comitum, ducum et militum Castellae' (20)

It would be interesting to know whether, the terms principes and duces were used by the chronicler to

refer to distinct ranks within the aristocratic group. Nevertheless, the remarkable looseness with which terms such as magnates, principes, nobiles or barones were employed in the charters of this period tends to suggest, rather, that such epithets had yet to acquire precise definitions. For all that, however, the fact that such terms were used at all to refer to the members of the aristocratic group, is proof enough that contemporaries were well aware of the distinctive role and status of such men and women within society.

At the top of the privileged group that we call the nobility were the magnates, men who were closely bound to the monarchy by ties of fealty, administered large areas of the realm in its name, held great tracts of land by their own right, and attended meetings of the royal curia. Moreover, they played a crucial role in the numerous military campaigns of the period. These magnates, or optimates, proceres, or principes, as they are occasionally referred to in the documents of the period, were 'national' figures in the sense that their economic and political interests were not rooted in one small area and that their frequent attendance at the royal peripatetic court saw them travel widely around the kingdom. For Moxó, the magnates constituted

'el elemento más dinámico y poderoso de la nobleza, el que de una manera más directa influía en la orientación política del Reino y gozaba de mayor reputación y prestigio en la

sociedad.' (21)

Chief among the magnates were the counts. In 12th century León-Castile, however, the office of count remains an obscure institution. The comites were not feudal princes ruling over compact quasi-autonomous stem regions, as seems to have been the case in neighbouring Catalonia and France. True, Manrique Pérez and Ponce de Cabrera might occasionally adopt the style 'Dei gratia comes' in some of the charters they drew up, but, as Reilly has postulated, the evidence we have suggests that by this period the countship may have become 'a heritable dignity, separable from public jurisdiction'; in other words, a badge of distinction awarded only to the most influential of nobles and over which the monarchy seems often to have been able to exercise a fairly close control.(22)

In the 11th century, it was not uncommon for father and son to hold the title of count simultaneously, but the practice became very rare after 1100. True, Fernando Pérez de Traba was elevated to the status of comes during the lifetime of his father, count Pedro Froilaz, but this was probably the result of the quasi-regal powers that the former shared with the infanta Teresa Alfonso in the county of Portugal.(23) On occasion, succession to the countship seems to have occurred automatically

following the death of its holder. An instructive example is that of the Galician magnate Gonzalo Fernández de Traba.(24) The last known reference to his father, count Fernando Pérez, occurs in the royal charter he witnessed at Carrión on 15 January 1155.(25) He must have died shortly afterwards, for by the time the court had reached Valladolid on 4 February his son Gonzalo was already confirming diplomas as 'Comes Gundisaluus'.(26) In a similar manner, the Chronica relates that the emperor conferred comital status upon Osorio Martínez immediately following the death of his elder brother, Rodrigo Martínez, at the ill-fated siege of Coria in 1138.(27)

On other occasions, however, heirs to the countship were made to wait for some considerable time before being allowed to accede to the office. It is striking, for example, that Manrique Pérez was only invested count in 1145, some 15 years after the death of his father, count Pedro González de Lara; similarly, the Castilian Gonzalo Rodríguez did not attain the countship until 1173, nigh on 30 years after the demise of his father, count Rodrigo Gómez.(28) In both these cases, we might suspect that the two men were fairly young when their fathers passed away, which opens up the possibility that in León-Castile, unlike neighbouring Catalonia where

succession to the countship of Urgel was automatic, some sort of age bar existed before a young noble might occupy comital office. In any case, there can be little argument that royal consent was essential before a magnate could accede to the countship. Moreover, it would be interesting to know whether, as in contemporary England, aspirants to the title were often required to surrender a large sum of money to the Crown.(29)

In the large majority of cases, the countship passed to the eldest son, but it was not unknown for two brothers to hold the title simultaneously, as was the case with Fernando and Rodrigo Pérez de Traba or with the counts of Lara, Pedro and Rodrigo González, and the sons of the former Nuño and Alvaro Pérez. It remains to consider, however, what exactly it was that qualified a magnate to assume the title of count. Was it simply a matter of birth, or were other, more complex, factors involved?

In this respect, it may be instructive for us to examine briefly the career of the distinguished Castilian magnate Gutierre Fernández de Castro.(30) Now, there can be no doubting that among the community of magnates of 12th century León-Castile, Gutierre Fernández possessed an impeccable curriculum .vitae. Maiordomus in the household of Queen Urraca between 1110 and 1117 and in that of Alfonso VII during the

period 1135-1138, the Castilian noble always maintained very close contacts with the monarchy.(31) During the reign of Alfonso VII he was one of the most frequent visitors to the imperial court; he served as guardian to Sancho III and tutor to the infant Alfonso VIII.(32) Besides, he took part in numerous military expeditions: he was present at the sieges of Castrojeriz in 1131 and Colmenar de Oreja in 1139 and participated in several campaigns in Andalucía, notably the conquest of Almería in 1147.(33) Furthermore, he was charged with diplomatic missions on behalf of the Crown, held tenencias in Burgos, Castrojeriz, Calahorra and Soria, among others, and was a generous patron of Castilian monasteries.(34) Of sufficient standing to be dedicated several laudatory verses in the epic Poema de Almería, he was also described as 'magnus in corte imperatoris' in one royal diploma, titled 'princeps Castelle' in another and styled 'potestas' in numerous more.(35)

Yet, for all his loyal service to the Crown, Gutierre Fernández was never elevated to the status of count. This may suggest to us that by the 12th century the title was perhaps above all a matter of blood, rather than of service or merit, and that, valued servant of the Crown though he was, the Castilian magnate was considered to be not quite 'top drawer'. Even so, Gutierre Fernández was certainly no social

upstart. His father, Fernando Garcés, lord of Fita and Guadalajara, was a loyal servant of the Crown and witnessed numerous royal charters between 1097 and 1125.(36) In addition to these close relations with the court, however, Fernando Garcés was related to some of the greatest noble families of the Peninsula. At an uncertain date, he married Tegridia Martínez, daughter of the powerful Leonese count Martín Flainez, a union which brought two sons, Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández. By his second wife, the countess Estefanía Armengol, daughter of count Armengol V of Urgel, Fernando Garcés fathered four other children: Urraca, Martín, Sancha and Pedro. If we follow the line back further, moreover, the pedigree of Gutierre Fernández is even more distinguished, for it is likely that his paternal grandfather was king García Fernández of Galicia, who was deposed from his realm by Sancho II in 1071 and who died in the castle of Luna, a prisoner of Alfonso VI, in 1090.(37) On the other hand, could it have been his very descent from an exiled and disgraced ruler that left something of a black mark against the name of Gutierre Fernández? It is a question we cannot answer with any certainty, of course, for our sources are far too opaque to allow us such insights. Nevertheless, the case of the Castilian magnate is an important reminder that service to the Crown was not the be-all and end-all of aristocratic

advancement, as some historians have rather glibly assumed.

Rather, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that at the top end of lay aristocratic society the 'inner circle' of the Leonese-Castilian magnates, that is, the group formed by the comites and their heirs, remained relatively closed throughout this period and that, as a result, the comital dignity was effectively 'monopolised' by certain leading families. This much is clear from the fact that in the vast majority of cases during the 12th century, those nobles who held the countship had in turn inherited the title from their fathers. The timing of the award of the privilege may have been in royal hands, but appointment responded principally to blood and tradition rather than to merit. There was an undoubted expectation of office that few monarchs may have felt able to resist. Indeed, we come across very few examples of heirs of counts being denied what they would have undoubtedly regarded as a birthright.(38) Nevertheless, the barrier was not unbreachable, as we are reminded by the cases of Suero Vermúdez, the Catalan magnates, Ponce de Cabrera and Ponce de Minerva, and the Castilian Gonzalo de Marañón.(39)

Yet, if we have talked above of an 'inner circle' within the ranks of the high nobility of the kingdom, we should not dismiss the importance of those

aristocrats who, although denied the distinction of comital office, were nonetheless important magnates in their own right. We have already spoken of the influence that Gutierre Fernández de Castro enjoyed at the royal court during much of the 12th century. We might also mention the Castilians García Garcés de Aza, Rodrigo Fernández de Castro and Diego Muñoz, or the Galician Fernando Yáñez.(40) Our sources make clear that all these men enjoyed considerable influence within the kingdom and played a leading role in the numerous military campaigns of the period. Besides, they were also sufficiently well thought of to be able to marry into the greatest families of León-Castile. In other words, the example of these nobles serves to demonstrate that it would be unwise for us to imagine two rigidly defined and mutually exclusive groups within the ranks of the high nobility of the kingdom. If the honour of comital office seems to have been largely the prerogative of a limited number of noble dynasties, this is not to say that those same families enjoyed a monopoly of political, military or economic power.

Below these magnates came a great mass of lesser nobles, who are generally referred to in our sources as milites or infanzones.(41) The generic term of milites, however, could also be extended to define the nobility as a whole. Pérez de Tudela has

aptly spoken of the 'heterogénea gama de condiciones sociales hermanadas bajo la denominación de militia... Tanto militia como miles son voces en sí mismas confusas y plurivalentes'.(42) Thus, when in May 1149, Alfonso VII awarded the Leonese village of Nogales to Vela Gutiérrez, the son of count Gutierre Vermúdez of Montenegro, the magnate was addressed as 'uobis domno Velo Guterrez, militi meo'.(43) In general, however, the miles was a noble of humbler stock, who lacked the economic and political clout of the great magnates and whose sphere of influence was invariably restricted to a relatively reduced area of the kingdom. Very occasionally, such men might have been called upon to witness a royal charter if the king and his entourage happened to be in the vicinity, or if the noble was with the royal army on campaign, but for the most part, their influence at the royal court was entirely ephemeral. It is unlikely, for example, that their presence in the curia regis would have been much in demand. Rather, most were men who would have served as knights in the king's army or in the mesnadas of other powerful magnates, to whom they might have been bound by ties of vassalage and from whom they would have received benefices in land or cash. Few would have possessed the wherewithal to lead such war bands themselves, however.

Just such a man was Pedro Peláez de

Arnales.(44) This Leonese noble may very occasionally be glimpsed among the retinue of Fernando II during the second half of the 12th century, but he was by no means a powerful magnate and his influence at the royal court was probably negligible. His father, Pelayo Pérez 'Captivo', had served in the army Alfonso VII had led against Córdoba in 1150 and was rewarded for his services.(45) We are fortunate, however, in that numerous charters recording the activities of Pedro Pelaez's family have survived and have made it possible to trace its genealogy across the 11th and 12th centuries and to reconstruct in some detail its economic interests. These sources demonstrate that, humble miles though he was, Pedro Peláez was a man of some considerable landed wealth; he owned numerous estates in the Esla and Sequillo valleys and in the region of the Tierra de Campos, where he also held the tenencia of Villafrechós.

Nevertheless, not all the milites could boast the wealth of men like Pedro Peláez. Indeed, the impression given by our sources is that many were men of more far more slender means for whom the benefices they received from the king or his magnates in return for military service and the booty they won on campaign would have constituted a major source of income. As Martínez Sopena has observed:

'La necesidad de lograr beneficios sirviendo en las campañas del rey parece obligada para

los nobles; el servicio militar llega a tener los caracteres de una huida hacia adelante cuando los herederos son varios y el patrimonio más bien menguado.'(46)

In other words, it was by their service as mounted knights that these milites were able to achieve and maintain the privileged status of nobilis and to pass on that status to their heirs, however modest their political or economic horizons may have been.

Further to the south on the frontier with al-Andalus, meanwhile, the constant need for mounted knights to meet the Muslim military threat led to the evolution of a large amorphous group of caballeros villanos or 'commoner knights'.(47) These men enjoyed the same privileges as the rest of the nobility, notably exemption from taxation, if they could afford to buy a horse and armour and carry out cavalry service for their lords. Nevertheless, their ability to enjoy the privileges of the nobiles depended uniquely upon their military function and their status did not pass automatically to their heirs. It is hardly surprising, however, that the relative ease with which these caballeros villanos were able to share in the privileges of the nobility aroused considerable resentment. From the late 12th century, the 'nobleza de sangre', that is, those men whose noble status derived from birth and lineage, began to distance themselves from the parvenu caballeros of the

frontier. There developed the so-called Orden .de Caballería, an order embracing the magnates, or ricos homes as they came to be known, and the milites, infanzones and hidalgos, all of whom were invested with arms by means of a knighting ceremony.(48) Nevertheless, as Mackay has observed, 'the ability of a family to provide caballero service over two or three generations ensured that the "villein knights" were easily assimilated into the ranks of the hidalgos'.(49)

Yet, if the upward social mobility that took place at the bottom end of aristocratic society is clear enough, can we say the same further up the ranks of the privileged social order? Earlier in this chapter, for example, we spoke of an 'inner circle' within the group of the great lay magnates of the kingdom, which appears to have remained relatively closed throughout this period. Even so, we suggested, it was not impossible for outsiders to gain entry to this select company. Two such men were the Catalan nobles, Ponce de Cabrera and Ponce de Minerva, who arrived in León-Castile in 1127 in the retinue of Berengaria, the young bride of Alfonso VII. Aided by the protective cloak of royal patronage, both nobles rapidly gained power and prestige.(50) They married into two of the greatest families of the kingdom: Ponce de Cabrera with María Fernández de Traba,

daughter of count Fernando Pérez, and Ponce de Minerva with Estefanía Ramírez, daughter of count Ramiro Froilaz. And, ultimately, both were elevated to the status of count, Ponce de Cabrera in 1143 and Ponce de Minerva in 1164, and founded dynasties which were to enjoy great fame and influence in León-Castile.(51)

As far as the lower ranks of the nobility were concerned, however, we come across numerous cases of upward social mobility. Of course, the example par excellence is that of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the Cid, that Castilian infanzón whose famous deeds in the late 11th century enabled him to carve out a whole kingdom for himself in Valencia. Naturally enough, none of the other milites of León-Castile were able to match that sort of achievement; as Carlé has remarked, 'el Cid era un verdadero fenómeno de la guerra, una excepción'.(52) Nevertheless, we do encounter several cases of nobles who, if their gains were rather more modest, were nonetheless able to climb the social ladder during the course of the 12th century. Let us consider a few examples.

Martín Díaz served in the household of Alfonso VII.(53) His loyal service was rewarded in 1142 when the monarch granted him Albiros and again two years later when he received the vill of Pajares de Campos, which he had previously held as a benefice from the Crown.(54) His position within the royal household is

defined in a diploma of 1146, which records the grant by the emperor of the church of Santa María de Velerda to 'uobis Martino Diez meo submaioridomus, propter seruicium, quod michi fecistis et facitis'.(55) The Leonese noble subsequently joined the household of count Ponce de Cabrera whom he served as majordomo. Indeed, it was Martín Díaz who was charged with drawing up the fuero of Castrocabón for count Ponce and his wife María Fernández in 1152.(56) He may also have held the post of merino of Carrión.(57) As we have seen, his long career of service to the Crown brought numerous rewards. Few details of his patrimony are known to us, but the documents issued by his heirs demonstrate that the family held extensive interests in the valleys of the Sequillo and Valdejinete. Moreover, Martín Díaz's influence in the region did not die with him; his children continued to exercise considerable power, and two of his grand-children, Pedro Rodríguez and García Fernández, were later to found the important noble dynasties of Sarmiento and Villamayor.

In other cases it seems to have been military service to the monarchy that was instrumental in enabling members of the nobility to improve their status. We may think, for example, of the Galician miles Muño Alfonso, that vir bellicosus in the words of the Chronica, whose prodigious feats of arms on the

frontier with al-Andalus won him great fame and fortune, until he met an untimely death at the hands of the Almoravides.(58) Another Galician, Fernando Yáñez, achieved an even more spectacular advancement, however. The figure of Fernando Yáñez crops up at numerous points in the chronicles of the 12th century. The Historia Compostellana, for whom the noble was a 'principem et potestatem', has much to say of the loyal service he lent in Galicia both to queen Urraca and to her son Alfonso VII.(59) The author of the Chronica, meanwhile, was a great admirer of Fernando Yáñez, whom he describes as 'strenuus miles imperatoris et amicus fidelis' and elsewhere as 'princeps Limiae'.(60) Furthermore, in the Poema de Almería he receives glowing praise and is called 'militia clarus, bello numquam superatus'.(61) We know next to nothing, however, about the family origins of Fernando Yáñez which might suggest that he was not of illustrious descent. Be that as it may, by his valiant deeds and by his loyal service to queen Urraca, at a time when virtually all Galicia seemed against her, the knight rapidly won a name for himself. And his worth to the Crown was confirmed by his stout resistance to the Portuguese invaders during the 1130s too. That this loyal service did not go unrewarded, is clear from the charter Fernando Yáñez had drawn up at Toledo shortly before his death in the

late summer of 1154. Granting an estate at Oliveira to the see of Tuy, the Galician noble recorded that he did so

'pro anima mea, et pro anima regine domne Urrace, in cuius tempore et seruicio eam ganauí, et ipsam me heredauit, iubente et concedente Adefonso filio eius Yspanie imperator et qui amplius me in multis et in omnibus benigne me honorauit, quam mater sua, et contra inimicos meos me usque ad mortem adiuuando et defendendo liberauit.'(62)

Fernando Yáñez, lord of the area of Limia, rapidly became one of the most influential figures on the stage of Galician politics and his acceptance into the circle of the high nobility of the region may be gauged from his marriage to a daughter of count Gómez Núñez, lord of Toroño.(63) Even so, the successful rise of Fernando Yáñez did not stop there. For, unlike many of his fellow Galicians, who rarely strayed beyond the frontiers of their region, Fernando Yáñez became a regular visitor to the royal court during the reign of Alfonso VII and, more particularly, a linchpin in many of the military campaigns that were waged against the Muslims. He was present at the conquest of Colmenar de Oreja in 1139 and probably also participated in the razzia that ravaged Andalucía in 1144.(64) Moreover, it was Fernando Yáñez who was despatched by the emperor to help Ibn Hamdin hold the town of Andújar in early 1146 and who subsequently took part in the reduction of Córdoba in the same

year, while his role in the expedition against Almería in 1147 was emphasised by the author of the Poema de Almería.(65) Later, we see him accompanying the expeditions Alfonso VII led against Jaén and Lorca, in 1151 and 1152 respectively.(66) In recognition of his sterling service on the frontier, the emperor rewarded Fernando Yáñez with the lordship of several important tenencias. In 1143 he is cited as holding that of Talavera near Toledo, by 1146 he was tenant of Maqueda and from 1150 until 1154 can be seen as lord of the Andalusian fortress of Montoro.(67)

The career of Fernando Yáñez is a spectacular demonstration of the way in which milites could achieve rapid social advancement by distinguished loyal service to the Crown. In the same way, his son, Pelayo Corvo, may frequently be glimpsed at the courts of Alfonso VII and Fernando II and was similarly well rewarded for his services.(68) Ultimately, however, the fact that Pelayo Corvo died without heirs brought an abrupt end to the social rise of his lineage, a family which seemed at one stage to be destined to become one of the greatest lay families of Galicia.

Nevertheless, social mobility was not a one-way phenomenon. For, just as we encounter cases of nobles who rose in power or status during the 12th century, so we meet numerous examples of well-connected families whose influence declined drastically during

the same period. Let one example stand for many.

One of the most powerful Leonese magnates at the turn of the 12th century was without doubt Martín Flaínez, count of León and a prominent member of the court of Alfonso VI.(69) The count was slain at the battle of Uclés in 1108, however, leaving three sons. Two of them, Rodrigo and Osorio Martínez, are well known to us during the reign of Alfonso VII; both were elevated to the status of count and were frequent visitors to the royal court.(70) Rodrigo Martínez died without issue, but the children of Osorio Martínez maintained their power and influence in the kingdom of León during the second half of the 12th century and beyond, founding the illustrious houses of Osorio and Villalobos, despite the fall from favour of their father.(71)

Yet, when we come to trace the fortunes of the descendants of the third son of count Martín Flaínez, Pedro Martínez, a radically different picture greets us.(72) One of our earliest references to Pedro Martínez is in the grant made to him by Alfonso VII in December 1117, 'propter seruicium bonum quod mihi fecistis', in which the infante awarded him the vill of Siero, near Castrofroila.(73) In the charter in question, Pedro Martínez is addressed as 'dilectissimo militi et fidelissimo vassallo'. Some time before 1123, however, Pedro Martínez was killed in battle,

leaving a widow, María Gómez, and six children.(74) Three of them, Nazareno Pérez, Diego Aladrán and García Pérez, are particularly well known to us.(75) García Pérez took part in several of the Andalusian campaigns of Alfonso VII and was rewarded for his services by the emperor on at least three occasions.(76) We also know of grants to him by countess Elvira and count Ramiro Froilaz.(77) With his wife Teresa Pérez, he won reknown as the founder of the Cistercian nunnery of Gradefes.(78) In common with his brothers, Nazareno and Diego, García Pérez held numerous estates in the region of the Tierra de Campos.(79) Yet, even if, as Moxó rightly observed, a landed fortune was 'un factor transcendental en la formación de una estructura aristocrática', none of the sons of Pedro Martínez could be truthfully be described as a powerful magnate.(80) Their visits to the royal court were few and far between; they did not marry into any of the great families of the kingdom. In other words, they seem to have been denied the very sources of influence and power that were essential if a noble family were to thrive. By the late 12th century, our sources reveal only too clearly that the descendants of Pedro Martínez had become firmly integrated into the circle of local Leonese caballeros.(81)

(b) Family

The dynamic part that the family has played and continues to play in the framework of human society has for long attracted the attention of anthropologists and sociologists alike. Even so, kinship remains a poorly understood phenomenon, conditioning as well as conditioned by the society in which it exists and varying substantially in character according to time and place. In recent years, historians too have become increasingly interested in the mechanics of kinship, seeing in the family a possible key to the understanding of the working of society as a whole. Proof of this, are the numerous studies that have been dedicated to the subject of kinship in medieval Western Europe.(82) Yet, by the same token, if these same studies have achieved something, it is, as Reuter has rightly observed, to demonstrate 'that our knowledge of family relationships is to a large extent determined by the nobility's own sense of family, and that this did not remain constant.'(83)

i) Kinship and inheritance

Family relationships among the aristocracy of 12th century León-Castile were structured by what anthropologists have labelled cognatic or bilateral kinship. In layman's terms, this means that men and women of this period conceived of 'family' as a wide and rather nebulous web of propinqui and consanguini, related or allied to one another by ties of blood, marriage or loyalty. Kinship was essentially a 'horizontal' grouping, therefore, in which equal importance was attributed to both the male and female lines and in which, in theory at least, men and women enjoyed equal status and legal rights.(84)

Such a system had several important consequences. For one thing, aristocratic families of this period reveal themselves to have been extremely close-knit groups. It is striking, for example, that when nobles carried out property deals of one kind or another (sales, purchases or exchanges), or if they wished to endow a church or monastery with some land, it was common practice for the diplomas drawn up to record the transactions to be witnessed by members of their kin.

Here is a typical example, a document of 3 October 1134, recording an exchange of properties between count Fernando Pérez de Traba and archbishop

Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela.(85) The text of the diploma is unremarkable enough in itself; it is a perfectly standard exchange document of the period. In it, count Fernando promises to grant the archbishop his shares in the churches of Trasmonte and Lenes, in exchange for the vill of Lubra and some other lands. What does catch our eye, however, is the list of 22 notables who were called upon to witness the diploma. They include various ecclesiastical dignitaries, notably the abbots of the monasteries of Cines, Moraime, Antealtares, San Martín Pinarío, San Pedro de Foras and Monsonzo, and several local lay milites. Also present, however, were no fewer than seven of count Fernando's kinsmen: his brother Vermudo, his sister Lupa and her husband count Munio Peláez, his other sisters Urraca, Elvira and Ilduara, and his nephew Sancho Sánchez.

Such family cohesion can be glimpsed in other documents too. When, for example, count Ramiro Froilaz wished to endow his sons Alfonso and Froila with some lands in 1150, we are told that he discussed the matter with his sister María and her husband count Pedro Alfonso, his son-in-law Ponce de Minerva and with several of his noble vassals.(86) Similarly, marriage settlements recording the bridewealth to be allotted by a noble groom to his bride were invariably redacted with the cognizance of his kinsmen.(87)

Disputes were also settled within the family. In this way, the quarrel between count Ramiro Froilaz and count Pedro Alfonso over the water of Villanueva was settled by María Froilaz, sister of the former and husband of the latter.(88) From 1171, meanwhile, we encounter the extraordinary 'pactum and placitum' that was made between countess Sancha González de Traba and her son Vermudo Alvarez.(89) In the document in question, Vermudo makes over all his lands to his mother

'quia ego extra me, et extra sensum meum pessime errans, super uos et contra uos, cum armatis militibus et peditibus fui, contra uos pugnavi, 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 uastavi'.

We are not told the reasons for this display of violence towards countess Sancha, but the confirmation of the pact by another of her sons, count Rodrigo Alvarez, 'qui huic facto interfuit', suggests that the quarrel had been resolved within the kin group itself.

Yet, if the close ties that bound families together in this period are clear enough to us, some historians would argue that these 'horizontal' kinship groups do not seem to have acquired a very developed sense of 'family memory'. Thus, Portela and Pallares can say of the Galician medieval aristocracy:

'Las referencias a un pasado genealógico más lejano son esporádicas, aparecen en relación con reivindicaciones de derechos de posesión y

no se refieren a individuos concretos por encima de los abuelos'.(90)

This is undoubtedly something of an exaggeration. For one thing, references to distant ancestors are not quite as rare as Portela and Pallares have suggested. Thus, in the diploma of 3 October 1134 we cited earlier, count Fernando Pérez could refer back to one his great-grandparents on his mother's side.(91) Furthermore, we should bear in mind that the vast bulk of our surviving sources for the history of the aristocracy of 12th century León-Castile consist of documents recording property transactions of one kind or another. Is it scarcely surprising, therefore, that most such documents, drawn up with the sole purpose of establishing an individual's title to a particular piece of land, are not given to making lengthy references to the ancestry of those who had participated in the transaction?

All the same, it does seem to have been the case that in 12th century León-Castile the aristocratic sense of 'family' was far removed in spirit from what Herlihy has termed the 'ancestor-focused' patrilineal kinship structures of later generations.(92) It was not that the nobility of the early 12th century were totally unaware of their forebears, as Portela and Pallares would have us

believe, but simply that they do not appear to have conceived of family in terms of agnatic descent from a common ancestor. Certainly, as far as the early 12th century was concerned, a clear sense of lineage or dynasty, manifested in a family name or coat of arms, was entirely absent. The difficulties that this creates for the historian, eager to unravel the genealogical past of the great families of medieval León-Castile, need hardly be stressed. If, for example, those invaluable monastic registers of benefactors, the Libri..Memoriales, have enabled historians to reconstruct in some detail several of these webs of bilateral relationships, if not coherent family genealogies, in parts of medieval Germany, the lack of similar source materials from León-Castile means that the structure and membership of such family groups must remain utterly obscure to us.(93)

Of perhaps even greater importance, however, the very nature of cognatic kinship had a profound effect on family landholding and inheritance practices. The aristocratic family of this period has been aptly described as 'una comunidad patrimonial'.(94) In other words, the patrimony, that dynamic and constantly changing group of properties, was the responsibility of the whole family; it was never some immutable block of lands, ruled over by a patriarch or jefe..de..linaje and passed down from

father to son, as it was to become in later generations. Thus, when count Pedro Froilaz de Traba, 'mortem sibi imminetentem videns', drew up his will in 1128, he was only able to do so 'ejus uxore et suis filiis pariter auctorizantibus'.(95) Six years later, we have already seen, his son Fernando Pérez, similarly required the agreement of his kinsmen when he exchanged some properties with the archbishop of Compostela.

A family patrimony at any given time was made up of three blocks of properties: the lands that a husband and wife had acquired, via inheritance or other means, independently of one another prior to marriage; and the so-called gananciales, properties they had obtained jointly since marriage via donation, purchase, exchange or inheritance from other relatives. Thus, when count Suero Vermúdez and his wife countess Enderquina made over their family monastery of Cornellana and all its properties to the church of Cluny in 1122, they made a distinction between the lands 'quas habemus de parentibus nostris' and those that were 'de nostros ganantiis'.(96)

Inheritance practice could be a complicated affair. Normally, however, on the death of a parent, the heirs could expect to receive the block of lands that the deceased father or mother had brought to marriage, as well as half the gananciales that had

been acquired with his or her partner since then; the other half would automatically pass to the surviving spouse. In other words, Martínez Sopena has observed, 'esto implica la existencia de dos patrimonios distintos en cada célula conyugal, más vinculados a la familia de origen que a éstas'.(97)

To take only one example, let us consider the charter that Fernando Garcés had drawn up in November 1119 to record the bridewealth he wished to assign to his wife, countess Estefanía Armengol.(98) Among the lands granted by Fernando Garcés to his bride, were some estates in the areas of Castrojeriz and Cerrato which he had previously acquired with his first wife Tegrídia Martínez. As the noble explains:

'et per isto que ganavi istam hereditatem cum illa sedendo, habent illi filii, quos de illa habui, medietatem habent in tota illa hereditate, et altera medietas est mea. Et totam meam medietatem dono tibi uxori meae in tota ista hereditate...'

That is to say, the children of Fernando Garcés and Tegrídia Martínez had automatically received half of the property in question by virtue of their rights of inheritance. In the same document of 1119, however, Fernando Garcés refers to some other lands, at Cevico and Uceda, which he and Estefanía had recently acquired together. To the half of the properties that automatically corresponded to countess Estefanía, her husband granted her his own share. As far as the land

at Cevico was concerned, however, it had been granted to countess Estefanía by Queen Urraca in June of that same year with the strict provision

'ut habeatis et possideatis iure hereditario, sic quod non habeat in illa parte nec uester maritus, nec sui filii, quod habet de altera muliere, mas uobis sole dono, et filiis et neptis uestris...'(99)

That Fernando Garcés evidently thought that half of Cevico was his by right to dispose of as he pleased, whatever the royal charter of Queen Urraca might say, is itself a revealing insight into the way in which inheritance custom was viewed by members of the lay aristocracy.

In the event that a parent was predeceased by his or her own offspring, however, the lands that those children had acquired in their own lifetime, be it by purchase, donation, exchange, or inheritance, would pass to the surviving parent. One of the most striking examples of this custom, is that of the 11th century Leonese dowager, Mumadonna Godesteiz, who survived two husbands and her children by both marriages and, as a result, was able to assemble a spectacular collection of properties by inheritance.(100) Furthermore, that inheritance was not restricted to the nuclear family, is clear from the numerous references we encounter to properties passing to colateral relatives.(101)

The equal importance attributed to both the

male and female lines of the family meant that women were not only allowed to own and transmit property, but were also entitled, in theory at least, to an equal share of any inheritance. This right was enshrined in numerous pieces of legislation, from the Visigothic Fuero Juzgo to the municipal fueros of the 12th century.(102) Furthermore, the numerous references to the fragmentation of family properties in favour of both male and female heirs in the diplomas of this period provide compelling evidence of how widespread the practice was throughout León-Castile down to the late 13th century. A few examples may serve to demonstrate this custom.

In September 1174, countess Eldonza Rodríguez de Castro, widow of count Lope Díaz de Haro, granted some properties to the Cistercian nunnery that her husband had founded at Cañas in the Rioja.(103) Among the lands promised to the abbey, was 'illam medietatem de illa hereditate de Zarratos quam acquisivi ibi cum meo marito comite Lupo'. Whether countess Eldonza actually enjoyed a share of the property at Zarratos is not explicitly stated in the document, but it is plain that on the death of count Lope part, if not all, of the land had been divided up equally among their eleven children. That much is clear from the fact that each of his heirs, both male and female, stated in turn that they were willing to grant their

share of the property to the nuns of Cañas. Diego López, for example, declared:

'Similiter ego Diago Lopez dono et corroboro meam partem de illa hereditate de Zarratos deo et sancte Marie de Cannas et uobis abbatissa domna Anderquina et omnibus sororibus uestris ut habeatis eam quietam per cuncta secula. Amen.'

Further to the west in León, meanwhile, a grant to the abbey of Sahagún in 1134 by Elvira Sánchez, grand-daughter of count Pedro Ansúrez, refers to the lands that had come into her possession via a division of part of the family patrimony.(104) The grant to Sahagún comprised:

'In uilla Abduz quantum mihi contingit et ad meos germanos de parte de mea matre cum sua divisa, et in uilla Alan illa nouena de quanto ibi habuit illo comite Petro meo auolo cum sua diuisa.'

The same practice is referred to in some of the many documents issued by the members of the powerful Traba family in Galicia. For example, the charter drawn up by count Fernando Pérez in July 1132, concerning a division of lands and serfs between the count and the abbot of the monastery of Nemeño, refers to the partition of lands that had taken place four years previously, following the return of count Fernando from his ill-fated sojourn in Portugal:

'Veniente comes domnus Fernandus de Portugale et accepit terram et honorem Galicie de rege domno Adefonso et venit in particione et divisione cum suis germanis et heredibus de hereditates et criationes in terre.'(105)

Nevertheless, we should not imagine that the distribution of patrimonial lands among kinsmen invariably involved the fragmentation of each and every family property into equal parts. Very often, rather, they seem to have reached an agreement, known as a colmellum .divisionis, whereby villages and estates could be shared out among themselves, instead of partitioned. From 11th century León, for example, we have a record of the understanding the heirs of count Munio Alfonso came to concerning some of the family properties that their father had received from Fernando I. (106) Urraca Vermúdez de Traba referred to a similar family pact when she granted the monastery of Genrozo on to the Cistercian monks of Sobrado in 1145:

'Hanc autem hereditatem uenit michi ut notum est de parte domini et patris mei, et inter fratres meos in portione hereditatis mee. Et hanc diuisionem inter me et fratres meos, fecit in uita sua et in potestate sua pater meus, existentibus uicariis in uilla de Unctia ab integro, que similiter euenit mihi in portione inter germanos meos.' (107)

Her uncle, count Fernando Pérez, mentions another agreement in the document he had drawn up in October 1134 to record his exchange of properties with archbishop Diego Gelmírez. (108) Count Fernando granted to the see of Compostela his shares in the monasteria of Trasmonte and Lenes

'quam habeo de successione matris mee domne Urrace et de avo meo comite domno Froyla Arias et de atavo meo Arias Tedonzi, et divisi cum

fratribus meis Veremudo Petrici et comitisa
domna Lupa, et cum sobrino meo Sancio
Sanchizi, que acceperunt suas portiones et
divisiones in aliis terris, et ego solus
accepi totam istam.'

In some cases, it even appears that lots were drawn among the heirs to regulate the division of family lands. The partition of properties that took place in 1189 between the daughters of count Ponce de Minerva, María and Sancha Ponce, for example, may have been decided in this manner.(109)

Alternatively, heirs to a part share in a particular property might choose to gain control over the rest of the land via transactions with their own kin. In this way, María Fernández de Traba bought a share of land belonging to her brother, count Gonzalo Fernández, some time before 1169.(110)

Nevertheless, it is hard for us to be sure that such partitions really meant an equitable division of the patrimony among all the heirs. Behind such egalitarian phrases as 'venit in particione et divisione cum suis germanis et heredibus' there may still have been a tendency to favour certain kin with a greater inheritance. A Leonese charter of 1095, recording the grant of land at Villarratel by Elvira Osóriz to the monks of Sahagún, reveals that she had received the property from her mother María Muñoz in 'meliorantia de meos germanos'; but explicit statements such as this are exceedingly rare.(111)

The Visigothic law-code, as we have already mentioned, provided that all heirs were to receive an equal share of the inheritance. Nevertheless, the same code legislated that, while four-fifths of the patrimony were to be shared equally among the heirs, the remaining fifth could be disposed of freely.(112) Very often, this celebrated 'quinta de libre disposición' was destined towards pious ends and passed on to some religious institution, but it was not unknown either in the middle ages for this part to be used to favour a particular son.(113) Moreover, although references to noble bastards are rare indeed, we also hear of illegitimate sons being favoured in the division of family lands.(114)

Naturally enough, however, inheritance settlements could occasionally lead to friction between kin members. In one notable case in 1144, the Asturian noblewoman Eldonza Fernández and her husband Alvaro Gutiérrez even sought the help of Alfonso VII in supporting Eldonza's claim to part of a piece of land between Fresno and Rozada that was to be divided up among her brothers.(115) In the charter drawn up to record the lawsuit, Eldonza pleaded to the emperor that he might:

'detis nobis omnem nostram partitionem totius hereditatis nostre quia adhuc non habemus qui mihi Ildontie Fernandi pertinet inter meos fratres...'

ii) Lineage

At one stage, family groups throughout medieval western Europe were structured upon these cognatic principles. During the course of the 10th century, however, the nobility in parts of France and Germany began slowly to conceive of family in a different way.(116) In both areas, a gradual shift in favour of the male line within the family becomes noticeable; inheritance customs were altered to favour the eldest son, with the result that younger sons and daughters were increasingly marginalised from the sources of family wealth and power. In other words, to follow the jargon of the anthropologist, kinship groups gradually began to be organized upon rigidly agnatic, or patrilineal, rather than cognatic structures.

One of the most celebrated manifestations of this change in the pattern of kinship was the organisation of aristocratic families into lineages. As the ability of the male line to transmit wealth, power and nobilitas became accepted, so men became increasingly anxious to demonstrate their noble birth

and began to take a far greater interest in their ancestry.(117) Instead of the nebulous 'horizontal' kinship groups that had constituted 'family' hitherto, the aristocratic lineage was now being conceived, in the words of Herlihy, as 'a kind of fellowship of males, stretching backwards and forwards over time'.(118) This sense of dynasty was reinforced by the establishment of a central household where the kin might congregate and around which the lineage might pivot and also by the proliferation of pantheons where members of a family might be buried together. At the same time, we witness the appearance of what Duby has termed those 'masculine badges of honour', a surname and a coat of arms.(119)

This striking change in the collective consciousness of the aristocratic family was manifested in the spate of genealogical works that were written between the 11th and 13th centuries. Designed to exalt the illustrious ancestry of certain noble lineages, the genre enjoyed particular vogue in the period after c1150. Among the most celebrated of these works, we might mention the short 'genealogia antecessorum parentum meorum', inserted by canon Lambert into his Annales-Cameracenses at the beginning of the 12th century.(120) Although the genealogy in question traces the family line back a mere 60 years before Lambert's birth, it is nonetheless striking for

the priority it gives to the paternal line. Rather wider in scope and conception, meanwhile, are the Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium, redacted c1160, and the Historia comitum Ghisensium, written at the end of the 12th century.(121) Designed to recall the glorious ancestry of the counts of Angoulême and Guines respectively, both works follow the family line back across eight generations to a legendary founding ancestor. Significantly, in all these genealogical tracts, very little attention is paid to the female line of the family and women as a whole are rarely mentioned by the authors.

It should not be imagined, of course, that the changes outlined above occurred overnight. Instead, the studies of Duby and Schmid for France and Germany respectively point to a gradual evolution of kinship structures across the period 900-1200.(122) Significantly, however, both historians have concurred in attributing this transformation in aristocratic family structure to the gradual break down of royal power. Before this period, the supreme position of the monarchs of France and Germany had been bolstered by a nobility of service, closely linked to the royal court. The decline in power of the monarchy, however, enabled the most powerful noble families to break away from the circle of the court and to establish private lordships, independent authority and dynasties of

their own. In other words, there seems to have been a clear correlation between political and kinship structures; the transformation in the family was by all accounts intimately related to the advent of feudalism.

In this context, it would be useful to establish whether similar changes can be glimpsed within Leonese-Castilian aristocratic society in the same period. According to the Spanish historian Moxó, the displacement of the female line took place in the 12th century.(123) Yet, given the numerous examples we encounter of women participating fully in the patrimonies of noble families, this is surely wide of the mark. Instead, clear signs that collateral branches of noble families were losing importance do not come until the first half of the 13th century, when the so-called mejoras de tercio were created to favour certain male heirs with a third of the family patrimony; the first references to fully-fledged primogeniture, the mayorazgo, date from the second half of that century and even then the practice did not become widespread until after the advent of the Trastámara dynasty in the late 14th century.(124) It is also worthy of note, if we make an exception of the genealogy of the Cid provided at the opening of the 12th-century Historia Roderici, that literary products designed to exalt the noble ancestry of certain great

lineages, such as those genealogical treatises we have mentioned from contemporary France, do not put in an appearance in León-Castile until after 1350 and such works do not become widespread until the following century.(125)

In an attempt to explain the huge chronological gulf that separates León-Castile from much of the rest of Europe as far as the formation of aristocratic lineages are concerned, Beceiro has pointed to the fluidity that seems to have characterised Leonese-Castilian social structure in the Central Middle Ages. This, together with the relative strength of the monarchy down to the late 13th century, and its reluctance to reward the lay magnates of the kingdom with hereditary benefices, all served to retard the awakening of a true 'conciencia de linaje'.(126) If it would not do to label the lay aristocracy of the 12th century as a nobility of service pure and simple, the long periods of time its greatest members spent at the royal court and their close ties with the monarchy meant that the crystallization of noble lineages around a fixed household, as occurred, for example, in contemporary Catalonia and France, remained inherently unlikely. This, coupled with the fact that the scattered domains of the great magnates of the kingdom made it impossible for them to consolidate their land and power into compact autonomous lordships, helps us

to understand the long life that the cognatic kinship system enjoyed in León-Castile.

Nevertheless, if the continuing participation in the family patrimony by all kin members, both male and female, and an apparent lack of 'family consciousness' suggest to us an aristocracy still firmly ruled by ancient custom, other features of 11th and 12th century society recall the patrilinear tendencies that are apparent in neighbouring Catalonia and beyond. We have already observed, for example, that the title of count and administrative offices awarded by the Crown remained exclusively in the male line; in the 11th century, for example, the countship of Grajal passed successively from father to son across four generations, while we have seen that among 12th century aristocratic society the title of count largely remained the preserve of the eldest male heir.(127) Moreover, excepting the royal infantas, it is exceedingly rare that we encounter examples of noble heiresses inheriting the benefices or tenencias that their fathers had held from the Crown. Equally, Martínez Sopena has demonstrated that it was also customary in León for the family behetrias, that is, those peasants who had commended themselves to a lord, to be kept undivided in the male line.(128) All these features are, we would suggest, indicative of an incipient tendency towards male primogeniture. At the

same time, we encounter signs of an embryonic collective sense of lineage: in a famous diploma of 1077, Eldonza Ovéquiz granted land to Fernando Ovéquiz on the condition that on her death he should serve 'inter casata de Vani Mirel aut inter casata de Alfonso Didaz'.(129) Beceiro comments:

'El mismo término de "casata"...para designar al conjunto de los que proceden de este antepasado común, indica una conciencia de parentesco, pero sin una jerarquización totalmente clara.'(130)

The gradual development of a sense of lineage can be identified in other ways too. One of the most striking is the establishment of family pantheons where members of a particular lineage might be laid to rest together. Prior to the 12th century, it had generally been the custom for members of the aristocracy to seek burial in one of their proprietary churches or monasteries which they held in particular esteem. This did not mean, however, that they would necessarily have been buried with their parents or other kin, nor indeed that their offspring would in turn choose the same sanctuary. The example of the Flaínez family of León is illustrative in this respect: thus, while in the early 11th century Fernando Flaínez was buried at the monastery of San Martín de Pereda and his brother Pedro at that of San Pedro de Valdoré, their offspring chose to be laid to rest at those of San Pedro de Huertos and San Isidoro

de León respectively.(131) Within a couple of generations, however, we observe a marked change in the family burial practice: on the death of count Rodrigo Martínez at the siege of Coria in 1138, the Chronica records that the dead count's brother, Osorio Martínez and his vassals

'apprehenso corpore Roderici consulis, magnis planctibus per singulas civitates augmentatis, Legionem usque pervenerunt, et in sepulchram parentum suorum, iuxta basilicam Sanctae Mariae, ubi sedes episcopalis habetur, honorifice eum sepelierunt.'(132)

It has plausibly been suggested that the family pantheon in question was located in the monastery of San Pedro de los Huertos, which count Martín Flainez and his wife Sancha, the parents of Rodrigo Martínez, had received from the infantas Urraca and Elvira in 1099 and which was located, according to the donation charter, 'prope ecclesie Sante Marie que est sedis episcopalis'.(133)

The same trend can be observed at other churches and monasteries of León-Castile, too. On 5 September 1082, for example, count Gonzalo Salvadórez made a grant to the Castilian abbey of San Salvador de Oña shortly before he joined the military expedition of Alfonso VI against the Muslims. In the event that he should perish while on campaign, the count requested that 'anima mea sit cum Christo et corpus ad Honiam deducatur et sepeliatur cum parentibus meis'.(134)

And the monastery of Oña was to continue to be the chosen resting place of the counts of the Bureba and their kin throughout the 12th century.(135) As we shall see later, when we come to consider in greater detail the burial customs of the Leonese-Castilian aristocracy, not all great families were establishing pantheons at this time, but it was nevertheless a practice that achieved ever increasing popularity as time went on. A pantheon served to exalt a noble lineage and to reinforce the bonds of collective family consciousness; it was as if, in the words of Portela and Pallares, 'los lazos familiares, el linaje...rompa la barrera del tiempo'.(136)

The suggestion that the development of a 'sense of lineage' among the nobility of León-Castile was well under way in the 12th century is reinforced by other, more tangible, evidence. Earlier in this section we mentioned that among the various manifestations of lineage in 12th century France, a surname and a coat of arms began to be adopted by noble families to reinforce their identity. Surnames were generally taken from the name of a distinguished ancestor, or else from a place name which was particularly associated with the lineage in question. In León-Castile, these developments become particularly clear from the second half of the 12th century. Thus, the descendants of count Manrique Pérez

adopted the surname of Manrique to identify their dynasty; the Ponces of León derived from Ponce de Minerva and the Osorios from count Osorio Martínez. Even earlier, we occasionally glimpse nobles employing a place name, usually the centre of their domains, to identify themselves. Count Pedro González, for example, frequently styled himself 'de Lara' in the diplomas he witnessed.(137) In the same manner, a royal charter of 1140 was confirmed by 'comes dominus Fernandus de Trava', while García Garcés 'de Aza', Ponce 'de Cabrera' and Ponce 'de Minerva' were invariably referred to with their toponymic.(138)

Heraldic devices began to be introduced into western Europe during the first part of the 12th century. As far as León-Castile was concerned, the reign of Alfonso VII has been identified as the key period in this development, but the aristocracy of the kingdom do not seem to have followed suit until the very end of the century.(139) From this time, family emblems began to be displayed on seals, texts, monuments and, of course, on shields, for the emblems served as a means of identification on the battlefield. Such devices were, according to Moxó, 'símbolo expresivo del concepto de orgullo familiar en los linajes nobles'.(140) We know, for example, that the Castilian Lara family adopted a coat of arms bearing four cauldrons towards the end of the 12th

century.(141) Count Fernando Ponce, the son of count Ponce de Cabrera, had the Cabrera family symbol, a goat, drawn on one of the charters he issued in 1200; and the Cabrera arms were also apparently depicted on the mausoleum of Vela Gutiérrez and Sancha Ponce at the abbey of Nogales.(142)

At first sight, there would appear to be a contradiction between the characteristics of kinship that we have examined. On the one hand, titles and offices were responding to agnatic norms, while noble families seem to have been developing a clear sense of lineage; on the other, the inheritance of patrimonial lands appears to have continued to be dictated by cognatic family ties. Nevertheless, as the researches of Goody have demonstrated, it was quite possible for the two kinship systems, cognatic and agnatic, to operate simultaneously in one place.(143) In this way, Mattoso has drawn attention to the fact that while noble dynasties organised on agnatic lines began to be formed in Portugal from around 1150, bilateral inheritance patterns, whereby all heirs were entitled to a share of the patrimony, continued well into the 14th century.(144) Meanwhile, if the introduction of agnatic structures into neighbouring Catalonia has been traditionally dated to the 11th century, in some Catalan aristocratic families the development of primogeniture and the adoption of a surname cannot be

clearly detected until well after 1200 and even then the maternal line frequently continued to play an important role within the family.(145)

iii) Birth and Childhood

Demographic studies of medieval western Europe have for long pointed to the marked increase in the human population that took place between the 10th and the 14th centuries. Russell has estimated a rise in the European population as a whole from about 22.6 millions around the year 950 to some 54.4 millions by the mid-14th century.(146) This is a highly speculative estimate, to be sure, for the difficulties involved in calculating population figures are notorious, but they may nevertheless be regarded as suggestive of the steady demographic growth that undoubtedly took place across this period; growth that was only to be halted by the ravages of the Black Death.

For all that, life for medieval man could be nasty, brutish and short. Infant mortality remained high, while for those who survived beyond childhood, unhealthy living conditions and inadequate nutrition, not to mention the ever-present threat of disease, famine and war, all combined to reduce life expectancy. Even among aristocratic society, where

rather better living conditions and nutrition may be assumed, infant mortality probably remained high. There are numerous references in the charters of 12th century León-Castile to the premature death of the children of noble parents. When count Osorio Martínez and his wife Teresa Fernández granted land to the abbey of Aguilar de Campóo in 1141, they did so 'pro anima de nostro filio nomine Ruderico qui quiescit in isto loco'.(147) In the same way, count Ponce de Cabrera gave various properties to the Galician monastery of Samos in 1162 'pro anima carissimi filii mei Giraldi Poncii, qui in ipso monasterio Samonensi tumultatus requiescit'.(148)

At the same time, infertility was widespread, no doubt exacerbated by extensive inbreeding, which also helped to reduce the birth rate. Pastor has even gone as far as to suggest that as many as one third of aristocratic couples failed to produce any heirs at all.(149) Among the childless of the circle of 12th century magnates, we may include Suero Vermúdez and Enderquina Gutiérrez; Rodrigo Martínez and Urraca Fernández, although the latter subsequently bore an illegitimate daughter by the emperor Alfonso VII; and Gutierre Fernández de Castro and Toda Díaz. As it is, Pastor, basing her research on an excessively narrow base of 18 test cases, has suggested that in 12th century aristocratic society an average of 4.15

children per fertile couple survived to adulthood.(150) Of course, we do find examples of couples who greatly exceeded that figure: count Pedro Froilaz de Traba fathered at least fourteen children by his two wives, while his son Vermudo had eight by his wives. The Leonese magnates Osorio Martínez and Teresa Fernández had at least eight children and Lope Díaz de Haro and his consort Eldonza Fernández de Castro bore eleven more.

Unfortunately, our sources have next to nothing to tell us about the childhood of the offspring of noble parents and our attempts to penetrate beyond the silence are based as much upon supposition and the testimony of later ages as upon hard fact.(151) In general terms, infancy was deemed to last until a child's seventh year, at which age studies may have begun, although what such teaching may have entailed remains a mystery. The Historia Silense relates that the sons and daughters of Fernando I were instructed in 'liberalibus disciplinis', whatever that might mean.(152) According to Belmartino, 'la parte fundamental de esta educación debe haber sido de índole religiosa y estaba a cargo de clérigos'.(153) Nonetheless, in a society where military prowess was an essential facet of the nobilitas of the aristocrat, it can hardly be doubted that as far as boys were concerned, far more stress would have been laid on

military training in readiness for the years of campaigning that awaited them in the future. Hunting would have formed a part of this preparation, honing their equestrian skills and familiarizing them with some of the principal weapons of war. The Silense says as much when he relates that Fernando I 'ubi etas patiebatur, more Hispanorum equos cursare, armis et venationibus filios exercere fecit'; although the fact that the monastic chronicler 'lifted' this passage almost word for word from Einhard's Vita Karoli requires us to treat his account with some circumspection.(154)

When youths might experience their first taste of battle is unclear. Certainly, it is known that Alfonso VII was campaigning against the Almoravids on the southern frontier when he was only 11 years old; and his son, Sancho, aged 14, was present at the siege of Almería in 1147.(155) We are not sure when it was usual for a young noble to take up arms, but some time between the ages of 14 and 20 may have been the norm. At this stage, many aristocratic youths may have taken up residence at the royal court where they would have been able to receive valuable instruction in arms and, perhaps, in the principles of government. The Historia Compostellana relates that Alfonso VI raised many nobles 'a pueritia'; among them, we know from another source, was count Pedro Froilaz de Traba. (156) The

Chronica, meanwhile, in its account of the military expedition that Alfonso VII led into Andalucía in 1133, refers to a group of 'milites insensati, filii comitum et ducum, et alii multi, quorum mens non erat sana nec ambulabant secundum consilium regis', which recklessly went in search of booty and was routed by an Almoravid army.(157) It is tempting to assume that a good many of these 'filii comitum et ducum' were adolescent nobles serving their military apprenticeship at court. This period of a youth's life, normally referred to as iuventute in our sources, was traditionally one of military adventure; it was a time when a noble might win a reputation for himself in battle and then reap the rewards of this activity.(158)

At the end of this period of military training, the young nobles probably underwent some sort of knighting ceremony. Dubbing was certainly practised in 12th century León-Castile: we know, for example, that the emperor knighted his son Sancho, aged 19, in 1152.(159) It is more than likely that the same practice was also widespread in aristocratic circles, although very little record of it has come down to us. True, the Chronica tells us that the Galician Muño Alfonso knighted his own son; while a diploma of 1187, recording a grant by countess Eldonza Rodríguez to one Lucas, reveals that he was being rewarded 'propter

servitium, quod marito meo domno Lupo comiti qui vos ad militie dignitatem provexit, mihi que et filiis meis fecistis do vobis domno Luca'.(160)

If, however, in a strictly military context, it seems likely that a youth could come of age at 14, it is far from clear that he was yet able to exercise full control over his own affairs. In the Later Middle Ages, there is strong evidence that total majority was not attained until the age of 25.(161) A young noble might take part in military campaigns, marry, and even raise a family, but may still not reached the stage of full legal majority. This would explain why a Sahagún charter of 1123 might declare that Pedro Martínez died 'in iuventute', when we know from other sources that by the time of his death he was already married to María Gómez and had fathered no fewer than six children.(162)

As far as the daughters of aristocratic parents were concerned, the silence is equally total. The Silense, again paraphrasing Einhard, vaguely relates that in the case of Fernando I, 'filias, ne per otium torperent, ad omnem muliebrem honestatem erudiri iusit'.(163) For many, we might imagine that their formative years were spent preparing them for marriage: the rudiments of household administration may have been passed down to them, for a wife might be expected to shoulder many of the administrative duties

of the family domains during the lengthy absences of her husband on campaign or at the royal court. Other daughters may have had a religious career planned for them and would no doubt have spent their early years being instructed in the Scriptures by a family chaplain. This may have been the case with Urraca Vermúdez, whose father, Vermudo Pérez de Traba, installed her as the abbess of the Galician abbey of Genrozo in 1138.(164) Where noble girls would have spent their childhood is not made clear, but we might expect that they would have remained by their mother's side until they married. In the case of Urraca Rodríguez, however, daughter of count Rodrigo González de Lara and the infanta Sancha Alfonso, an undated Segovia document reveals that she was raised in the household of the infanta Sancha Raimúndez, sister of Alfonso VII.(165)

iv) Marriage

The important role that the institution of marriage played within the framework of medieval aristocratic society can scarcely be overstated. Quite apart from the religious and social mores that drew men and women together in matrimony, and the obvious biological imperatives, namely the procreation of heirs, which dictated such alliances, there were also

powerful political and economic factors at play which could be decisive in shaping marriage policy. The 'delicate interplay of politics and morals' which can be so clearly discerned in 12th century Normandy and England, for example, is just as apparent in contemporary León-Castile, notwithstanding the poorer sources at our disposal.(166)

The aims of matrimony

Although we are rarely told as much, there can be little doubt that in aristocratic circles the arranged marriage remained the norm throughout our period, particularly as far as the daughters of noble parents were concerned. As Brooke has commented, 'in the upper classes, the girls were at the mercy of their father's dynastic ambitions; they were pawns in the marriage game'.(167) There are several reasons why this might have been so. At a local level, an arranged marriage with a neighbouring family of the same social rank responded to several sensible political and economic imperatives. Such a union could serve to defuse long-standing disputes between families over lands or rights and to forge alliances with other powerful kin groups. Moreover, successive unions between the members of two families helped both to extend and consolidate a family's domains in a

particular area, or else to recover lands that had previously been lost from the patrimony. An advantageous marriage obtained in return for loyal service could also be the making of a humble miles and enable him to climb the social ladder. For the greatest families, meanwhile, a marriage alliance with another powerful dynasty could provide a means of extending their influence into new areas of the kingdom.

So much for these general considerations. As far as 12th century León-Castile was concerned, it is very rare that we are explicitly told who had arranged a marriage, but there can be little doubt that the decision was generally taken by the parents or relations of the bride or groom. The dominant role of the father in concerting the marriage of his daughters was recognised in the Visigothic Fuero Juzgo, while numerous other local fueros even ruled that girls who married without their parents' consent were to be disinherited.(168) In this way, some time before September 1150, count Ramiro Froilaz regarded it as aleuem that his niece Estefanía Díaz should have married 'me nolente et ceteris bonis parentibus' and promptly seized her lands.(169) Occasionally, however, the king could be instrumental in bringing about such a union. An early 13th century document from the Leonese nunnery of Carrizo, for example,

reveals that the marriage that took place between Ponce de Minerva and Estefanía Ramírez, daughter of count Ramiro Froilaz, was arranged by Alfonso VII himself.(170) We hear from another source that the union between count Bertrán and Elvira Pérez, the illegitimate daughter of queen Urraca and count Pedro González de Lara, was also organised by the emperor.(171)

In his study of the marriages that were arranged by members of the powerful Alfonso family in 11th century León, Martínez Sopena has drawn attention to what he calls 'una serie de criterios ordenadores de los enlaces, una cierta política'.(172) This much is clear from the marriage alliances that were arranged between the Alfonsos, counts of Grajal and Cea, and the members of the neighbouring Banu Mirel family across successive generations.(173) The unions served both to reinforce solidarity between the two kin groups, and to consolidate both families' landed interests in the areas in question. It has even been suggested that aristocratic marriage policy in this period may have partly responded to a desire to ensure access to transhumance routes across the Meseta for the seasonal movements of livestock.(174)

The desire to prevent wherever possible the disintegration of the family patrimony and to

reinforce ties with neighbouring families meant that endogamy was probably rife. Carlé comments:

'En estos casos, es decir cuando el matrimonio se realiza dentro del grupo que tiene un antepasado común, el enriquecimiento no se daba por la incorporación de nuevos bienes, sino por la re-uni6n de los que en alg6n momento se habían separado.'(175)

Nevertheless, given our incomplete knowledge of aristocratic pedigrees, such inbreeding is notoriously difficult to detect. Certainly, the practice was condemned at successive church councils in the 12th century and in the papal letter of 1109 addressed by Paschal II to 'principibus, militibus, ac ceteris laicis per Hispaniam et Gallitiam'.(176) Nevertheless, preach as the Church might about the necessity to avoid marriage within the prohibited seven degrees of kinship, in reality inbreeding may have been rather difficult to avoid. As we have already seen, the high nobility of León-Castile was made up of a relatively small number of families, most of whom had enjoyed a preeminent position in the kingdom for as much as a century or more. When the members of these families chose to marry, they inevitably looked to their social equals for possible partners; but we might guess that they would have had quite a task on their hands to find a partner of similar rank who was not a blood relative.(177) It was something the Church itself came to recognise when

later, in 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council, the prohibition on consanguineous marriages was relaxed to only four degrees of kinship.(178)

If we turn our attention to the 12th century, we encounter numerous cases of powerful neighbouring aristocratic families establishing bonds of kinship between themselves via marriage. To give but two examples, we might mention the union of Pedro Alfonso with María Froilaz, daughter of count Froila Díaz, or that of Lupa Pérez, daughter of count Pedro Froilaz de Traba, with count Munio Peláez. For some nobles, matrimony brought with it important territorial gains: it was by his marriage to Elo Alvarez, grand-daughter of count Pedro Ansúrez, for example, that count Ramiro Froilaz was able to extend his influence into the region of the Tierra de Campos.(179) Other nobles, however, married into families whose sphere of political and economic influence was far removed from their own. In this way, Suero Vermúdez wed the Castilian Enderquina Gutiérrez and count Pedro González married Eva Pérez of the Galician Traba family. Others looked even further afield for their brides: Manrique Pérez de Lara, for example, married Ermesinda, daughter of viscount Aimeric of Narbonne; and Rodrigo González de Lara wed Estefanía Armengol, daughter of count Armengol V of Urgel. Such matrimonies undoubtedly brought great prestige to the

magnates in question, but we might suspect that their political or economic advantages were ephemeral. As for Ponce de Cabrera and Ponce de Minerva, the Catalan nobles who accompanied the infanta Berenguela to León-Castile in 1127, marriage served above all to integrate them into the circle of Leonese-Castilian magnates. The former wed María Fernández, daughter of count Fernando Pérez de Traba, while the latter, by marrying Estefanía Ramírez, joined the influential Froilaz family.

At the same time, it is striking that alliances between the nobility and members of the royal family remained few and far between. In the 10th century, it had been common practice for the kings of León to marry members of the greatest aristocratic families of the kingdom, but by the time of the late 11th century, a distance had begun to grow up between the monarchy and the high nobility.(180) Wherever possible, rather, the monarchs of León-Castile now preferred to marry into other European royal families. Admittedly, Alfonso VI married his daughter Sancha to count Rodrigo González de Lara and Fernando II wed Urraca López, daughter of count Lope Díaz de Haro, but usually the most a noble could hope for was to marry one of the illegitimate daughters of a monarch. We have already seen that count Bertran, son of count Raymond II of Toulouse was wed to Elvira Pérez, the

bastard daughter of queen Urraca and count Pedro González de Lara.

As far as nobles of lesser status were concerned, matrimony could frequently serve to boost their status and power. One such man was Arias Pérez, the Galician miles about whom the Historia Compostellana has so much to tell us.(181) During the turbulent years of the first quarter of the 12th century, his name crops up repeatedly. It was Arias Pérez, for example, who led the germanitas, or brotherhood of nobles from central and southern Galicia, which besieged count Pedro Froilaz and the infant Alfonso Raimúndez in the castle of Castrelo do Miño in 1110; and he proved a constant thorn in the side of archbishop Diego Gelmírez.(182) Not surprisingly the author of the Historia had a particularly low opinion of him:

'Fuit etiam dolosus, et pessimus simulator, contra Regem et Reginam, et alios Galleciae Principes, semper proditorie egit: et in eorum rebellione permansit.'(183)

Moreover, the chronicler sneers, 'non fuit tamen magnae nobilitatis'.(184) Nevertheless, Arias Pérez was recognised to be 'unus ex strenuis et industrius Galleciae militibus' and his important role on the stage of Galician politics could not be denied.(185) It was in recognition of this role and no doubt in an attempt to reduce friction between the Galician

aristocracy that count Pedro Froilaz awarded him the hand of his daughter Ildaria in marriage, probably in about 1121-2.(186) For Arias Pérez, descended from a relatively humble family from the region of Deza, his marriage into the Traba family was undoubtedly a great coup; his new father-in-law, Pedro Froilaz, may have had rather more mixed feelings, however. As Fletcher notes:

'It must have caused the old count some pain; he had been accustomed to dispose of his girls to husbands of altogether more exalted rank. But desperate times exacted desperate courses.'(187)

Bridewealth

In the early middle ages it was customary throughout western Europe for a groom, or else his family, to make gifts to his bride at the time of their marriage.(188) This tradition remained firmly in place in 12th century León-Castile from where numerous documents recording such marriage settlements, the so-called cartas de arras, have come down to us. Here is the introduction to one such diploma, addressed by count Rodrigo Martínez to his bride Urraca Fernández on 21 November 1129:

'Ego Comes Rodericus, Dei prouidencia, Comitiss Martini filius...bona uoluntate et debito amore, tam ut filios fructum benedictionis habeam ex te, quam propter tuam eximiam nobilitatem et magnam pulcritudinem, tibi

Urrace Fernandi uxori mee legitime Fernandi
Garcie et infantisse Domine Stephanie filie,
dono et concedo non inuitus, nec aliqua
cogente persona, neque peturbato sensu, sed
bona uoluntate et perfecta dilectione, et inde
cartam facio in tuas arras de mea propria
hereditate.'(189)

Invariably, these arras comprised lands of one kind or another. The Visigothic Fuero Juzgo provided that the groom was to deliver to his bride no more than one tenth of his patrimony at the time of their marriage, although it is impossible for us to tell whether this ruling was closely followed.(190) In the case of count Rodrigo Martínez we have cited above, his bride was granted various properties in the region of the Tierra de Campos: at Villadot, Santa Eulalia, Fontoria, Villaseca, Telladello, Villa David, Mata, Vecilla, Melgar de Yuso, Famosco and Trigueros. Most were lands he had inherited from his kin. Other such documents demonstrate that proprietary churches might also change hands: among the properties awarded by Vermudo Pérez de Traba in 1122 to 'tibi dulcissime uxori mee, infanti domne Orrache, filie comitis domni Anrrich et regine domne Tarasie' were no fewer than three monasteria.(191) Very occasionally, however, the arras might include other goods. In the charter addressed to 'tibi dulcissima atque amantissima uxori mee nomine Urracha Tellez' in April 1147, the Leonese noble Anaya Rodríguez granted his bride 'XIII moras et...tres mulas bonas', as well as his palacio at

Villaverde and various other lands.(192) Sums of money seem to have been extremely rare, however.

In all cases, the goods granted by a husband passed to the patrimony of his bride, who was then free to dispose of them as she pleased. In this way, several pieces of land originally donated in arras later found their way to religious institutions. In 1147, for example, countess María Froilaz could grant to the Asturian monastery of Lapedo her land at Salzedo 'que ego accepi in dotis uir meus Petrus Adefonsi'.(193) Among the properties endowed by countess Estefanía Ramírez to the abbey of Carrizo on 10 September 1176, were four villages 'quas...ego habeo de mea ganantia et de meis arris et de meis directuris, quas dedit mihi maritus meus'.(194)

Clearly, in some cases the bridewealth could amount to a considerable outlay in resources. Moreover, it seems that very often a groom could rely on his kin to contribute to the arras. Thus, in the carta de arras granted by Vermudo Pérez to Urraca Enríquez on 25 July 1122, the Galician nobleman gave 'propriis meis hereditatibus quas habeo de patre meo comitem domno Petro, siue de matrimonio meo, seu de ganantia...'.(195) When countess Elvira Pérez, the bastard daughter of queen Urraca and Pedro González de Lara, made over the vills of Nogar and Olmellos to the abbey of Sahagún in January 1168, she revealed that

she had received the lands 'ab imperatore Aldefonso, in casamento cum comite Bertranno'.(196) In the case of Ponce de Minerva, meanwhile, a newcomer to the kingdom of León-Castile in 1127 and without a patrimony from which to provide arras, we learn that his bridewealth came from at least two sources:

'Quod quando domino imperatore adduxit suam coniugem imperatricem, adduxit cum ea comite Poncio de Menerua et desponsavit eum cum comitissa domna Stephania, filia comite Ramiro, et dedit ei medietatem de Karrizo que erat rengalengo ut dedisset sponsam suam pro arras. Et dedit illi aliam hereditatem que iacet inter Quintanella et Karrizo et dicitur eam Quiro. Et alia medietatem de Karrizo erat de comite Ramiro et dedit eam ad illum cum filia sua in casamento.'(197)

In addition, the infanta Sancha may have given Ponce de Minerva her vill of Argavallones although, as it stands, the charter recording the gift is a forgery.(198)

The document recording the transfer of bridewealth, the carta de arras, was not necessarily issued on the actual day of the wedding, however. Fernando Garcés, for example, granted arras to his wife Estefanía Armengol de Urgel on 12 November 1119; yet some months before, possibly in April or May of the same year according to Reilly, we can see queen Urraca granting properties at Uceda and Hita to Fernando Garcés 'et uxori vestre Estefanía Ermegot'.(199) Indeed, half the land at Uceda was subsequently included among the goods Fernando Garcés

awarded to his wife.

On at least one occasion, the granting of arras seems never to have been carried out at all. In a remarkable document drawn up on 22 September 1150, the Leonese magnate count Ramiro Froilaz granted 'kartam arrarum filiis meis Adefonso Ramiri et Froile Ramiri propter arras quas non dederam matri sue'.(200) The count reveals that he had held a meeting with his sister María Froilaz and her husband count Pedro Alfonso, his son-in-law Ponce de Minerva and several other Leonese notables. They had resolved that count Ramiro should allot to his sons

'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'.

The document is of immense interest to the historian, not least for the insight it provides us into the way decisions concerning the family were taken in this period. In particular, the fate of the hapless Estefanía Díaz, niece of Ramiro Froilaz, clearly demonstrates that the choice of a suitable marriage partner had to meet the approval of one's kinsmen. In many ways, however, the circumstances surrounding the issuing of the charter of September 1150 remain obscure to us; why, for example, had count Ramiro neglected to grant arras to the mother of his sons

Alfonso and Froila? The identity of this wife of Ramiro Froilaz is not disclosed in the document, but other sources reveal her to have been a French noblewoman, countess Inés.(201)

It is a curious feature of this period that while in León-Castile it was customary for husbands to grant bridewealth to their spouses, and would continue to be so down to the 14th century, in much of the rest of western Europe, for reasons that are still unclear, the 'burdens of matrimony' were beginning to shift back to the bride and her family. Thus, in France, England and Italy it became standard practice in the course of the 12th century for a girl to bring a dowry to marriage.(202) Can we see evidence of a similar development in León-Castile?

Earlier, we drew attention to the case of the Leonese noblewoman Estefanía Ramírez, whose father, count Ramiro Froilaz, gave half the vill of Carrizo to his prospective son-in-law, the Catalan Ponce de Minerva, 'in casamento'.(203) It could be argued, however, that this was something of a special case, for the patrimony of Ponce, a newcomer to León-Castile, was unlikely to have been substantial. Nevertheless, we do encounter other examples of a bride's family providing a dowry for their daughter. On 14 March 1164, Fernando II granted the monastery of San Pelayo de Deomundi and the church of Baestarios to

Fernando Odoariz and his wife Teresa Muñiz. The monarch did so, we are told,

'pro centum quinquaginta mencales argenti quas uos dedistis Petro Arie in casamento cum filia uestra Eldara Fernandici, et quia ipse Petrus Arie dimisit filiam uestram debebat uobis dare illas centum quinquaginta mencales quas uos ei dedatis in casamento et pro ipsis mencales dedi uobis ego Rex Fernandus iam dictam hereditatem'.(204)

In the same way, on 15 February 1169, Urraca Vermúdez, daughter of Vermudo Pérez de Traba, made over to the abbey of Sobrado her share of the family property at Genrozo 'quam...michi pater in casamento dedit'.(205)

If the carta de arras remained the most common form of marriage settlement in León-Castile throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, however, in time it would be displaced by the dowry. In other words, as Herlihy has observed, in Iberia 'only the timing, not the direction, of the evolution differed from that of other European regions'.(206)

Age

In 12th century Europe as a whole, girls of noble parents were generally very young when they were married. In Norman England, for example, the Rotuli de dominabus, a survey of the properties and children of noble widows under the wardship of Henry II in 1185, reveals that most of the widows had married at the age

of 17 or under.(207) In Italy, girls were usually wed between the age of 12 and 16.(208) As far as León-Castile was concerned, Pastor has shown that royal brides were generally married between the ages of 15 and 17.(209) Our sources never tell us explicitly the age at which noble women contracted matrimony, but various threads of information reinforce the impression that here too brides were often substantially younger than their husbands.

Earlier in this chapter we mentioned the carta de arras that count Rodrigo Martínez granted to his bride Urraca Fernández on 21 November 1129.(210) Urraca Fernández was the daughter of Fernando Garcés and Estefanía Armengol, whose own marriage settlement, drawn up in November 1119, is also known to us.(211) Now, we have seen that Fernando Garcés and his spouse were already married at least six or seven months before that settlement, but there is no evidence to suggest that their wedding would have taken place much before 1119. If we may suppose, for the sake of argument, that the couple had been wed at the beginning of 1119 and had immediately conceived a child, that is, the future Urraca Fernández, their daughter could still only have been about 10 years old when she was betrothed to count Rodrigo Martínez.

Specific cases such as this are few and far between, but there is other persuasive evidence which

reinforces the impression that noble girls tended to marry at a very young age. We referred earlier to the large number of young aristocratic widows who were placed under the protection of the English Crown prior to 1185; it seems more than likely that this situation arose principally from the fact that most of these aristocratic women had married husbands who were considerably older. Similarly, in 11th century León, Martínez Sopena has shown that a gap of between 10 and 20 years in the ages of bride and groom was by no means uncommon:

'Los matrimonios entre varones de cierta edad y mujeres mucho más jóvenes parecen responder a los intereses de los padres de éstas, preocupados por mantener la buena armonía entre la parentela, por ampliar su esfera de relaciones, o por recompensar a sus auxiliares más eficaces.'(212)

Our own examination of the 12th century sources would tend to confirm this impression, although, given the nature of the evidence, it is difficult to prove conclusively. One such example is that of García and Teresa Pérez.(213) We do not know with any precision when the nuptials of this aristocratic couple took place, but they must have been married by 22 March 1130 when Alfonso VII granted them the vill of Quintanilla 'pro bono servitio quod mihi fecisti'.(214) García Pérez and his wife Teresa subsequently appear together in numerous documents, until the death of the former in September 1164, after

a long and fruitful career. His widow Teresa founded a Cistercian abbey at Gradefes and ruled over it as abbess until her death in 1186.(215) Now, since we have no idea of the date of birth of either García or Teresa Pérez, the fact that the latter outlived her husband by no less than 22 years could simply be attributed to good fortune. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the fact that in the medieval period women tended to enjoy a shorter lifespan than men anyway, there remains a strong suspicion that Teresa Pérez, like so many aristocratic women of the period, had been led to the altar at a tender age and by a husband who was considerably her senior.

For many widows a religious career beckoned after the death of their consorts. Apart from the case of Teresa Pérez we have already referred to, we could mention Eldonza Rodríguez de Castro who retired to the cloister of Cañas, Lupa Pérez who joined the community at Dormeán, or Estefanía Armengol who spent her final years in the Cistercian abbey she had founded at Valbuena del Duero in 1143.(216) It was not unknown for young widows to remarry, however. Indeed, given that women of noble stock seem to have been in relatively short supply and that these dowagers, having inherited a good part of their dead husband's patrimony, were invariably wealthy, we might imagine that such ladies would have attracted numerous

suitors. Estefanía Armengol herself, widowed from Fernando Garcés c1125, remarried a decade later, on this occasion to count Rodrigo González de Lara. The fact that the count might praise the 'florem tuae iuventutis' in the carta de arras he addressed to his bride in September 1135, suggests to us that Estefanía was still in her prime.(217)

As far as men were concerned, it seems to have been normal for them to marry in their mid to late twenties; in neighbouring Catalonia, Shideler has even suggested that many nobles postponed marriage until after their thirtieth year.(218) The reason for this delay was probably related to the period of iuventute in a young noble's life we referred to earlier. It was a time above all of military apprenticeship: valour and a mastery of the arts of war were considered to be essential attributes of a nobleman, and a youth had accordingly to win a reputation and, perhaps, wealth for himself on the field of battle. Given these circumstances, it may have been felt more appropriate for such young aristocrats to delay marriage until they had successfully completed this period of training.

Unlike their womenfolk, widowers tended to remarry fairly quickly. We can point to the examples of Ramiro Froilaz and Vermudo Pérez, both of whom married on no fewer than three occasions, or to Pedro

Froilaz de Traba, Pedro Ansúrez, Rodrigo González de Lara and Fernando Garcés, all of whom remarried on the death of their spouses. Why such men should have remarried so swiftly is not clear. In some cases, it may have responded to a desire to produce a male heir; equally, a noble wife may have been considered essential to the status of the lay magnate.

At the same time, however, there is important evidence that some members of aristocratic families, both male and female, were eschewing marriage altogether. The reasons for this are not altogether clear, but it seems likely that from the 11th century at the latest noble families were beginning to put limits on the number of marriages that took place.(219) Instead, some boys and girls were sent to the cloister; others remained single throughout their life. An identical trend has been observed by Shideler in Catalonia in the same period.(220) This policy may have comprised a form of defence mechanism against the excessive fragmentation of the patrimony among numerous heirs. According to Portela and Pallares, the cognatic kinship structure

'genera para los diversos grupos familiares y para la aristocracia en su conjunto una situación de permanente inestabilidad, puesto que implica la actuación constante de un elemento disgregador del patrimonio y los recursos. En tales condiciones, no es extraño que se busquen algunos procedimientos de defensa.'(221)

v) Old age and death

In the medieval scheme of things, old age was said to begin once a man had given up his military career and laid down his arms. This may have taken place at about the age of 60. The options facing a nobleman when that day came were various. Some magnates, whose good counsel and sagacity were no doubt valued by the Crown, continued to attend the royal court regularly; the charters they witnessed are testimony to their long political career and presence in the royal curia. Such a man was Gutierre Fernández de Castro who, even well after his sixtieth birthday, played an important role in the political affairs of León-Castile right up to his death in 1166.(222) Similarly, the Leonese counts Ramiro Froilaz and Pedro Alfonso enjoyed a long and profitable career at court.(223)

Other nobles, however, perhaps induced by failing health and reluctant to continue enduring the rigours of life in the peripatetic court, sought the peace of the cloister in which to spend their declining years. The last recorded visit to the court of Alfonso VII by the Galician Vermudo Pérez, for example, took place at Palencia in December 1156, by which time the magnate must have been at least 60 years old.(224) Shortly afterwards, 'diuina

inspiracione conmotus', he joined the Cistercian community of Sobrado where he remained until his death in 1168.(225) We have already seen, moreover, that for many aristocratic women, the Church was considered the most appropriate place for them to spend their widowhood, even if the threshold of old age may still have been far off.

Nevertheless, it seems certain that the vast majority of the population would not have reached old age at all. Widespread infant mortality and the risk of disease meant, as we have seen, that many children, of noble and humble parents alike, died in infancy. Moreover, a life of almost continuous warfare served equally to cut off many men in their prime. It is striking, for example, that the three sons of count Martín Flainez, Pedro, Rodrigo and Osorio Martínez, and those of count Pedro González, Manrique, Alvaro and Nuño Pérez, all perished on the battlefield. Given these multiple risks, it is scarcely surprising that the average life expectancy of medieval man was probably no more than 45 years. Even so, Brooke has observed, for those who successfully avoided such perils 'the expectation of life was not sensationally less than it is today'.(226) It is clear, for example, that men like Vermudo Pérez, Gutierre Fernández, Ramiro Froilaz and Pedro Alfonso, and women such as Estefanía Ramírez, Eldonza Fernández and

Teresa Pérez all lived to a ripe old age.

As men and women entered this final stage of their life, their thoughts inevitably began to turn towards the distribution of their property after their passing. As far as one's kinsfolk were concerned, one of the most common mechanisms was the colmellum divisionis, whereby an agreement was reached among the family concerning the share-out of lands and chattels. Such a process is referred to obliquely in several charters, although whether such proceedings were generally conducted orally or committed to writing is unclear.(227) Nevertheless, two important texts have come down to us, which demonstrate the ways in which members of the aristocracy might provide for their kinsmen.

The first of these documents, a will drawn up on 21 October 1131, is a list of the legacies made by the Galician Odoario Alfonso 'in infirmitate positus'.(228) Particular attention is paid to the lands, money and other moveable goods that were to pass to assorted ecclesiastical institutions, but provision was also made for Odoario's wife, namely 'tota mea hereditate de cumdidi et cum terre et palacios et casas et perfias et cum toto ganato qui ibi est ut teneat ea in uita sua', while she and their son Juan were also to benefit from 'illo meo mauro Giraldo tali pacto, ut seruiat...illo meo filio

Iohanne et mea mulier per annos x'.

Another revealing charter is the rather curious carta unitatis that García Pérez and his wife Teresa Pérez had drawn up on 3 May 1157.(229) The Leonese couple promised that on the death of either, the sum of 100 maravedís together with one fifth 'de illa plata et de auro et de lictera, de mulos, de caballos, de equas, de vakas, de moros, de loricas, de helmos, de brofoneras, de spatas, de totas armas' was to pass to the abbey of Sahagún for the good of the soul of the deceased. As far as the remaining property was concerned, the survivor was free to dispose of it as he or she saw fit, and was to pay off their remaining debts. Unfortunately, the carta-unitatis does not enter into any details about the extent of the patrimony of García and Teresa Pérez, nor are we told the resources in cash, livestock or other moveable goods that they possessed.

Even so, it is a moot point whether the will of Odoario Alfonso or the agreement between García and Teresa Pérez would ever have been committed to writing at all had the diplomas in question not included a generous donation to ecclesiastical institutions. For it seems clear that the moving force behind the development of the practice of will-writing in 12th century León-Castile was the Church itself. Portela and Pallares have commented:

'Ordenar, regular lo que se deja aquí, evitar posibles conflictos en el futuro, velar por la estabilidad familiar, éste es el sentido primero de los testamentos.'(230)

And, as far as the Church was concerned, we might add, ensure that a written record were made of that which had been promised to it, in case of later claims to the contrary were made by the remaining kinsfolk of the deceased! That is not to say, of course, that wills relating exclusively to the distribution of property among laymen were never redacted; it is just that, as is so often the case with the sources for this period, the disappearance of the family archives of the 12th century nobility means that many such texts may simply have perished.

(c) **Noble Households**

i) Household organisation

'Just as the external life of a monastic community centered on church and cloister, that of a baronial community centered on court and hall', one historian of medieval Normandy has commented recently.(231) Yet, while the student of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy of the 11th and 12th centuries can draw on the vivid descriptions of noble households provided by the chronicler Orderic Vitalis, the

information we possess from León-Castile for the same period is meagre in the extreme. Thus, during the reign of Alfonso VII even the royal household remains a shadowy institution: we know the names of the nobles who served as his maiordomus and alférez, and those of some of the lesser officials who were charged with the care of the emperor and his entourage, but next to nothing about the duties that these royal servants were required to perform. When we come to study the households of the great magnates of the realm, moreover, our ignorance is all the greater for the materials for such a study barely exist.

What little we do know about noble households in this period suggests that their structure resembled that of the emperor. We know, for example, that the great magnates of the kingdom were also served by a maiordomus, or butler. We encounter references to these officials in various documents of the period. Thus a charter issued by count Rodrigo Martínez in 1129 was witnessed by, among others, 'Petrus Mangua, Maiordomus comitis'.(232) Meanwhile, count Ponce de Cabrera was served by Martín Díaz, who had previously been attached to the household of Alfonso VII, count Manrique Pérez by Gutier Rodríguez and count Rodrigo Gómez by Pedro Díaz, to cite but three further examples.(233)

It has been suggested that the office of

maiordomus imperatoris was a largely honorific post in this period.(234) Nevertheless, it seems certain that the official who served a noble of the court had an important administrative role to play. The long periods of time that the magnates of the kingdom could spend at the royal court meant that the administration of their domains had to be left in the hands of a steward or some other trusted official. Very often, the nobles appointed a merino or alcalde to look over their private estates or honores; the alcalde Pedro García, who was left by count Manrique Pérez to administer the tenencia of Baeza, is a case in point.(235) Equally, it may well have been the case that the wives of such magnates shouldered much of the burden of the administration of the family lands during the frequently prolonged absences of their consorts.(236) Nevertheless, we may also conjecture that the maiordomus was responsible for numerous other administrative duties: the collection of rents or taxes is an obvious example that springs to mind, and the levying of troops to accompany a magnate to war is another. Fortunately, a very few examples have survived which demonstrate the sort of activity a maiordomus could be involved in.

On 16 August 1152 the countess María Fernández, the wife of count Ponce de Cabrera, issued a fuero to the inhabitants of the Leonese community of

Castrocalbón.(237) The document was undoubtedly drawn up at León and was witnessed by the sons of Alfonso VII, Sancho and Fernando, the infanta Sancha, and the counts Ponce de Cabrera, Fernando Pérez, Ramiro Froilaz and Pedro Alfonso, together with the bishops of Astorga, Oviedo and Avila, to name only the most distinguished confirmantes. Also included in the witness list, however, is one Martín Díaz, who is described as 'maiordomus comitis Punzii et comitisse domine Marie qui uenit facere hanc kartam Legionem, cum uiris de Castro galuon'. It seems clear, therefore, that if the fuero of Castrocalbón was granted in the name of countess María Fernández, the drawing up of that legislation had been the responsibility of the family maiordomus.

Another revealing document is that issued by count Ponce de Minerva in September 1173 which, although it falls slightly outside the chronological scope of this study, provides another good example of the sort of administrative duties that a majordomo might be required to fulfill.(238) The document of 1173 is a grant by count Ponce of half the land he held at Azaña (modern-day Numancia de la Sagra near Toledo) to a group of 25 settlers. The obligations of these settlers towards the count and his wife are set out in detail and among the stipulations of the fuero is that if a settler should wish to sell up and leave

the area, the count was to have first option to buy. In the event that the count was on a military expedition in the south, the settler would have to await the count's return to effect the sale. If, on the other hand, the count was in the north visiting the courts of Fernando II of León or Alfonso VIII of Castile, the settler was required to inform the count's maior-domus and then wait for a period of 40 days, after which he could go ahead and sell the land. What the Azaña charter makes clear, therefore, is that the majordomo of count Ponce was required to act as a 'middle-man' between the two parties. Moreover, the fuero stipulated that the settlers were to pay an annual tax of wheat and barley to count Ponce and to work on the count's demesne land three times a year. The organisation of this boon-work was the responsibility of the majordomo, who also had to see that the peasants were provided with food and drink during their labours: 'Sed in diebus operationes istas feceritis, meus maior-domus dabit uobis panem et uinum et pulmentum'.

Next to nothing is known about the post of alférez in the noble household of this period. Once again we come across the names of such officials in the witness lists appended to the charters issued by their lords; thus, Gonzalo Peláez served count Manrique Pérez in this post in 1153, while three years

later the post was apparently held by García Díaz.(239) Martín Férez is described as the escudero of Gutierre Fernández in one charter of 1124, while Menendo Peláez was styled 'armiger comitis' in the diploma of count Rodrigo Pérez he witnessed in 1132.(240) As in the royal household, we may presume that the post carried with it essentially military duties and its holder was probably charged with leading the mesnada, or contingent of troops, that accompanied a magnate on campaign.

As far as the rest of the household personnel was concerned, our sources are almost completely silent. We do not know how many people a noble household could have comprised at any one time, or the names and duties of the numerous other servants who would have been required to look after the welfare of its members. Cooks, carters, grooms, blacksmiths and so on would all have been necessary to sustain a lord and his entourage. We hear of one such man, the Moorish cook Martín, who was given to count Fernando Pérez de Traba by his father Pedro Froilaz in the early 12th century.(241) Some members of the domestic household may have been occasionally required to witness the charters issued by their lord, although they are never identified as such. As Martínez Sopena has observed:

'La posible línea de separación entre el vasallo noble y el servidor doméstico se hace

tenue y invita a la prudencia y a la reflexión; quizá la estratificación social estaba lo suficientemente poco definida como para permitir el medro a la sombra de los magnates no sólo al infanzón, "nobile genere ortus", sino también al doméstico fiel.'(242)

Earlier in this chapter, indeed, we referred to the case of the Leonese Martín Díaz, who, although undoubtedly of noble rank, was nonetheless regarded by Alfonso VII as 'de mea creatione'.(243)

Also attached to the household, there would have been at least one resident chaplain. Count Gómez Núñez of Toroño could count on the services of no fewer than three clerici in 1138.(244) These men would have naturally tended to the spiritual needs of the household but, as we shall see shortly, they might also perform valuable secretarial duties for their lords.

The 12th century, and the reign of Alfonso VII in particular, was an important period in the development of administrative practices in León-Castile. If in the reigns of Alfonso VI and his daughter Urraca the royal writing-office appears to have been a fairly rudimentary institution, under Alfonso VII we can speak of the emergence of a well-organised chancery staffed by a team of trained clerks.(245) Under the chancellorship of Master Hugo (1135-1150) and his successor Juan Fernández (1151-1156) diplomatic forms were standardized and there was

gradual experimentation with new chancery practices, notably the use of the seal to authenticate documents. As far as the nobility of the kingdom was concerned, however, a writing-office does not appear to have become a permanent fixture in their households. True, we know that count Pedro Ansúrez could rely on the services of his scribanus Martín to redact a diploma in 1114 and five years later a charter of count Suero Vermúdez was drawn up by his notarius Juan.(246) In the same manner, a few years later, in 1132, the Galician count Rodrigo Pérez relied on one 'Petrus domni comitis scriba' to redact his documents, while a charter of count Rodrigo González de Lara was drawn up in 1135 by 'Martinus Gurglio consulis notarius'.(247) Yet, these scattered references apart, the evidence we have suggests that for the most part magnates did not deem it necessary to have a scribe permanently in their employ. The volume of documents issued by members of the nobility was presumably insufficient to warrant the creation of their own writing-offices and scribes were generally sought only as and when they were needed, usually from a local church or monastery. Thus, when count Suero Vermúdez made over the monastery of Cornellana and its lands to the abbey of Cluny on 7 March 1122, the solemn diploma recording the gift was drawn up by 'Iohannes canonicus Legionensis'.(248)

Other nobles seem to have relied on their personal chaplains to commit to writing their miscellaneous transactions: a grant made by Ponce de Cabrera to the Galician monastery of Tojos Outos in 1142 was drawn up by 'Ramundus sacerdos Poncii capellanus', while that made by count Manrique Pérez to the church of Sigüenza in 1153 was redacted by one Sebastian, who described himself as 'capellanus consulis'.(249)

Nevertheless, within two years there is evidence that count Manrique had found it necessary to appoint a permanent chancellor to take care of his secretarial needs. On 10 November 1155, while the imperial court was at Ayllón, the Castilian noble García Garcés de Aza agreed to sell the vill of Alcocea to count Manrique for the sum of 1000 maravedís.(250) The original charter recording this transaction has survived and we can see that it was drawn up by one 'Sancius cancellarius comite Almarich'. Of course, one charter in itself is not enough to allow us to take for granted that there was a permanent writing-office in the household of count Manrique Pérez; we might just as easily dismiss the subscription of 'Sancius cancellarius' as the pretension of yet another ecclesiastical scribe in the occasional employ of the nobility. Nevertheless, three documents drawn up the following year force us to

change our view. The diplomas in question are, in fact, grants by Alfonso VII of properties in the district of Baeza.(251) Rassow dismissed them as forgeries in his study of the chancery of Alfonso VII, but their authenticity has been placed beyond doubt by Sánchez Belda.(252) The three charters, all of them undoubtedly drawn up in the Baeza region, were written by 'Sancius, cancellarius comes Almaricus' and the script and signum correspond exactly with those used in the diploma of 10 November 1155; there can be no doubt that we are dealing with the same scribe.

The lessons we can learn from the charters of 1156 are manifold: firstly, it is of great interest in itself that the emperor found it necessary to commend the drawing up of some of his diplomas to one of his magnates. Secondly, it is clear that in the period 1155-1156 at the very least, count Manrique Pérez found it necessary to employ a permanent scribe to redact his documents and this may say something of the increased administrative duties that fell upon the count at this time. Finally, it is clear that the chancellor Sancho accompanied the count on his travels around the kingdom and formed part of what we may term his 'permanent household'. Even so, the case of count Manrique seems to have been an exceptional one; we have no evidence that any other magnates at this time were also finding it necessary to maintain a permanent

writing-office in their households. This would accord with the evidence we have from Norman England in the same period.(253)

The reign of Alfonso VII, as we have already observed, was a period of chancery reforms. One of the most notable innovations was the use of a wax seal to authenticate documents, which was introduced by 1146 and was used occasionally throughout the rest of the reign.(254) The new device was being used by episcopal scribes at roughly the same time, the earliest known examples dating from 1144, although, as was the case with the royal seal, the new device spread slowly and did not immediately displace other forms of authentication, such as the signum.(255) Did the nobility follow suit? We cannot be sure, but there is some evidence that they may have done. Let us return to the charter issued by count Manrique Pérez de Lara on 5 December 1153 which records the grant of the vill of Cobeta to the church of Sigüenza and the Castilian abbeys of Silos, Arlanza and Oña. The document is preserved in the archive of Sigüenza cathedral and has been edited by Mingüella who noted in his edition of the charters of Sigüenza that 'tuvo sello pendiente', that is to say, the sealing tags remain but not the seal itself.(256) To cite another example, the charter drawn up at the monastery of Sobrado on 18 March 1154 for count Fernando Pérez de

Traba and his brother Vermudo was similarly pierced for sealing and still bears the silken threads from which the seal was hung.(257)

Nevertheless, neither of these charters cited gives us unequivocal evidence that laymen had followed royal and episcopal practice and had adopted the use of the seal by the middle of the 12th century. It is equally possible that the charters in question were sealed at a later date by individuals anxious to enhance the authority of the diploma, something that was by no means uncommon in the later Middle Ages. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués has convincingly argued, however, that in the case of the Sigüenza charter, it is quite likely that count Manrique Pérez was employing a seal to authenticate his charters as early as 1153.(258) Indeed, it seems that the royal seal adopted by Alfonso VIII in 1163 or earlier was in all probability based on that of his tutor count Manrique.(259) It has been plausibly demonstrated that this type of seal was derived from those being used by the nobility in contemporary Catalonia and Languedoc.(260) As it is, the earliest surviving aristocratic seal from the 12th century belongs to a charter of count Pedro Manrique, the son of Manrique Pérez, issued at Calatayud in 1179.(261) For the most part, however, the device did not find widespread use among laymen until the 13th century. Instead, the most

common form of authentication continued to be the written signum.

The administrative document known as the mandate also seems to have begun to be widely employed in León-Castile during the 12th century, although there is some evidence that such charters may have been in use as early as the reign of Alfonso VI.(262) Mandates were short, terse administrative orders which have nothing in common with either the form or function of the solemn diploma. Only ten such documents have survived from the reign of Alfonso VII, although undoubtedly many more were issued, and their simple diplomatic forms indicate most strongly that the instrument derived either from that in use in neighbouring Aragón or else from the mandement of Capetian France.(263) The mandate seems to have been ideally suited to the needs of a monarch like Alfonso VII who was attempting to rule over the sprawling imperium of León-Castile; it was a means of making the emperor's will known to certain of his subjects quickly and efficiently. It would be interesting to know if the advantages offered by this means of written communication were recognised and exploited by the lay magnates of the court of Alfonso VII.

In the archive of Palencia cathedral there survives a document issued by count Armengol VI of Urgel, in which he informs 'fidelibus suis et amicis

omnibus hominibus de Ualedolido', that is to say his vassals in the town of Valladolid, of the agreement he has reached with the bishop of Palencia over the property of the church of Santa María in Valladolid.(264) He also declares that he has confirmed the grant of the church of Valladolid to the see of Palencia made previously by his grandfather, count Pedro Ansúrez. Subsequently, he orders that all the properties belonging to the church of Santa María be restored to it. There can be no doubt that we are dealing here with a mandate, for its diplomatic forms bear striking resemblance to those administrative orders issued by Alfonso VII and his contemporary Alfonso I of Aragón. Thus, in the opening protocol there appear the count's name in the nominative case, the addressee's in the dative, and a greeting:

'Ermengaudus, comes Urgelli, fidelibus suis et amicis omnibus hominibus de Ualedolido, maioribus et minoribus, salutem'.

This may be compared with the mandate addressed by Alfonso VII to the concejos of Segovia, Avila, Toledo and Madrid in or around October 1136, which begins

'Adefonssus Dei gratia Hyspanie imperator vobis toto concilio de Secobia et vobis concilio de Avila et vobis concilio de Toleto et concilio de Magerith salutem et amicitiam'.(265)

The main body of the text of the mandate issued by count Armengol can be divided into two parts: in the first, the count informs the recipients of his letter

of the agreement he has reached with the bishop of Palencia. In the second, he orders that all the lands belonging to the church of Valladolid be restored to it:

'Nunc, mando uobis ut quicumque tenet aliquid de illa ecclesia, siue uineas, siue ortos, siue accenias, siue molinos, siue terras, tornet illud ecclesiae, quicquid sit'.

The count continues:

'Volo namque, ut ipsa reformetur et restituatur in suo honore et sua dignitate et habeat omnes suas directuras, quas illi pertinent, et sit bene ornata, sicut debet esse'.

And he winds up the directive with a curt warning:

'Et qui aliter fecerit, id est, qui inde aliquid retinuerit, non habebit pacem mecum nec amicitiam',

which bears great similarities to the phraseology employed by Alfonso VII and Alfonso I of Aragón in their own mandates.(266)

The letter of the count of Urgel is exceptionally short, a mere 171 words, and is written on a small piece of parchment measuring no more than 30 x 4.5 cm. This brevity of text and reduced format is, however, entirely in keeping with what we know of other surviving 12th century mandates.

The document is not dated, although its editor has erroneously assigned it to the year 1143, but it was probably issued some time during the periods 1135-1137 or 1145-1154.(267) The letter is not subscribed

by the count or by any other witnesses, nor is it authenticated by a signum, let alone a seal, as the mandates of Alfonso VII seem to have been.(268) Nevertheless, on the basis of its script, format, language and diplomatic there can be little doubt that we are dealing with a genuine mandate of the count. What we should like to know, of course, is whether other Leonese-Castilian nobles were also using mandates at this time. In contemporary England, by way of comparison, such documents were certainly frequently employed by the lay aristocracy of the realm.(269)

Among the hundreds of texts that were copied into the 13th century Tumbo, or cartulary, of the Galician monastery of Tojos Outos, is a short document dated 23 August 1140.(270) It was drawn up on behalf of a Galician noble, Rodrigo Froilaz, shortly before he set out on a military campaign to Portugal. The charter begins:

'Era.I^o.C^o.LXX^o.VIII^o. 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.'

There follows a short list of the goods and properties that Rodrigo Froilaz wished to dispose of in favour of the monasteries of Antealtares and Tojos Outos. Now, the extreme brevity of the text, a mere 154 words, and the explicit reference by the noble to 'ista

mandacione' might lead us to suppose that the Tojos Outos document is yet another mandate, of features similar to that despatched by count Armengol to his vassals in Valladolid. Closer examination of the Galician text, however, and comparison with that preserved in the Palencia cathedral archive, not to mention with the royal mandates that were issued during the 12th century, reveals how utterly different in function and structure the two charters are. If that of the count of Urgel is a curt administrative order to his vassals, no more no less, that of Rodrigo Froilaz is, rather, a brief will and testament. The characteristic diplomatic structure of the western European mandate - address, greeting, disposition and valediction - are all missing. The authoritative language of command which we observed in the Palencia mandate is not to be found. In style and structure, rather, the Tojos Outos text should be compared with the will drawn up by countess María Fernández de Traba on 13 January 1169 which, although considerably longer, is likewise referred to as 'mea mandatione'.(271) The striking brevity of the will of 1140 should be attributed, we would suggest, to the hurried circumstances under which it was no doubt produced, that is, shortly before Rodrigo Froilaz set off on campaign. The charter from Tojos Outos is certainly a most revealing text, for few enough 12th

century lay wills have survived to this day, but we cannot possibly regard it as a cousin of the Palencia mandate.

The Palencia document itself is a chance survival; it is indeed the only original mandate from the first half of the 12th century that we possess, since those that have survived of Alfonso VII were copied into cathedral cartularies, the Liber-Fidei of Braga and the Pequeño-Cartulario of Segovia, or else into the pages of the Historia-Compostellana. That is not to say, of course, that mandates were rarely issued, even by the imperial chancery. We should remember, rather, that such documents were elaborated, in the words of Lacarra, 'para resolver un asunto de interés inmediato, rara vez interesaba su conservación una vez solventado éste.'(272) If an exception was made in the case of the Palencia text, it can only have been because the document was seen to bolster the cathedral's claims over the church of Valladolid.

ii) Residence

Unlike their contemporaries in 12th century France and England, it does not seem likely that the nobles of León-Castile had one fixed seat of residence, a caput, around which the life of their family could pivot. Instead, given the scattered

nature of aristocratic estates and their peripatetic lifestyle, we would suspect rather that such nobles possessed a series of residences, both rural and urban, at which they and their households might lodge during their travels. For historians such as Duby, the absence of such a permanent, central place of aristocratic residence is itself symptomatic of the absence of a sense of lineage among the nobility.(273)

Aristocratic residences are referred to in various sources. The Tumbo .Antiguo of the Leonese nunnery of Carrizo, for example, recounts that count Ponce de Minerva and his wife Estefanía Ramírez had a palace in the vill of Carrizo, which they converted into a monastery and which the countess subsequently turned over to a group of Cistercian nuns:

'Teniendo los dichos Condes D. Pedro Ponçe (sic) de Minerua y la Condessa Doña Estefanía labrada y fabricada la yglessia y la mayor parte del edificio del Monasterio, aunque sin monjas, que no se hauian traydo, en su propia cassa y palacio que tenían en esta villa de Carrizo en el sitio donde oy esta el Monasterio, cuyo nombre de Palaçio hasta hoy le dura...'(274)

Another document from Carrizo, this time a grant made to the monastery by a grandson of count Ponce and countess Estefanía in 1199, and copied into the 18th century Tumbo .Nuevo, records the donation of a wine-cellar in León which was located 'delante del Palacio del conde Ramiro', that is, count Ramiro Froilaz.(275)

We come across references to such properties in

neighbouring Castile too. The grant made by Teresa Ordóñez to Gutierre Fernández and his wife Toda Díaz in 1124 included 'mea palatia propria que habeo in Soto Palatio'; count Rodrigo Gómez and his wife Elvira gave Villaverde 'cum suo palacio et cum omnibus hereditatibus ad eum pertinentibus' to the monks of Oña in 1137; and four years later count Osorio Martínez granted land at Villa Vega, together with 'meos palacios', to the abbey of Aguilar de Campóo.(276) A late 12th century document from the same institution refers to 'el palacio que fuit del cuende don Garcia en Candiuela', which no doubt refers to a property of count García Ordóñez.(277)

Further to the south in Toledo, moreover, in 1176 we hear of count Nuño Pérez de Lara and his wife Teresa renting some houses which had formerly belonged to the infanta Sancha Raimúndez and had subsequently passed into the possession of the see of Toledo.(278) The cathedral chapter fixed the rent at five maravedís, payable annually at Easter. The following year, during the siege of Cuenca, Nuño Pérez and Teresa, in a generous donation to the church of Toledo, made over some other houses that belonged to them in the city near the alcázar or citadel; and when Alfonso VIII confirmed the grant in September 1178, he described the property as 'palatio quod est iuxta regium Alcazar in Toletto constructum'.(279)

Nevertheless, these various references to the palatia under the ownership of members of the lay nobility should not lead us to imagine that all such dwellings were 'palaces' in the modern sense of the word. Far from being extravagant stately mansions, it is more than likely that many such residences would have been fairly rudimentary affairs: a hall for assemblies and feasting, sleeping accommodation and stabling for horses were often all that might have been required. Until the happy day that archaeologists chance upon the remains of such a residence and are able to provide us with a detailed report of its former structure and function, however, all this must remain utter conjecture.

iii) Recreation and culture

In common with so many other facets of aristocratic life in 12th century León-Castile, our knowledge of the recreational or cultural activities of the nobility is virtually non-existent. The most popular of pursuits among male members of the aristocracy, as in the rest of Europe, was undoubtedly the hunt. Unfortunately, however, references to the practice in the documentation of the period are extremely rare and the miserable scraps of information that have come down to us may be detailed very

swiftly.(280) A Leonese charter of 1117 testifies to the value that was attached to greyhounds; a dog called Ulgar which Fernando and Vermudo Pérez granted to Queen Urraca in-roboratione of her benefaction of 1118 was undoubtedly a hunting dog, perhaps, as Fletcher suggests, of English origin; in a Toledo document of 1183, meanwhile, Muño Ramírez received property in Toledo from Pedro Garcés de Aza, together with collars and chains for his four mastiffs.(281) Six years later, moreover, Pedro Fernández de Castro could grant a mill near Mayorga to Alfonso 'meo falconario'.(282) From other sources, however, we are at least told rather more of the sporting activities of the nobility at the royal court. The Chronica, in its account of the wedding celebrations of king García of Navarre and the infanta Urraca in 1144, relates:

'Aliae autem potestates, verumtamen Hispaniae delecti, alii equos calcaribus currere cogentes iuxta morem patriae, proiectis hastilibus, instructa tabulata, ad ostendendam tam suam quam equorum pariter artem et virtutem, percutiebant. Alii latratu canum ad iram provocatis tauris, protento venabulo, occidebant. Ad ultimum, caecis, porcum quem occidendo suum facerent, campi medio constituerunt et volentes porcum occidere, sese ad invicem saepius laeserunt et inrisum omnes circumstantes ire coegerunt.'(283)

The popularity of bull-fighting in aristocratic circles is attested by a royal charter of 26 May 1135, in which Alfonso VII rewarded Ramiro Garcés with the vill of Varea 'quia bene tenuisti illam targam in

Curia mea quando prius coronatus fui et quia audacter mactasti ibi taurum'.(284)

As far as cultural activities in the households of the nobility were concerned, no evidence has come down to us at all. Even so, the popularity at this time of troubadors such as Palla, Alegret and, above all, Marcabru, at the court of Alfonso VII might lead us to suppose that other such performers were appreciated in aristocratic households.(285) Certainly, the evidence from the early 13th century reveals such households to have been extremely lively cultural centres: men such as Lope Díaz de Haro and Tello Alfonso de Meneses were both renowned patrons of the arts; and the count of Haro and Rodrigo Díaz de Cameros were also accomplished troubadors in their own right.(286) Not all households would have aspired to such things, however; for a good many nobles, rather, we might imagine that a good evening's entertainment would merely have consisted of a good bout of feasting and drinking, perhaps interspersed with tales and songs about the Cid and other heroes.(287)

It may probably be assumed that lay nobles were mostly illiterate. After all, the inability of numerous European monarchs of this period to either read or write is well-known, and there is no reason for us to suppose that the aristocracy would have been any better educated.(288) Of course, this is a

difficult contention to prove, for the only written documents issued by such nobles were drafted by the ecclesiastical scribes in their employ. Nevertheless, a careful examination of a very few of these texts may provide us with a few clues to the conundrum.

The charter drawn up on behalf of count Lope Díaz de Haro in 1162, recording the foundation of the Premonstratensian monastery of San Juan de la Peña in Vizcaya, is particularly instructive in this respect.(289) The diploma in question, a fine example of the scribe's art, was written by one Juan, a chaplain from Nájera in the Rioja, presumably a member of the Cluniac royal abbey of Santa María in that town. At the end of the document, where count Lope is made to reaffirm the provisions of the endowment, the text reads as follows:

'Ego uero comes Lupus qui hanc cartam fieri iussi hoc signum manu propria feci et testes superius scriptos ad roborandum exhibui'.

Now, what immediately catches our attention about this subscription is the large cross that was drawn between the words manu and propria. There can be no doubt that this was not written by the scribe Juan; the hand of the priest of Nájera was steady and controlled. The cross on the charter, rather, was drawn with a hesitant, wavering hand. It is the hand of someone manifestly unused to holding a pen; it is, we would suggest, the hand of count Lope Díaz himself.

Yet, if the charter of 1162 provides us with persuasive evidence of the illiteracy of the count of Haro, it should be set against that of two other documents. The first, issued by Vermudo Pérez de Traba on 9 October 1138, records the foundation of the monastery of Genrozo in Galicia.(290) The document was copied in a neat francesa script by one Fernando 'clericus et sancti Iacobi notarius'. What is so remarkable about the charter in question is that, rather than have the scribe copy out in orderly columns all the confirmantes to the diploma, as was customary, the majority of the witnesses wrote their own names below. This much is clear from the wide variety of hands, including the splendid autograph signatures of bishop Guy of Lescar and archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela. Among the other names, we also encounter that of a noble lady, countess Lupa Pérez, the daughter of count Pedro Froilaz de Traba, who executed her own autograph in a neat Visigothic miniscule.

To this we may add the evidence of another Traba document, issued in favour of the Cistercian abbey of Sobrado by count Fernando Pérez on 1 May 1153.(291) The diploma is written in a clear, bold francesa, yet the subscription by the count - 'ego comes Fernandus manu mea roboro atque confirmo' - was indisputably written in a different hand and bears

clear traces of Visigothic. Might not it have been written by the count of Traba himself?

Such is our evidence of the nature and activities of aristocratic households in the 12th century. It will have become clear from the above that for the most part our knowledge is pitifully inadequate. Yet even if we remain in ignorance of so many of their features, it seems unlikely that noble households were insubstantial institutions. After all, the monarchs of León-Castile often commended their sons to their care. Alfonso VII himself spent much of his childhood in the household of count Pedro Froilaz and the emperor's sons were likewise commended to the guardianship of his magnates.(292) Thus, while count Rodrigo Gómez and his wife countess Elvira served as nutritores to the infante García, a dating clause to a Sobrado charter of 1143 reveals:

'Rex domnus Sancius nutriebatur in Castella in domo Anrici comitis. Minor scilicet Fredinandus in Gallecia nutriebatur in domo comitis domni Fernandi Petri.'(293)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. See the collections in F.L. Cheyette ed., Lordship and Community and T. Reuter ed., The Medieval Nobility.
2. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum... sive originum libri XX, ed., W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911), Lib. X, 184.
3. L. Génicot, 'Recent research on the medieval nobility', in T. Reuter ed., op.cit., 17-35, provides a good introduction to the debate.
4. M. Bloch, Feudal Society (London, 1961), 283-92, 320-31.
5. See, for example, 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' and G. Tellenbach, 'From the Carolingian imperial nobility to the German estate of imperial princes', in T. Reuter ed., op.cit., 137-202 and 203-42.
6. See on this Génicot, art.cit., 33 n. 39.
7. ibid., 28.
8. J.P. Poly and E. Bournazel, La mutation féodale. Xe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1980), 165.
9. L. García de Valdeavellano, Historia... de España. De los orígenes a la baja edad media, 2 vols (4th ed., Madrid, 1968), II, 62; S. de Moxó, Repoblación y Sociedad en la España cristiana medieval (Madrid, 1979), 132.
10. J.M. Mínguez, 'Antecedentes y primeras manifestaciones del feudalismo astur-leonés', En torno al feudalismo hispánico. Iº Congreso de Estudios Medievales (Avila, 1989), 107.
11. See in particular, Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 66-82; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 327-422; idem, 'Parentesco y poder', 33-87.
12. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 71.
13. Moxó, 'La nobleza castellano-leonesa', 29.

14. ibid., 27-30.
15. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 66-82; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 327-422.
16. For example, Estepa Díez, 'La nobleza leonesa en los siglos XI y XII', 10.
17. ibid., 10.
18. ibid., 10.
19. CAI, §70.
20. ibid., §92.
21. Moxó, 'De la nobleza vieja', 11.
22. AHN, OM-Calatrava, 455/2; AHN, Clero, 899/7; B.F. Reilly, The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126 (Princeton, 1982), 280.
23. A brief survey of the career of count Fernando Pérez (fl. 1116 x 1155) is to be found in CAI, 230-1. See also Fletcher, St. James's catapult, 38-40, 148-9, 274-5.
24. Little is known of count Gonzalo Fernández (fl. 1151 x 1160). His first recorded appearance at court is of 14 March 1151 (ES XXII, 270-3), after which he witnessed at least a further 68 royal diplomas during the rest of the reign of Alfonso VII. Lord of Traba, Monterroso and Aranga (AHN, Clero, 1510/4; P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano ed., Tumbos del Monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes, 2 vols (Madrid, 1976), I, 189-90), he took part in the campaign to reconquer Andújar in 1155 (Rassow, 133-4). He had died by 18 November 1160 'tempore quo mortus est comes domnus Gundisaluus' (Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, I, 197-8).
25. T. Abajo Martín ed., Documentación de la catedral de Palencia (1035-1247) (Burgos, 1986), (henceforth Docs. Palencia), 112-14.
26. Rassow, 128-32; AHN, Clero, 1506/1.
27. CAI, §138. On Rodrigo and Osorio Martínez, see C. Estepa Díez, Estructura social de la ciudad de León (siglos XI-XIII) (León, 1975), 277-9; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 372-4, 380-

1 and 'El conde Rodrigo de León y los suyos. Herencia y expectativa del poder entre los siglos X y XII', forthcoming in Relaciones de poder, de producción y de parentesco en las Edades Media y Moderna. Aproximaciones a su problemática, (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Colección Biblioteca de la Historia, no. 1), 21-34. I am most grateful to Pascual Martínez Sopena for kindly providing me with a copy of his article prior to publication. See also J.M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, 'El Conde Osorio Martínez y los marqueses de Astorga', Astorica 7 (1988), 11-31.

28. Manrique Pérez was appointed count on 21 August 1145; among the confirmants to the grant made by Alfonso VII to the see of Orense on the same day features 'Amalricus ipso die quo hec carta facta fuit factus comes' (CDO, I, 33-4. For the first appearance of Gonzalo Rodríguez as count, see GRC, II, 315-16. On the career of Manrique Pérez, see Salazar y Castro, Casa de Lara, I, 109-24, CAI, 241 and GRC, I, 271-4. On Gonzalo Rodríguez, see GRC, I, 337 and on his father, Rodrigo Gómez, CAI, 251 and GRC, I, 336-7.
29. F. Barlow, William Rufus (London, 1983), 169.
30. For details of the career of Gutierre Fernández, see L. Serrano, Colección diplomática de San Salvador de El Moral (Valladolid, 1906), xi-xxix; CAI, 236-8; GRC, I, 321-4.
31. Reilly, Urraca, 212, 284; Gutierre Fernández first appears as the maiordomus of Alfonso VII in February 1135 and occupied the post until at least 24 October 1138 (BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 81r-82r; AC Zamora, 14/4.)
32. M.C. Vivancos Gómez, Documentación... del Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos. (954-1254) (Burgos, 1988) (henceforward Docs.Silos), 77-8; Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, De Rebus Hispaniae, ed. J. de Lorenzana (Madrid, 1793; rpd. Zaragoza, 1985), VII, xv, who describes Gutierre Fernández as 'vir grandaevus et honorabilis'.
33. The presence of Gutierre Fernández at the siege of Castrojeriz is demonstrated by royal diplomas of 1 and 28 September 1131 (L.

Serrano ed., Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (Madrid, 1930), 309; AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 5r). For his participation in the reduction of Oreja, see CAI, §145; AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 77r-v; AC Zamora, 8/6, 7; Rassow, 80-1; J.M. Garrido Garrido, Documentación de la catedral de Burgos (804-1183) (Burgos, 1983), (henceforth Docs.Burgos), 213-14. He also took part in the Andalusian razzia of 1144 (J.A. Llorente, Noticias históricas de las tres provincias vascongadas, Alava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya (Madrid, 1808), IV, 81-2; A. Barrios García, Documentación medieval de la catedral de Avila (Salamanca, 1981), (henceforth Docs.Avila), 6-7) and the campaign against Córdoba in 1146 (T. Minguella y Arnedo, Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos, I, (Madrid, 1910), 380-1; M. Lucas Alvarez, El Tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII-XII) (Santiago de Compostela, 1986), 168-70; Rassow, 97-8) His presence in the expedition to Almería is confirmed by the numerous royal diplomas that he witnessed during 1147: at Calatrava on 4 and 9 June and 11 July (R.A. Fletcher, 'Diplomatic and the Cid revisited: the seals and mandates of Alfonso VII', Journal of Medieval History 2 (1976), 332-3; CDO, I, 145-7; LFH, IV, ap. xvii, 46-8); at Andújar on 17 July (AHN, Códices, 1439B, fol. 5r-v); at Baeza on 18 August and again, after the fall of Almería, on 25 November (CDMR, 218-19; Rassow, 99-100); by 25 December, the royal army had returned to Toledo (Archivo Parroquial de Sar, uncatalogued charter; Cart.Toledo, no. 59). As far as the other military campaigns of the reign of Alfonso VII are concerned, Gutierre Fernández was present at the second siege of Córdoba in 1150 (Cart.Toledo, no. 76), at that of Jaén in 1151 (BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 144r-v; AC León, no. 331; Cart.Toledo, nos. 81, 82; AHN, Códices, 114B, fol. 25r-v) and probably took part in the expedition against Andújar, Pedroche and Santa Eufemia in 1155 (Cart.Toledo, nos. 107, 108).

34.

CAI, § 28, 94. He is cited as lord of Burgos, Castrojeriz and Amaya in an original charter of 1146 inserted between folios 83 and 84 of the Becerro-Mayor of the abbey of Aguilar de Campoo (AHN, Códices, 994B). As tenente of Calahorra, see C. Monterde Albiac, El monasterio de Santa María de Fitero (1140-

1210) (Zaragoza, 1978), 360-1. He is given as lord of Soria in J. Loperáez Corvalán, Descripción histórica del Obispado de Osma, 3 vols (Madrid, 1788), III, 24-7 and AHN, Clero, 896/13. In addition, Gutierre Fernández appears as lord of Roda (AHN, Clero, 3436/2), of Cervera and Tudejón (Monterde Albiac, Fitero, 376) and was also entrusted with control of half the town of Carrión (J.A. Pérez Celada, Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1047-1300) (Burgos, 1986), (henceforth Docs.Carrión), 61-3). On his patronage of the abbeys of El Moral and Ibeas de Juarros, see Serrano, El Moral, xxiv-xxviii.

35. PA, v.266-71; Docs.Burgos, 226-8; F.J. Peña Pérez, Documentación del Monasterio de San Juan de Burgos (1091-1400) (Burgos, 1983), 29-32; Rassow, 84-5.

36. For what follows, see J.M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, 'Don Pedro Fernández, primer Maestro de la Orden Militar de Santiago. Su familia, su vida', AEM 14 (1984), 33-71, at 36-47.

37. ibid., 51-3; Reilly, Urraca, 222 n.46, 299.

38. It may have been this very expectation of office that occasionally led some young nobles to witness charters with the epithet 'filius comitis'. For example, both Gonzalo Rodríguez, son of count Rodrigo Gómez, and Alvaro Pérez, son of count Pedro González de Lara, were styled thus in the royal charter they witnessed on 15 February 1149 (Serrano, El Moral, 58-9.) Among those sons of counts who never achieved the same distinction as their fathers, we might cite Vermudo Pérez, son of count Pedro Froilaz de Traba, García Garcés, son of count García Ordóñez, and Vela Gutiérrez, son of count Gutierre Vermúdez.

39. On Suero Vermúdez, see CAI, 255-6, A.C.Floriano Cumbreño, El Libro Registro de Corias, 2 vols (Oviedo, 1950), II, 290-2 and Estepa Díez, Estructura social, 275-7; on Ponce de Cabrera and Ponce de Minerva, infra, n. 50-1; on Gonzalo de Marañón, see GRC, I, 298-300.

40. For details of the career of García Garcés de Aza, see CAI, 232 and GRC, I, 294-5; on Rodrigo Fernández, CAI, 251; on Diego Muñoz,

see CAI, 227-8 and GRC, I, 352-4. On Fernando Yáñez, supra, page 52-4.

41. See M.C. Carlé, 'Infanzones e hidalgos', CHE 33-34 (1961), 56-100 and M.I. Pérez de Tudela y Velasco, Infanzones y Caballeros. Su proyección en la esfera nobiliaria castellano-leonesa (siglos IX-XIII) (Madrid, 1979).
42. ibid., 287.
43. Rassow, 105-6. Vela Gutiérrez (fl. 1130 x 1160) was the son of count Gutierre Vermúdez and countess Toda Pérez de Traba. He is cited as lord of Cabrera from 1149 (A. Quintana Prieto, Tumbo Viejo de San Pedro de Montes, (León, 1971), 269-70), Malgrad from 1150 (Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 197-8), and Lemos and Sarria from 1155 (AHN, Clero, 1325D/9; 1510/1). A regular visitor to the court during the latter part of the reign of Alfonso VII, he witnessed at least 28 royal diplomas between 1153 and 1157. During 1156 and 1157 he served as maior domus to Fernando II (A. Calvo, El monasterio de Gradefes. Apuntes para su historia y la de algunos otros cenobios y pueblos del concejo (León, 1945; rpd. León, 1984), 308-9; J.L. Martín Rodríguez, 'La orden militar de San Marcos de León', León y su historia, IV, (León, 1977), 53-4; Llorente, Noticias Históricas, IV, 164-7; AHN, Clero, 1616/21; AC Tuy, 1/7; AHN, Códices, 162B, fol. 4r-5v; J. del Alamo ed., Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña, 2 vols (Madrid, 1950), (henceforth Docs. Oña), I, 264-6). In 1150, the year after the grant of Nogales by Alfonso VII, Vela Gutiérrez, along with his wife Sancha Ponce, the daughter of count Ponce de Cabrera, founded a monastery at Nogales (A. Manrique, Cistercium seu Verius Ecclesiasticorum Annalium a Conditio Cistercio, 4 vols (Lyon, 1642-59), II, 175. He was also a patron of the abbeys of Sobrado and Monasterio de Vega (AHN, Clero, 526/11, 527/11; Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, I, 427; L. Serrano, Cartulario de Monasterio de Vega con documentos de San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo (Madrid, 1927), 76-8). He died on 4 October 1160, according to C. Fernández Duro (Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Zamora, su provincia y obispado, I (Madrid, 1882), 368); while Fray Malaquías de la Vega, in his Casa de Castro (BN, Manuscritos, 19, 418, fol. 250r-v) gives the date as 14 November 1163.

44. On Pedro Peláez de Arnales and his family, see Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 405-10.
45. BN, Manuscritos, 712, fol. 91r and 13,093, fol. 134r-v. It is published by T. Muñoz y Romero, Colección de Fueros Municipales y Cartas Pueblas (Madrid, 1847; rpd. Madrid, 1978), 165.
46. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 228.
47. See C. Pescador, 'La caballería popular en León y Castilla', CHE 33-34 (1961), 101-238; 35-36 (1962), 56-201; 37-38 (1963), 88-198; 39-40 (1964), 169-260.
48. J.A. García de Cortázar, La época medieval (Madrid, 1973), 277-8.
49. A. Mackay, Spain in the Middle Ages. From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500 (London, 1977), 48.
50. The important careers of Ponce de Cabrera (fl. 1127 x 1162) and Ponce de Minerva (fl. 1127 x 1174) await detailed study. There are some useful observations on the former in CAI, 248-9 and Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 389-91; on the latter, see ES XXXV, 226-8; Serrano, Vega, 60 n.2; Estepa Díez, Estructura social, 281-2 and M.C. Casado Lobato, Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Carrizo, 2 vols (León, 1983), I, xiv-xvii.
- Soon after his arrival in León, Ponce de Cabrera was awarded the lordship of the district of Sanabria, including the Sierra de Cabrera, (A. Rodríguez González, El Tumbo del monasterio de San Martín de Castañeda (León, 1973), 211) and subsequently came to govern over Villafáfila (ibid., 70-1), Castroverde and Villalpando (ibid., 86-7), half the tenancy of Astorga (ibid., 64-6), Malgrad (AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 64), Melgar (AHN, Clero, 897/8), Castrotorafe (AHN, Clero, 896/13), Salamanca (J.L. Martín Martín and others, Documentos de los archivos catedralicio y diocesano de Salamanca (Siglos XII-XIII) (Salamanca, 1977), (henceforth Docs.Salamanca), 105-6), Zamora (AC Zamora, 14/24) and was awarded the tenancy of Almería (Archivo Parroquial de Sar: uncatalogued charter of 25 December 1147; AHN, Clero, 1740/20). His first recorded appearance at court dates from 15 May 1131 (CDO, I, 17-19)

and his influence at the curia regis can be gauged from his service as court maiordomus to Alfonso VII during 1145-1157 (Rassow, 364) and to Fernando II during 1157 and 1159-1161 (GRF, 183), while his presence at the majority of the campaigns of the period underlines his important military role (CAI, 248-9). His loyal service was rewarded by Alfonso VII on at least three occasions (I. Alfonso Antón, La Colonización Cisterciense en la Meseta del Duero: El dominio de Moreruela (siglos XII-XV) (Zamora, 1986), 294-5; Rassow, 121-2; AHN, Clero, 948/2). He is celebrated as the founder of the Cistercian abbey of Moreruela (Alfonso Antón, op.cit., 294-5, 301-2), but also favoured the monasteries of Sahagún, Samos and Sar (AHN, Clero, 899/7; Lucas Alvarez, Tumbo de Samos, 186-7; AHD Santiago de Compostela, Fondo San Martín: Serie Priorato de Sar, 37/43).

The first recorded presence of Ponce de Minerva at the court of Alfonso VII dates from 9 September 1140 (M. Mañueco Villalobos and J. Zurita Nieto, Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid, I (Valladolid, 1917), (henceforth Docs.Valladolid), 190-1) when he appears as the royal alférez, post which he held until 4 December 1144 (AHN, Clero, 897/2). He is cited as governor of the royal fortress of León from 1148 (AC León, no. 15) and as tenente of Mayorga (AHN, Clero, 897/10) and Castrotierra (AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, nos. 74, 78).

51. Ponce de Cabrera first appears in royal diplomas with the title of count on 29 October 1143 (A. Bruel, Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny, V, (Paris, 1894), 428-30); Ponce de Minerva did not attain the same office until 23 October 1164 (GRF, 383).
52. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 70. See in this context, N. Guglielmi, 'Cambio y movilidad social en el Cantar del Mio Cid', Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval 12 (1963-1965), 43-65.
53. On Martín Díaz and his family, see Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 398-403.
54. The donation of Albiros is published by P. Sandoval, Crónica del Inclito Emperador de España don Alfonso VII (Madrid, 1600), 148-9; for the documents concerning Pajares de

- Campos, see L. Díaz Canseco, 'Sobre los fueros del Valle de Fenar, Castrocalbón y Pajares', AHDE 1 (1924), 373-4 and J. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Anotaciones a L. Díaz Canseco', AL 59-60 (1976), 263-6.
55. V. Vignau, Cartulario del monasterio de Eslonza (Madrid, 1885), 25-6 and Rassow, 97-8.
56. Díaz Canseco, 'Sobre los fueros', 375-7 and J. Rodríguez Fernández, Los Fueros del Reino de León, 2 vols (León, 1981), II, 67-71.
57. AHN, Clero, 898/16; Docs. Palencia, 118-20.
58. CAI §112, 141, 143-4, 162-9, 171-4, 176, 178-86.
59. HC, 329, 553, 555.
60. CAI, §75, 81.
61. PA, v.186-203.
62. AC Tuy, 10/24. See Appendix 1, no. XIII.
63. HC, 503. On count Gómez Núñez (fl. 1103 x 1141), see CAI, 234-5; C.J. Bishko, 'The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Administration', Studia Monastica 7 (1965), 305-56, at 327-31. According to Reilly (Urraca, 291), the career of count Gómez 'was one of shifts between the sovereigns of an emerging Portugal and those of León-Castilla into the reign of Alfonso VII'. Lord of the Galician district of Toroño, in 1112 he served as majordomo to count Henry of Burgundy (DMP, no. 30), played an important role in the dynastic struggles of the reign of Urraca (HC, 217, 246, 249), and was among the Galician magnates who submitted to Alfonso VII at Zamora in April 1126 (CAI, §5). He was a rare visitor to the royal court, confirming only 14 diplomas of the king during the period 1126-1135. His support for the Portuguese invasion of 1137-1141 is recounted by the CAI (§74, 77, 87). The affirmation of the CAI that count Gómez was exiled and joined a Cluniac monastery is supported by a 14th century Portuguese source, the Livro de Linhagens do Deão, ed. J. Piel y J. Mattoso in Livros Velhos de Linhagens (Lisbon, 1980), 7A3. His sympathies towards Cluny were demonstrated as early as 1126, when he granted the monks his

family abbey at Budifo (Bruel, Chartes. de Cluny, V, 345-6). In 1138, meanwhile, he can be seen favouring the abbey of Celanova with a grant of land at Bustarenga (AHN, Códices, 986B, fol. 186rb).

64. AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 77r-v; Docs. Avila, 6-7.

65. CAI, §195; Cart. Toledo, no. 56; Lucas Alvarez, Tumbo. de Samos, 168-70; PA, v. 186-203. The presence of Fernando Yáñez in the army that Alfonso VII led against Almería is supported by documentary evidence too: see, CDO, I, 145-7; AHN, Códices, 1439B, fol. 5r-v; Rassow, 99-100.

66. BN, Manuscritos, 13,093, fol. 144r-v; AC Tuy, 3/5.

67. Cart. Toledo, nos. 47, 53, 74.

68. Pelayo Corvo (fl. 1137 x 1169) was first married to Toda Muñoz, a niece of archbishop Diego Gelmírez (HC, 505; Galicia-Histórica, Colección Diplomática (Santiago de Compostela, 1901), 142-3) and subsequently to María Garcés (AHN, Clero, 1437/12). His first recorded presence at the court of Alfonso VII is on 26 June 1137 (AHN, Clero, 1826/16) and he witnessed at least a further 54 charters during the reign. He was present at the siege of Oreja in 1139 (AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 77r-v) and was a member of the expeditions to Almería in 1147 (CDO, I, 145-7; Archivo Parroquial de Sar: uncatalogued charter of 25 December 1147) and to Andújar in 1155 (Rassow, 133-4). As a reward for his loyal service, he was awarded the lordship of Toroño, previously the power-base of count Gómez Núñez: thus, on 23 April 1149 he is styled 'Pelagius Curuus potestas et dominus in terra Tudensi' (AC Tuy, 3/24; Rassow, 103-5); in November 1152 he is described as 'principe Toronii' (AC Tuy, 12/33). On 26 September 1158 Fernando II made a grant to him 'pro bono et fideli servicio quod mihi a pueritia fecistis et pro possessionibus et pro hereditatibus vestris quas in servicio meo perdistis quas scilicet hereditates vobis rex Portugalis inimicus destruxit' (AHN, Clero, 1437/11). In 1141 he was embroiled in a dispute with the monks of San Martín Pinarío over possession of the churches of Nantes and Tro (Archivo de

- Antealtares, Traslado de Privilegios, no. 6). He was closely associated with the Cistercian abbey of Melón, of which he became a confrater (AHN, Códices, 324B, fol. 343v). He disappears from our records after 28 March 1169 (DMP, no. 293).
69. On count Martín Flaínez, see Martínez Sopena, 'El conde Rodrigo de León', 14-17.
70. On Rodrigo and Osorio Martínez, supra n. 27.
71. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 381-6; Canal Sánchez Pagín, 'El Conde Osorio Martínez y los marqueses de Astorga', 11-31.
72. On Pedro Martínez, see Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 374 and 'El conde Rodrigo de León', 18-20.
73. AHN, Clero, 893/18.
74. ibid., 894/11. The charter is edited by R. Escalona, Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún (Madrid, 1782), 515-16.
75. On the heirs of Pedro Martínez, see Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 374-80. On García Pérez in particular, see J. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Los fundadores del monasterio de Gradefes', AL 24 (1970), 209-42; Calvo, Gradefes, 163-75.
76. Calvo, Gradefes, 164-5, 308-9; Rassow, 99-100.
77. Calvo, Gradefes, 307; AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 71: see Appendix 1, no. IX. On count Ramiro Froilaz, see CAI, 249; Estepa Díaz, Estructura social, 280-1; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 386-9.
78. Details in Calvo, Gradefes, 163-70.
79. See Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 375.
80. Moxó, 'La nobleza castellano-leonesa', 15.
81. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 376-80.
82. See, for example, K. Schmid, 'The structure of the nobility in the earlier middle ages', in Reuter ed., op.cit., 37-59 and the numerous essays of G. Duby translated and collected

- together in The Chivalrous Society (London, 1977).
83. Reuter ed., op.cit., 6.
84. Portela and Pallares, 'Elementos para el análisis de la aristocracia', 23.
85. HC, 558-60.
86. AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 232. See Appendix 1, no. VII. On Pedro Alfonso, see CAI, 244-5, Floriano Cumbreño, Libro Registro de Corias, II, 240 and Colección diplomática del monasterio de Belmonte (Oviedo, 1960), 305-7.
87. For example, the carta de arras granted by count Rodrigo Martínez to his bride Urraca Fernández on 21 November 1129: Docs. Valladolid, 148-51.
88. AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 232 bis. See Appendix 1, no. X.
89. AHN, Clero, 1325E/24. See below, Appendix 1, no. XXI.
90. Portela and Pallares, 'Elementos para el análisis de la aristocracia', 23.
91. supra, n. 85.
92. D. Herlihy, Medieval Households (Harvard, 1985), 82.
93. See Schmid, 'The structure of the nobility', 37-59.
94. S.M. Belmartino, 'Estructura de la familia y "edades sociales" en la aristocracia de León y Castilla según las fuentes literarias e historiográficas (Siglos X-XIII)', CHE 47-48 (1968), 283.
95. HC, 477.
96. S. García Larragueta ed., Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo (Oviedo, 1962), (henceforth Docs.Oviedo) 367-70. The charter is also edited by Bruel, Chartes de Cluny, V, 314-17, 317-19 n. 7 and by A.C. Floriano Cumbreño, El monasterio de Cornellana (Oviedo, 1949), 191-4.

97. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 60.
98. Docs.Valladolid, 141-2.
99. ibid., 125-7.
100. On Mumadonna Godesteiz, see Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 59.
101. ibid., 60.
102. Leges. Visigothorum, ed. K. Zeumer, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, (Hanover-Leipzig, 1902), Lib.IV, tit.II, IX.
103. AHN, Clero, 1023/20. On count Lope Díaz, see GRC, I, 301-3.
104. ibid., 895/23.
105. E. de Hinojosa, Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y Castilla (Siglos X-XIII) (Madrid, 1919), 56-7.
106. Details in Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 61.
107. AHN, Clero, 526/13. There is a description of the same 'colmelum et diuisio' in a document of Vermudo Pérez issued on 4 February 1142: Loscertales, Tumbos.de.Sobrado, II, 26.
108. HC, 558-60.
109. RAH, Colección Salazar, B-3, fol. 315r-v.
110. Galicia Histórica, 14-16.
111. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 62 n. 94.
112. Leges. Visigothorum, Lib.IV, tit.V, I.
113. See L. García Valdeavellano, 'La cuota de libre disposición en el derecho hereditario de León y Castilla en la Alta Edad Media', AHDE 9 (1932), 129-76, at 171-3.
114. Martínez Sopena, Tierra.de.Campos, 334.
115. Docs.Oviedo, 395-7.
116. See Duby, 'Lineage, nobility and knighthood', 'The nobility in medieval France' and 'The

structure of kinship', in The Chivalrous Society, 59-80, 94-111, 134-48; Schmid, 'The structure of the nobility', 37-59.

117. Duby, 'The nobility in medieval France', 100-1.
118. Herlihy, op.cit., 82.
119. Duby, 'The nobility in medieval France', 103.
120. Lambert of Wattrelos, Annales Cameracenses, ed., C. Bethmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Ss, XVI, 511-12.
121. J. Boussard ed., Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium (Paris, 1957); Lambert of Ardes, Historia comitum Ghisnensium, ed. J. Heller, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Ss, XXIV, 550-642. On genealogical literature, see Duby, 'The nobility in medieval France', 100-1 and 'The structure of kinship', 134-48.
122. supra n. 116.
123. Moxó, 'De la nobleza vieja', 6.
124. See especially I. Beceiro Pita, 'La conciencia de los antepasados y la gloria del linaje en la Castilla bajomedieval', forthcoming in Relaciones de poder, de producción y de parentesco en las Edades Media y Moderna. Aproximaciones a su problemática (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Colección Biblioteca de la Historia, no. 1), 1-2. I am most grateful to Isabel Beceiro for kindly allowing me to consult her article prior to publication.
125. Historia Roderici, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid (7th ed., Madrid, 1969), 921-2; Beceiro Pita, 'La conciencia de los antepasados', passim.
126. Beceiro Pita, 'La conciencia de los antepasados', 1.
127. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 33.
128. ibid., 50-4.
129. Hinojosa, Documentos, 32-3.

130. I. Beceiro Pita, 'Los linajes de la nobleza territorial en Castilla a fines del medievo', forthcoming in Ocho estudios sobre la nobleza, 2. Once again, I am indebted to Dr. Beceiro for providing me with a copy of her article prior to publication.
131. Martínez Sopena, 'El conde Rodrigo', 40.
132. CAI, §139.
133. By Martínez Sopena, 'El conde Rodrigo', 35. The charter in question has been edited by M.A. Valcarce García, El dominio de la Real Colegiata de S. Isidoro de León hasta 1189 (León, 1985), 93-5.
134. Docs.Oña, I, 113-14.
135. F. Sagredo Fernández, 'Los condes de Bureba en la documentación de la segunda mitad del siglo XI', in Estudios sobre la Sociedad Hispánica en la Edad Media. Cuadernos de Historia 6 (1975), 92.
136. E. Portela Silva and M.C. Pallares Méndez, 'Muerte y sociedad en la Galicia medieval', AEM 15 (1985), 196.
137. In a charter issued by queen Urraca on 1 February 1124, for example, count Pedro is styled 'venerabilis comes dominus Petrus de Lara': Minguella, Sigüenza, 347-8.
138. LFH, IV, ap. xi, 30-2.
139. F. Menéndez Pidal y Navascués, 'Le début des emblèmes héraldiques en Espagne', Armas e Troféus, 5ª serie, 3-4 (Lisbon, 1984), 5-46.
140. Moxó, 'De la nobleza vieja', 7.
141. F. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, 'Los sellos de los señores de Molina', AEM 14 (1984), 115.
142. AC Zamora, 14/31. The Cabrera goat was also depicted on a charter drawn up in 1204 by the grandson of count Ponce, Fernando Fernández (AHN, Osuna, 12/14). On the mausoleum of Vela Gutiérrez and Sancha Ponce, see Fray Malaquías de la Vega, Casa de Castro, BN, Manuscritos, 19,418, fol. 250r-v.

143. J. Goody, The development of family and marriage in Europe (Cambridge, 1983), 222-39.
144. Mattoso, Ricos-homens, -infanções e cavaleiros, 107-9.
145. J.E. Ruiz Domenec, 'Sistema de parentesco y teoría de la alianza en la sociedad catalana (c.1000 - c.1240), Amor, -familia, -sexualidad (Barcelona, 1984), 113-40.
146. J.C. Russell, Late ancient and medieval population (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1958), 71.
147. AHN, Códices, 994B, fol. 6r-v. See below Appendix 1, no. IV.
148. Lucas Alvarez, Tumbo de Samos, 186-7.
149. R. Pastor, 'Historia de las familias en Castilla y León (Siglos X-XIV) y su relación con la formación de los grandes dominios eclesiásticos', CHE 43-44 (1967), 103.
150. ibid., 103.
151. Belmartino, 'Estructura de la familia', 287-300. The fuller materials for the Later Middle Ages are used to good effect by Isabel Beceiro Pita and Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave in their forthcoming book Parentesco, ... poder ... y mentalidad. La nobleza castellana. (Siglos XII-XV) (in press).
152. J. Pérez de Urbel and A. González Ruiz-Zorrilla eds., Historia Silense (Madrid, 1959), 184.
153. Belmartino, 'Estructura de la familia', 295.
154. Historia Silense, 184.
155. HC, 208; Rassow, 99-100.
156. HC, 115; A. López Ferreiro, Don Alfonso VII, rey de Galicia, y su ayo el conde de Traba (Santiago de Compostela, 1885), 123-4.
157. CAI, §38.
158. See especially G. Duby, 'Dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XIIe siècle: les "jeunes" dans la société aristocratique', Annales.

Economies. Sociétés. Civilisations, 19 (1964), 835-46.

159. See the royal charter of 26 February 1152, a grant by Alfonso VII to the monastery of San Cristóbal, issued 'pro amore filii mei regis Santii, quem hodie militem facio': Docs. Burgos, 229-30.
160. CAI, §181; Llorente, Noticias históricas, IV, 309. According to the 13th-century testimony of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, the Castilian magnate Gutierre Fernández 'fere quingentos milites manu propria accinxisse cingulo militari': De Rebus Hispaniae, VII, xv.
161. A point emphasised by Isabel Beceiro and Ricardo Córdoba in Parentesco, ... poder ... y mentalidad, 14-15.
162. Escalona, Sahagún, 515-16.
163. Historia Silense, 184.
164. AHN, Clero, 526/7, 13.
165. AC Segovia, 1/20.
166. M. Chibnall, The World of Orderic Vitalis (Oxford, 1984), 131.
167. C. Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages 962-1154 (2nd ed., New York, 1975), 121.
168. E. Montanos Ferrín, La familia en la Alta Edad Media española (Pamplona, 1980), 41-2.
169. AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 232. See Appendix 1, no. VII.
170. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 90-2.
171. AHN, Clero, 900/17.
172. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 42.
173. ibid., 42-3.
174. ibid., 44.
175. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 56.
176. On the denunciations of the church councils, see A. García y García, 'Concilios y sínodos

en el ordenamiento jurídico del Reino de León', in El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media. I. Cortes, concilios y fueros (León, 1988), 481, 489-90; HC, 90-1.

177. On the attempts by the Church to eradicate endogamy, see G. Duby, Medieval Marriage. Two models from twelfth-century France (Baltimore, 1978). C.B. Bouchard, 'Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh centuries', Speculum 56 (1981), 268-87, has drawn attention, however, to the strenuous efforts that were made by members of the French nobility themselves to avoid incestuous marriages.
178. Duby, Medieval Marriage, 80.
179. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 387 n. 452.
180. Fletcher, St. James's catapult, 17, 42.
181. HC, 97, 105-11, 120, 126-8, 136, 156, 188, 313, 329, 347, 364, 382, 389, 394, 443, 475-6.
182. ibid., 105-11.
183. ibid., 475.
184. ibid., 475.
185. ibid., 475.
186. ibid., 389, 475.
187. Fletcher, St. James's catapult, 162.
188. See Herlihy, Medieval Households, 73.
189. Docs. Valladolid, 148-50.
190. Leges Visigothorum, Lib.IV, tit.II: XV. See in this context, J. Lalinde Abadía, 'Los pactos matrimoniales catalanes', AHDE 33 (1963), 133-266.
191. AHN, Clero, 526/5. See Appendix 1, no. I.
192. ibid., 897/13.
193. Floriano Cumbreño, Belmonte (Oviedo, 1960), 92-4.
194. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 43-5.

195. supra, n. 191.
196. AHN, Clero, 900/17.
197. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 90-2.
198. RAH, Colección Salazar, B-3, fol. 305r-v.
199. Docs.Valladolid, 141-2; J.L. Martín Rodríguez, Orígenes de la Orden Militar de Santiago (1170-1195) (Barcelona, 1974), 171-2; Reilly, Urraca, 136.
200. supra, n. 169.
201. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, xviii.
202. On this development, see J.O. Hughes, 'From brideprice to dowry in Mediterranean Europe', Journal of Family History 3 (1978), 262-96. Herlihy, op.cit., 98-100; Lalinde Abadía, 'Pactos matrimoniales', 180-3.
203. supra, n. 197.
204. AHN, Códices, 1043B, fol. 20r.
205. AHN, Clero, 529/4.
206. Herlihy, op.cit., 100.
207. J.H. Round ed., Rotuli de dominabus et pueris et puellis de XII comitatibus, Pipe-Roll Society 35 (London, 1913).
208. Herlihy, op.cit., 103.
209. Pastor, 'Historia de las familias', 99.
210. supra, n. 189.
211. supra, n. 199.
212. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 58.
213. supra, n. 75.
214. Calvo, Gradefes, 164-5.
215. ibid., 163-82, 229-35.
216. AHN, Clero, 1023/19; AHRG, Particulares, no. 58; AHN, Clero, 3440/1.

217. Docs. Valladolid, 170-2.
218. J.C. Shideler, A. Medieval Catalan Noble Family. The Montcadas. 1000-1230 (Berkeley, 1983), 59.
219. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 57-8.
220. Shideler, op.cit., 59-60.
221. Portela and Pallares, 'Elementos para el análisis de la aristocracia', 25-6.
222. GRC, I, 324.
223. Count Ramiro Froilaz disappears from our records after June 1169: GRF, 408; count Pedro Alfonso was still alive on 1 October 1170: Floriano Cumbreño, Belmonte, 201-2.
224. AC Tuy, 1/7, 8, 11, 12. It is published in ES XXII, 273-7.
225. AHN, Clero, 556/4: see Appendix 1, no. XVIII. There is no documentary record of Vermudo Pérez after 21 September 1161. C. Vaamonde Lores, Ferrol . . . y Puente deume. Escrituras referentes a propiedades adquiridas por el monasterio de Sobrado en dichos partidos durante los siglos XII, XIII y XIV (La Coruña, 1909), 70, gives Vermudo's death as 1168, drawing on the testimony of the 17th century Historia del Monasterio de Sobrado of Fray Bernardo Villalpando.
226. Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 93.
227. supra, n. 107.
228. Colección de documentos históricos, Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega, 4 vols (La Coruña, 1915-1973), I, 335-6.
229. Calvo, Grades, 173-4.
230. Portela and Pallares, 'Muerte y sociedad', 198.
231. Chibnall, The World of Orderic Vitalis, 119.
232. Docs. Valladolid, 148-50.

233. Rodríguez Fernández, Los Fueros de León, II, 67-71; Minguella, Sigüenza, 390-1; Docs.Oña, I, 209-10.
234. Reilly, Urraca, 259-60.
235. L. Sánchez Belda, 'En torno a 3 diplomas de Alfonso VII', Hispania 11 (1951), 58-61.
236. The important role played by women in the administration of lay patrimonies is emphasised by D. Herlihy, 'Land, Family and Women in Continental Europe, 701-1200', Traditio 18 (1962), 89-120.
237. Rodríguez Fernández, Los Fueros de León, II, 67-71. It was first published by Díaz Canseco, 'Sobre los fueros', 375-7.
238. Cart.Toledo, no. 164. See Appendix 1, no. XXII.
239. Minguella, Sigüenza, 390-1; Sánchez Belda, 'En torno a 3 diplomas', 58-61.
240. Serrano, El...Moral, 31-4; Colección de documentos históricos, III, 81.
241. Hinojosa, Documentos, 56-7.
242. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 45.
243. supra, n. 54.
244. AHN, Códices, 986B, fol. 186rb.
245. The standard studies are Rassow, 327-467 and Reilly, 'The Chancery of Alfonso VII', 243-61.
246. Docs.Valladolid, 95-7; AHN, Clero, 1325C/7.
247. Colección de documentos históricos, III, 81; Docs.Valladolid, 170-2.
248. Docs.Oviedo, 367-70.
249. AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 15v-16r; Minguella, Sigüenza, 390-1.
250. AHN, Clero, 378/5. See Appendix 1, no. XV.
251. AHN, OM-Calatrava, 418/15-17.

252. Rassow, 464-5; Sánchez Belda, 'En torno a 3 diplomas', 47-61.
253. A.L. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1955), 12.
254. Fletcher, 'Diplomatic and the Cid', 305-38.
255. R.A. Fletcher, The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century (Oxford, 1978), 111-14.
256. Minguella, Sigüenza, 390-1.
257. AHN, Clero, 527/10.
258. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, 'Los sellos de los señores de Molina', 102-10.
259. ibid., 104-5.
260. ibid., 107.
261. AHN, Sellos, 97/22.
262. Fletcher, 'Diplomatic and the Cid', 320-32; B.F. Reilly, The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI (1065-1109) (Princeton, 1988), 278 n. 70.
263. Fletcher, 'Diplomatic and the Cid', 328-30; J.M. Lacarra, 'Mandatos reales navarro-aragoneses del siglo XII', EEMCA 2 (1946), 425-31.
264. AC Palencia, Armario 3, legajo 8, documento 3. The mandate has been published, with one or two errors of transcription, in Docs. Palencia, 86-7. For a corrected edition, see Appendix I, no. XI. Numerous studies have been dedicated to the career of Armengol VI of Urgel: see D. Monfar y Sors, Historia de los condes de Urgel in Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, ed. P. de Bofarull y Mascaró, IX (Barcelona, 1853), 364-94; J. Mirét y Sans, Investigación histórica sobre el vizcondado de Castellbó con datos inéditos de los condes de Urgell y de los vizcondes de Ager (Barcelona, 1900), 126-32; CAI, 238-9; S. Sobrequés, Els Barons de Catalunya (Barcelona, 1957), 19-20; E. Corredera Gutiérrez, 'Los condes soberanos de Urgel y los premonstratenses', Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia 36 (1963), 23-36 and Noticia de

los condes de Urgel (Lérida, 1973), 74-93; J. Villanueva, Memorias cronológicas de los condes de Urgel (Balaguer, 1976), 171-83.

265. Fletcher, 'Diplomatic and the Cid', 333.
266. ibid., 333-4; Lacarra, 'Mandatos reales', 426-31.
267. Abajo Martin appears to have assigned the mandate to 1143 merely on the basis of the fact that the document is kept in the archive of Palencia cathedral together with a papal bull of that year (Docs.Palencia, 90-3). Admittedly, the mandate contains very few clues that might help us establish when it was drawn up: there is no witness list attached, nor is the bishop of Palencia named. Fortunately, the itinerary of count Armengol VI can be traced with a fair degree of accuracy: on the basis of the charters of Alfonso VII that he witnessed, for example, we can ascertain that the count was definitely present in León-Castile during the years 1135-1137, 1145-1147 and from 1149 down to his death in 1155. There is, however, one other clue that might help us to refine this picture yet further: the mandate of count Armengol mentions that the bishop of Palencia had appointed the archdeacon Nicholas to the abbacy of the church of Santa María of Valladolid and that this had met with the approval of the count. Indeed, a 'Nicholaus archidiaconus' appears in three Palencian documents during these years: those of 16 April 1146, 6 April 1151 and 2 July 1154 (Docs.Palencia, 95-7, 97-9, 106-8). Moreover, he served as chancellor to Sancho III from 14 January 1154 until at least 30 August 1156 (GRC, II, 25-30, 32-9, 48-50). There is no evidence, however, that archdeacon Nicholas ever took up the abbacy to which the mandate tells us he had been appointed. A possible clue to the mystery is provided by four other texts from Palencia cathedral (Docs.Palencia, 110-12, 114-15, 115-16, 117-18). The documents in question were all drawn up by the papal legate Cardinal Hyacinth shortly after the great council he had held at Valladolid in February 1155. They refer to the bitter dispute that had arisen between the count of Urgel and the bishop of Palencia on the one hand and 'ipsorum clericorum' on the other over the election of the abbot of Valladolid.

Space does not permit us here to give a blow-by-blow account of the controversy, but what is particularly relevant to our purposes is the revelation that the bishop of Palencia's candidate to the abbacy, a man 'litteratum et honestum' according to Hyacinth (Docs.Palencia, 111), had been violently deposed shortly before. Might not this have been archdeacon Nicholas himself? If, as seems possible, this were the case, we might suggest that his election to the abbacy took place some time before January 1154, that is, before his appointment to the chancellorship of the household of Sancho III. But how long before? No detailed list of the 12th century abbots of Valladolid survives, but we do know that during at least 1151 and 1152 the church of Santa María was ruled over by an abbot Juan (M. de Castro Alonso, Episcopologio Vallisoletano (Valladolid, 1904), 53-4; Docs.Valladolid, 201-2, 204-6). He disappears from our records shortly afterwards, however, and not until 11 January 1156, by which time the emperor had installed his own candidate, Miguel, to the abbacy, do we know for sure the name of his successor (Docs.Valladolid, 216-18). Our evidence as it stands is far too flimsy for us to be able to solve the riddle with any degree of confidence, but by drawing together the various threads of evidence that have come down to us, we have tentatively come to the following conclusion: that the appointment of archdeacon Nicholas to the abbacy of Valladolid may have taken place some time during 1153, that is after the demise of his predecessor Juan, or at the very latest 1154, and that the mandate addressed by count Armengol to the citizens of Valladolid was despatched shortly afterwards.

268. Fletcher, 'Diplomatic and the Cid', 331.
269. See, by way of example, those published in F.M. Stenton, The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1961), 258, 267, 269.
270. AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 98r. See Appendix 1, no. III.
271. Galicia Histórica, 14-16.
272. Lacarra, 'Mandatos reales', 425.

273. Duby, 'The structure of kinship and nobility', 139.
274. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, xvi.
275. J.M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, 'Documentos del Monasterio de Carrizo de la Ribera (León) en la Colección Salazar de la Real Academia de la Historia, AL 64 (1978), 400-1.
276. Serrano, El Moral, 34-6; Docs.Oña, I, 215-17; AHN, Códices, 994B, fol. 6r-v: see Appendix 1, no. IV.
277. AHN, Clero, 1649/10.
278. Cart.Toledo, no. 178: see Appendix 1, no. XXIII.
279. ibid., nos. 180, 184.
280. For the later medieval period, see I. Beceiro Pita, 'La caza y la alta nobleza bajomedieval en el reino castellano', Razo... Cahier... du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales de Nice 3 (1982), 75-85.
281. AHN, Clero, 893/19; Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 23-4; Fletcher, St... James's catapult, 4, n. 6; Cart.Toledo, no. 206.
282. Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 200-1.
283. CAI, §93.
284. CDMR, 169-70.
285. On Marcabru, see, for example, P. Boissonade, 'Les personnages et les événements de l'histoire d'Allemagne, de France et d'Espagne dans l'oeuvre de Marcabru (1129-1150)', Romania 48 (1922), 207-42; H. Salvador Martínez, El "Poema de Almería" y la épica románica (Madrid, 1975), 60-1; J.A. Tapia Garrido, Almería... Musulmana... (711-1147), (Almería, 1976), 379-88.
286. Moxó, 'La nobleza castellano-leonesa', 47-8.
287. See, in this context, PA v.220-1.
288. See, for example, Barlow, William Rufus, 21. More recently, however, M.T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record... England 1066-1307

(London, 1979), 262, has argued that 'it is probable that a minimal knowledge of Latin among the population at large has been underestimated...This minimal knowledge did not make a person educated in any real sense, but it was of practical use'. Crouch, The Beaumont Twins, 211, has shown that the Beaumonts 'moved in distinguished intellectual circles' and seem to have been well-educated themselves.

289. AHN, Clero, 378/7.
290. AHN, Clero, 526/7. See Appendix 1, no. II.
291. AHN, Clero, 527/6.
292. On Alfonso VII and his tutor count Pedro Froilaz, see López Ferreiro, Don Alfonso VII, Rey de Galicia, y su ayo el conde de Traba, passim.
293. Docs.Oña, I, 220-1; AHN, Clero, 526/15: only the bottom half of the parchment survives. The full text is to be found in the 17th-century Historia de Sobrado, fol. 66-68, held in the Instituto Padre Sarmiento in Santiago de Compostela. It is tempting to attribute this anonymous work to Fray Bernardo Villalpando, supra n.225.

CHAPTER 2

PROPERTY AND POWER

Introduction

Medieval society, historians are never slow to tell us, was a feudal society. Indeed, the concept of 'feudalism', which was first coined in the early 17th century, has proved such a useful portmanteau word to scholars of medieval European history that it has been used without hesitation, along with its concomitant forms 'feudal tenure', 'feudal system' and so on, to help explain the complexities of the structure of that society. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, given the widespread acceptance of the term into the historical lexicon, that the precise definition of 'feudalism' remains a subject for heated debate.

One of the most celebrated attempts to provide a clear exposition of the nature of the feudal system, was F.L. Ganshof's Qu'est-ce que la féodalité?, published in 1944.(1) According to Ganshof's thesis, feudalism had its origins in the Carolingian empire of 8th and 9th century France and Germany, reached its fullest development between the 10th and 13th centuries and spread to most parts of western Europe, as well as to the Crusader kingdoms of the Near East. For Ganshof, feudalism was to be defined in the following terms:

'A body of institutions creating and regulating the obligations of obedience and service - mainly military service - on the part of a free man (the vassal) towards

another free man (the lord), and the obligations of protection and maintenance on the part of the lord with regard to his vassal. The obligation of maintenance had usually as one of its effects the grant by the lord to his vassal of a unit of real property known as a fief.'(2)

According to Ganshof, therefore, the feudal system was a political-institutional means of regulating relations between members of the upper classes and was to be distinguished from the rights of lordship which nobles wielded over the dependent peasantry; the so-called seigneurial system.

While Ganshof's thesis has won many followers, other historians have sketched a far bolder picture of the characteristics of feudalism. Notably, Marc Bloch, in his influential work La Société Féodale, saw the concept as meaning far more than simply a means of military organisation within the ranks of the upper classes.(3) In Bloch's vision of feudal society, vassallage and the fief as a system of government and social organisation were no longer the decisive factors; instead, feudalism embraced society as a whole, lords, peasants and slaves, and was based on the supremacy of the warrior class, that is, the nobles, and their subjection of the rural population. For Bloch, however, his interpretation of feudal society went even further and also included a study of the environment people lived in, their ties of kinship and modes of thought. The 'narrow' definition of

feudalism which Ganshof and others had propounded was therefore subsumed by Bloch into a much wider interpretation and stemmed from his belief that 'the framework of institutions which govern society can in the last resort be understood only through the knowledge of the whole human environment'.(4)

The global interpretation of feudalism as a social system as championed by Bloch, has attracted an increasing number of adherents in recent years, some of whom have sought to extend its implications even further. For writers such as Kula and Bois, feudalism was nothing less than a mode of production by which a dominant class, the nobility, exploited the peasantry who worked their lands.(5) From this strictly Marxist viewpoint, feudalism represents the intermediate stage between slavery and capitalism in the historical evolution of human society. Furthermore, feudalism ceases to be a purely medieval European phenomenon; instead, while its origins are to be sought in the slave-based production of Antiquity, its effects were felt both in Europe and elsewhere in the world (for example in Japan) as late as the 19th century.(6)

This wide divergence of opinion among historians as to the precise nature of feudalism has been mirrored in Spain. The debate dates back to the last century when Cárdenas sought to demonstrate that the Peninsula had been profoundly affected by feudal

institutions, an assertion that was subsequently rebutted by Herculano.(7) Later, Sánchez Albornoz outlined what he termed the 'protofeudalización' of the Visigothic state.(8) This development, he maintained, was interrupted by the Muslim invasions of the eighth century and thereafter feudalism never reached its full development in Spain, except in Catalonia. According to Sánchez Albornoz, León-Castile never developed into a feudal state like France or Germany because of the wars of reconquest against the Muslims which strengthened royal power and made it possible for large numbers of free peasants, the most notable of whom were the caballeros villanos, to maintain their independence from powerful secular and ecclesiastical lords. This 'interpretación albornociana', which has been followed by, among others, García de Valdeavellano and Grassotti, has sought to stress how markedly different the evolution of Spanish medieval society was in comparison with that of the other great feudal states of western Europe.(9) For these writers, the medieval kingdoms of León-Castile, Aragón and Navarre were not feudal states but rather 'imported' a series of feudal institutions (based on vassalage and the fief) from France towards the end of the 11th century.

Yet, if such views held the field until the late 1960s, subsequent historiography has called into

question the theories of Sánchez Albornoz and his disciples. Rather, the trend among more recent studies of medieval Spanish society has been to emphasize how profoundly feudalized the Peninsula really was. Like Bloch and his followers, historians have sought to extend their interpretation of feudalism to include society as a whole, and have rejected the longstanding notion of a partial introduction of feudal institutions into León-Castile. Instead, writers such as Barbero and Vigil, Pastor and Mínguez have attempted to demonstrate the very many similarities that existed between the social systems in place in León-Castile and neighbouring France.(10)

What is immediately clear from this all too brief historiographical survey, is that in Spain, as in the rest of the academic world, the 'feudal debate' has attracted enormous scholarly interest, yet failed to achieve any consensus. At the same time, however, historians have become aware of the counter-productive results of this wearisome 'diálogo de sordos', to borrow Bonnassie's memorable phrase.(11) In Spain, García de Cortázar has lamented the current fixation with definitions of feudalism and society and has warned that we run the risk that 'la teoría, en lugar de cumplir su función estimuladora de la práctica investigadora, la paralice.'(12) Sensitive to this danger, the tendency among more recent historical

writings has been to accept the global definition of feudalism as a social system, while emphasising the important part that ties of vassallage within the ranks of nobility played within that same system.(13) In other words, there has been a marked shift away from the more intransigent postures adopted by the 'institutionalists', represented by scholars like Sánchez Albornoz, and by those radical Marxist historians for whom feudalism is a mode of production, no more no less. Instead, feudalism is now portrayed as a two-tiered social system: regulating relations between members of the powerful noble class on the one hand, and between those same nobles and the dependent peasantry on the other. This reconciliation between what had, at all appearances, become two quite irreconcilable foes, has been summed up by Bonnassie:

'Llamemos pues feudalismo (en su sentido amplio o restringido, ¿qué más da?) a un régimen social que se basaba en la confiscación, con frecuencia brutal, de los beneficios (del excedente) del trabajo campesino y que garantizaba, mediante un sistema más o menos complejo de redes de dependencia (vasallaje) y de gratificaciones (feudos), su redistribución en el seno de la clase dominante.'(14)

Reduced to its simplest terms, therefore, 'feudalism' is a concept that serves to describe a power relationship. That is to say, it embodies the power that certain men were able to wield over the rest of medieval society; the power to command noble

vassals to serve in their warbands and the power of the nobility as a whole to coerce peasant farmers to work their lands and to render a proportion of their produce in taxes. This chapter seeks to examine the reality of that power relationship. In the first part, the material basis of lay aristocratic power, in particular their landed wealth, will be subjected to scrutiny. Secondly, the relationship between lord and peasant will be examined within the social and economic structure of the manor. Finally, the way in which relations between the greater and lesser members of the nobility were articulated will be considered.

(a) **The aristocratic patrimony**

The historian who wishes to discover something of aristocratic landed wealth in this period should discard the image of a noble patrimony as consisting of a petrified block of estates passed down from father to son. Instead, we would do better to emphasize the constant evolution that a nobleman's landholding might undergo from year to year. Carlé has aptly spoken of 'una gran propiedad en un doble y permanente proceso de dispersión y concentración.'(15)

In general terms, the patrimony was divided into two distinct parts. First of all, it comprised those estates that a noble would have inherited from

his parents or from other kin. In the previous chapter, however, we examined how the vagaries of the Leonese-Castilian kinship system frequently led to a fragmentation of family lands among the heirs. True, family agreements such as the colmellum .divisionis could lessen the effects of such fragmentation by allotting complete properties to each heir, but the vast numbers of references to nobles holding as little as tenth-part shares in family properties, are proof enough of the continuous process of disintegration that the patrimony underwent from one generation to the next. Attempts were made to reverse this disintegration, such as by the practice of endogamy or by the concentration of estates in family monasteries, but seemingly without great success.(16)

The second part of the patrimony made up the so-called gananciales, that is to say, those properties that were acquired by a nobleman and his wife during their lifetime by purchase, exchange, donation or by other means. We have already observed, for example, that when count Suero Vermúdez and his wife Enderquina Gutiérrez made over their family monastery at Cornellana to the abbey of Cluny in 1122, they distinguished between those lands 'quas habemus de parentibus nostris' and those that were 'de nostros ganantiis'.(17) It is this process of land acquisition that must now occupy our attention.

1) Rural property

Unfortunately, our attempts to discover more about the landed wealth of the greatest families of 12th century León-Castile are hampered by the highly unsatisfactory nature of the documentary sources that we have at our disposal. The family archives of the most powerful noble lineages of the Central Middle Ages have long since perished; not until the 14th century is the historian able to draw on a sufficient corpus of charters to enable him to begin to reconstruct in any great detail the structure of certain aristocratic patrimonies. Before then we have to rely on the evidence of those diplomas issued to or by members of the nobility that were subsequently preserved in the ecclesiastical archives of the kingdom. The misleading impression given by this surviving documentation, for the most part records of pious donations by lay nobles to churches and monasteries, is that large-scale participation in the land markets of the period was almost exclusively the prerogative of ecclesiastical institutions. In this way, while the relatively abundant resources of the monastic archives have made possible illuminating studies of the birth and expansion of some of the greatest religious houses of León-Castile, almost no trace remains of the way in which members of the lay

aristocracy increased their patrimonies, the sums of money and other resources they invested, or the rhythm at which such a process may have occurred. To take only one example, while scores of charters granted in the 12th century to Galician churches and monasteries by members of the Traba dynasty have come down to us, a mere two documents recording purchases of properties by the Trabas have come to light.(18)

Fortunately, a few examples have survived which serve to demonstrate that no such Church monopoly on land investment and speculation existed. Notably, Carlé, in her valuable study of medieval aristocratic landholding, has drawn attention to three important groups of charters dating from the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries which have much to tell us of the way in which noble families actively participated in the property markets of the period.(19) The charters in question form part of the archive of the Leonese nunnery of Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas and are presently deposited in the Archivo Histórico Diocesano in León. In 1240, María Núñez, daughter of count Nuño Meléndez and descendant of the powerful Froilaz dynasty, granted her properties in the kingdom of León to the institution she had founded at Otero de las Dueñas and with them the title deeds to all the lands that had come down to her from her noble ancestors.(20) Among this important collection of

documents are no fewer than 37 diplomas recording the purchases of land made by Pedro Flaínez and his wife Bronilde across the period c.1000-1058, and a further 50 documents concerning the properties acquired by Froila Muñiz between 973 and 1045.(21)

Of particular interest for our enquiry, however, given their proximity to the period under study, are the charters recording the property acquisitions of count Froila Díaz, father of Ramiro Froilaz, the Leonese magnate who enjoyed great influence in the courts of Alfonso VI and Urraca.(22) In the Otero archive there are preserved some 17 diplomas recording the gananciales of the count and his wife, the countess Estefanía Sánchez, across the period 1088-1108. The bulk of the lands were concentrated around the area of the Bernesga and Porma valleys, but there were also properties further afield in the Tierra de Campos and in the cities of León and Astorga.

To the revealing examples cited above, however, may be added a smaller, yet nonetheless illuminating group of documents, which have been preserved in the archive of another Leonese nunnery, that of Santa María de Carrizo. The Cistercian house of Carrizo de la Ribera was founded in 1176 by countess Estefanía Ramírez, the daughter of count Ramiro Froilaz, yet in the archive of the monastery there survives a group of

23 original charters recording the property transactions of one Pelayo Froilaz and his wife Velasquita Menéndez across the period 1105-1127.(23) Now, Pelayo Froilaz could hardly be counted among the circle of the great lay magnates of the 12th century kingdom of León.(24) This much seems clear from the fact that he is known to have witnessed only one royal charter during the reigns of Urraca and Alfonso VII.(25) Nonetheless, he was undoubtedly a member of the ranks of the lesser nobility, the infanzones, and he was certainly well-connected. The grant to him by count Suero Vermúdez and his wife countess Enderquina of lands at Torre de Babia in the mountains of Luna in 1114 suggests that Pelayo Froilaz may have been a vassal of the count, although the charter does not explicitly state why the donation was made.(26) Three years later, in 1117, we can see Pelayo Froilaz among the lay heredes who fought a lawsuit with bishop Diego of León over the possession of the monastery of San Tirso.(27) In 1119, meanwhile, the document recording the purchase of land by Pelayo Froilaz from Sancho Sánchez, the grandson of the great count Pedro Ansúrez, was confirmed by count Suero and several other leading members of the Leonese gentry.(28) Moreover, it is tempting to associate this Pelayo Froilaz with the noble of the same name who rebelled with Pedro Díaz de Valle against Alfonso VII in

1130.(29) If this were the case, than it is plain that if not exactly 'top-drawer', Pelayo Froilaz enjoyed a certain degree of influence in Leonese aristocratic society.

Of course, it is impossible for us to be sure whether these 23 diplomas comprise the total number of property transactions carried out by Pelayo Froilaz and his wife during the period 1105-1127; charters recording other acquisitions of land may have been lost; some may never have been committed to writing at all. Moreover, we have no idea of the extent of the patrimony that Pelayo Froilaz had inherited from his kinsfolk. For all that, however, the Carrizo collection provides an invaluable demonstration of the various ways in which members of the lay nobility were able to boost their patrimonies in the early years of the 12th century.

'Fueron varios los caminos que condujeron a la formación de grandes propiedades, y en consecuencia, de un grupo de grandes propietarios', Carlé has rightly observed.(30) Lands were bought, sold and exchanged, quite apart from those estates that were inherited from one's kin. But noble patrimonies were expanded by other means too: lands were granted 'pro bono servicio' to loyal vassals by grateful monarchs or by other lay lords, they could be gained by marriage and they could be acquired from debt

defaulters, criminals or by simple brute force. The 'archive' of Pelayo Froilaz similarly reflects this varied process of property acquisition. In Figure 2 a detailed break-down of the 23 charters is provided.

The majority of the documents, some 16 to be precise, record the purchase of properties by the Leonese nobleman, operations that involved a considerable outlay of resources. For example, in the course of five transactions carried out between 1105 and 1123, Pelayo Froilaz invested no fewer than 586 silver solidi in the purchase of various estates in the region of León, for sums varying between 40 and 250 solidi.(31) Even so, the vast majority of the lands that were acquired were paid for in kind. Thus,

FIGURE 2 : Property acquisitions by Pelayo Froilaz (1105-1127)

<u>DATE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TRANSACTION</u>	<u>PRICE</u>
1105	Foloso	Purchase	130§
1113	<u>Rio de Uimne</u>	Purchase	5 rolls linen
1113	Vega	Purchase	1 <u>genabe</u> / 2 oxen
1113	<u>Rio de Uimne</u>	Purchase	2 oxen
1114	Quintanilla	Purchase	66§
1114	Intredico	Purchase	1 horse/ 1 ox

<u>DATE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TRANSACTION</u>	<u>PRICE</u>
1114	Torre de Babia	Donation	---
1116	Vega	Donation	---
1117	Riolago	Purchase	1 ram/2 rolls linen
1118	<u>Sancte Mametis</u>	Purchase	8 rolls linen
1119	<u>Villa Bronilde/ Villa Cidon</u>	Purchase	250§
1119	Carrizal	Donation	---
1120	Antimio de Arriba or de Abajo	Purchase	100§/ 1 ox
1121	Riolago	Purchase	2 oxen/ 2 rolls linen
1121	<u>Penna Iscara</u>	Exchange	Land in <u>valle de</u> <u>Onerato</u>
1121	Antimio de Abajo	Purchase	2 oxen
1122	Carrizal	Purchase	7 rolls linen
1123	Antimio	Purchase	40§
1123	Carrizal	Purchase	3 oxen
1125	Senra	<u>Profiliatio</u>	---
1126	<u>Rio de Uimne</u>	Compensation	---
1127	<u>Campucerolo</u>	Exchange	Land in Villar
1109 x 1126	?	Purchase	2 rolls linen/3 <u>cobitos</u> <u>de.panno</u>

Key: § = silver solidi

the twelve properties that were bought during the period 1113-1123 were paid for with 24 rolls of linen cloth, two rolls of linen 'de bragale', three cubits of panno cloth, 11 oxen, one ram, one horse and a genabe.(32) This is somewhat surprising, for it goes in the face of the trend noted by Carlé in her examination of the charters from Otero de las Dueñas, namely that there was a steady increase in the use of coin during the course of the 11th and 12th centuries, reflecting, she argued, the increasing wealth of the lay nobility of that period.(33) In the case of count Froila Díaz we have already referred to, we can see that in the course of only 11 purchases between 1088 and 1108 the count was required to pay out no fewer than 1034 solidi.(34) The Carrizo documents make clear, however, that even if Pelayo Froilaz was able to invest not inconsiderable sums of money in several of his purchases of land, barter still remained a fundamental feature of the rural economy of early 12th century León, even for members of the lay aristocracy.

Of the individuals who chose to sell their lands to lay nobles like Pelayo Froilaz, our sources have very little to tell us. It was not unknown, of course, for such property transactions to take place within the ranks of the aristocracy itself; in this way, count Manrique Pérez purchased the vill of Alcolea from García Garcés de Aza in 1155; and

countess María Fernández de Traba bought property from her brother, count Gonzalo, some time before 1169.(35) All the same, the vast majority of the documents that have come down to us recording purchases by lay nobles suggest that such lands were acquired from landowners of limited resources.

There can be little doubt that the existence of the medieval peasant farmer was an extremely precarious one. A lack of manpower, livestock and tools forced such landowners to limit the extent of their land under cultivation. Crop yields were probably low and a bad harvest could easily put a peasant family's livelihood in jeopardy. Indeed, the numerous references to famine in our sources suggest that such crises were not uncommon.(36) In such a situation, if the smallholder was to avoid calamity, he would need to sell part of his land or else secure a loan to be able to buy more seed or livestock, both of which fetched high prices in this period. That Pelayo Froilaz purchased no fewer than six estates with livestock, in particular with oxen, may be indicative, we would suggest, of the necessities of the small peasant farmer. Carlé comments on this trend:

'A expensas de esos pequeños propietarios se fue formando, en parte, la gran propiedad. La tierra era barata, los magnates tenían interés en adquirirla, y al campesino se le hacía difícil conservarla.'(37)

References to the renovos, or loans, secured by peasant landowners crop up in numerous charters prior to the 12th century.(38) If, however, it subsequently became impossible for these debtors to repay the loan, then the lender (usually a local lay or ecclesiastical lord) was empowered to confiscate some of the defaulter's lands in lieu of payment. Thus, in 1090 count Froila Díaz and his wife Estefanía acquired an estate at Corniero valued at 100 solidi from Diego Yáñez and his wife Cipriana 'pro renovo que fuit super nos'.(39) In the same year, moreover, the counts received a share of a property at Vega on the river Porma from Martín Vicentiz and his family in return for the 600 solidi in renovo that they had lent them.(40) In one sense, therefore, as Carlé has observed, such loans bear an indirect resemblance to straightforward purchases, in that they involved 'la inversión de un capital en la adquisición de bienes raíces.'(41) Nevertheless, we encounter no examples of renovos in the documentation of the 12th century. This is not to say, however, that such transactions never took place; instead, as Castán Lanaspa has suggested, the prohibitions placed on usury by the Church may have led laymen to avoid committing such business to writing.(42)

On other occasions, nobles were willing to exchange lands in order to acquire other properties.

The transactions between count Suero Vermúdez and his kin concerning the estates of the Asturian monastery of Cornellana are a case in point.(43) In the same way, Pelayo Froilaz acquired properties at Penna Iscara in the Orbigo valley in 1121 and at Campucerolo in 1127.(44) Count Rodrigo Gómez even granted land at Villovieco near Palencia to Alfonso VII, some time before 1137, in exchange for some lands near Burgos; and Urraca Fernández, the widow of count Rodrigo Martínez, was involved in no fewer than three such transactions with the emperor, in 1139, 1140 and 1148 respectively.(45) Such operations may frequently have responded to sound economic imperatives, namely the desire to concentrate properties together into workable units and hence to avoid the inevitable problems posed by a scattered patrimony. We might suspect that this would have been particularly uppermost in the minds of kinsmen, anxious to undo the counter-productive effects of a partible inheritance.

Not all property acquisitions involved such investment of resources, however. Other lands, for example, were granted in recognition of certain services. Such documents are notably scarce in the Leonese-Castilian archives, but three important texts have been preserved in the Carrizo collection. We have already referred to the land at Torre de Babia that count Suero Vermúdez gave to Pelayo Froilaz in

1114.(46) Two years later Sancha Fernández granted a property at Vega on the banks of the river Omaña 'tibi Pelayo Froilaz et uxor tua Uelasquita Menendiz...pro amore et karitate bona et adiutorium bonum que abeo de uos'.(47) And in 1119, Pelayo Froilaz and his wife received an estate in the vill of Carrizal from a group of landowners 'pro amore et karitate et uendicantia bona que ad nobis fecistis, et pro alias bonas beneficias que ad nobis fecistis'.(48) Now, what is immediately striking about all three of these donations is their utter vagueness. If that of count Suero has nothing at all to say of the motives that prompted such largesse, the other two speak only in very general terms of the help and benefits that had been received. All the same, there are important distinctions to be drawn between the texts. Thus, if as we have already suggested, it seems possible that ties of vassalage may have impelled count Suero to reward Pelayo Froilaz in 1114, in the case of the other two documents, the donations take on a rather different tone and hint that other motives may have been at play. Their emphasis is on the adiutorium bonum, uendicantia bona and other bonas beneficias that the donors had received from Pelayo Froilaz, rather than on the bono seruicio that is normally acknowledged in donations to noble vassals. It goes to suggest, rather, that the donors were lesser

landowners, possibly burdened by economic difficulties, who had received important help from Pelayo Froilaz - although quite what form this help would have taken we just cannot say - and who were now repaying that debt with some of their own lands.

Another important source of land for the medieval aristocrat could be the Crown itself. We are never told the extent or value of the properties that were granted by the Leonese-Castilian monarchs to their nobles, but we would expect them to have been of greater importance, both qualitatively and quantitatively, than those estates that were acquired piecemeal from peasant farmers. Fortunately, numerous documents recording such royal largesse have come down to us from the 10th to the 12th centuries, although these undoubtedly represent but a fraction of the actual number of donations that were originally made.(49) A close examination of such grants will be made when we come to consider in detail the relations between Alfonso VII and the lay aristocracy of the realm, but all the same some preliminary observations are called for here. In common with the donations we have already referred to above, these royal documents are notably vague when they refer to why the gift of land was being made; a pithy 'pro bono seruicio' is usually all we are told. Occasionally, we hear of grants being made in recognition of exceptional

military service, of lands being awarded to noble couples who had been charged with the care of infant members of the royal family, and even of lands confiscated from those who had rebelled against the Crown finding their way to those nobles who had remained loyal.(50) As Martínez Sopena has observed:

'Los monarcas, todos ellos, tuvieron como guía de su política el asegurar la fidelidad y el premiar los servicios mediante una política de enajenación de bienes realengos.'(51)

Such donations could take on various forms. More often than not, however, they comprised the grant of a piece of land or a village in its entirety. Occasionally, moreover, we even hear of castles being awarded to lay nobles.(52) In the great majority of cases, such grants of land were made in perpetuity and the recipients and their heirs were awarded full title over the property, as well as powers over the inhabitants of the estate. Less clear, however, is whether grants of villages in...toto to noble beneficiaries involved title to land as well as political power over the inhabitants of the community. Very often, rather, we find that the recipient of such a grant was already a powerful landowner in his own right in the place in question.(53)

Grants of land by the legal mechanism of the profiliatio, or adoption, were widespread in León-Castile right up to the end of the 11th century, and

occasional references to the practice are encountered even after then.(54) We come across one such document among the charters of Carrizo: on 25 April 1125, Andrés Martínez granted a 'kartula donationis uel perfiliationis' to Pelayo Froilaz of his estate at Senra 'proque faciatis ad nobis bene in uita uestra de uestire et calcare et gobierno'.(55) This type of transaction has for long puzzled historians: for Martínez Díez, for example, 'la perfiliatio queda equiparada a una donatio, a un modo jurídico de transmitir sus bienes'.(56) Carlé, however, has stressed that 'quien realiza una profiliación no transmite sus bienes al que es profiliado, sino que le pone en condiciones de sucederle'.(57) Thus, the transactions of this kind that took place among kinsmen may have served to avoid the disintegration of the family patrimony by favouring certain heirs. Just as often, however, the profiliatio took place between men of very unequal status, with peasant farmers 'adopting' powerful lords and granting them their lands. In these circumstances, the adoption of a beneficiary acquired the characteristics of a feudal pact: by the fiction of admitting a lord as a member of his family, a peasant might give up his lands and enter into dependence. It is more than likely that the grant of land by Andrés Martínez to Pelayo Froilaz in

1125 took place under such conditions. Barbero has summed up the importance of these adoptions:

'Sirvieron para disgregar la propiedad colectiva de grupos emparentados favoreciendo a los grandes patrimonios y extendiendo a todos los niveles de la sociedad la red de relaciones de dependencia.'(58)

As the delegate of public power within his dominion, the feudal lord was responsible for the maintenance of public order and the administration of justice. We shall have more to say of these activities later in this chapter, but for the moment it may be of interest to consider how such judicial activity could directly contribute to the expansion of the lord's patrimony.

Carlé has referred to the veritable 'torrente de violencia' that marked medieval society; there are frequent references in our sources to murder, rape, arson and robbery, the illegal appropriation of lands and livestock, and to numerous other crimes.(59) If the culprits of these outrages were brought to book, it corresponded to the lord of the manor to see that such crimes were justly punished; those found guilty were required to pay the calumnia, or compensation, to the lord.(60) These fines were rarely paid in cash; instead, in the large majority of such cases, the transgressors of the law found themselves required to give up pieces of land to be able to satisfy the fines. Pastor comments:

'El monto de las calañas parece haber sido demasiado alto (aún tratándose de robos de animales pequeños) como para que esos campesinos que incurrían en delito pudieran satisfacerlas. Debían entregar sus tierras y otros bienes, lo que motivaba su entrada en dependencia.'(61)

In this way, Pedro Flaínez was able to acquire no fewer than five properties between 1017 and 1048, and Froila Muñiz half a dozen others during the period 1017-1041.(62) And examples from the 12th century are not wanting either. Consider, for example, the charter issued in 1126, by which Pelayo and García Pérez gave an estate in the village of Rio. de Uimne in the district of Luna to Pelayo Froilaz.(63) We are told that the grant was made

'tibi Pelagio Frollas...pro illas kassas de Rio de Uimne que kemastes et illa corte que derumpestes et pro illa ereditatem de Citi Uermutis que baraiava ad uobis et pro illa fidiatura de Pelaio Feles que uos fidiastis'.

The previous year, Froila Peláez had given up his land at Ventosa to Vermudo Pérez de Traba 'pro tale actio que mihi euenit, de uestro homine quem occidi scilicet nomen illius Ueremudum Gundisaluiz'.(64) Another intriguing incident is mentioned in a document from the archive of the Asturian abbey of San Vicente de Oviedo, drawn up in March 1146.(65) The diploma in question records what is described, somewhat euphemistically, as the sale of an estate by García Moñiz to Suero Ordóñez. The transaction took place, we are told, because of the calumnia incurred by a

certain Vermudo, one of García Moñiz's men, who had wounded and cast to the ground Diego Pérez, a vassal of Suero Ordóñez. Finally, mention should be made of a charter of 1150 which records the grant of some land at Carualieto by Odoario Alfonso to Alvaro Rodríguez and his wife Sancha Fernández de Traba.(66) The document records that Odoario had agreed to make the grant in return for 100 solidos 'quos pepigi dare pro cognato meo Petro Tinea qui erat pressus, suo pro forfacto quod occiderat Suarium Ouequiz'.

Moreover, Carlé has demonstrated that it was by no means uncommon in the 11th century for lords to accept land, money or other goods from plaintiffs in return for their help during law suits.(67) And there is no reason to suppose that the practice had disappeared by the following century.

Yet, revealing as these episodes undoubtedly are of the everyday transgressions of the law that came before the manorial court and which, as a result, served to boost aristocratic landholdings, we encounter references to other, more pernicious, forms of violence that were employed by members of the nobility themselves to expand their patrimonies. In particular, during periods of social upheaval, when royal power seems to have been especially vulnerable, records of such violence abound. We may think, for example, of the virtual vacuum of royal power that

apparently existed in León-Castile during much of the period 1110-1130, when numerous unscrupulous nobles took advantage of the near anarchy both to usurp royal rights and to expand their patrimonies.(68) Naturally enough, ecclesiastical institutions were particularly vulnerable to such predatory laymen, but we may wonder too how many small landowners succumbed to violence and delivered their lands to a more powerful aggressor. In this context, an 11th century Asturian document is particularly revealing. The diploma in question records the grant by the priest Gevoldo of his monasterium of San Pedro de Soto to the abbey of San Vicente de Oviedo on 13 April 1045.(69) After the death of king Alfonso V we are told:

'surrexit comes nomine Munio Roderici qui imperabit terram illam Asturiense in foribus regis et petibit michi ipsa ecclesia mea cum sua erentia...Et ego metum plenus ausus non fui contendere cum eo propter imperium suum, et volens, nolens, per vim et metum feci illi karta pro ad ipsum monasterium prefatum.'

It would be interesting to know how many 12th century magnates shared the predatory instincts of count Munio Rodríguez and managed to expand their patrimonies in this manner.

ii) Urban property

Up to this point, we have been concerned with the process whereby rural properties began to be

concentrated in the hands of certain powerful landowners to form latifundia. Yet, crucial as landed wealth undoubtedly was, aristocratic economic interests were not exclusively rooted in the countryside. As is well known, the 11th and 12th centuries witnessed an upsurge in industrial and mercantile activity throughout Europe, which led to the regeneration of urban centres. In Northern Spain, for example, the stream of pilgrims who made their way to the Holy Shrine at Santiago de Compostela provided a decisive impulse to this process at numerous points along the celebrated camino francés.(70) That the aristocracy of León-Castile did not remain indifferent to this process is clear from the fact that during the period in question references to urban properties in the hands of the lay nobility become increasingly common in our sources. In Galicia, for example, count Fernando Pérez de Traba could boast properties in both Lugo and Santiago de Compostela.(71)

Further to the east, in the city of León, count Suero Vermúdez owned two inns which he later granted to the abbey of Cornellana:

'In Legione meam pausatam que est in quadruvio que vadit ad portam Kaurienssem. Et alteram pausatam quam comparavi de Xemeno Lupi que est prope ecclesiam Sancti Ysidori.'(72)

Other Leonese magnates had interests in the capital too. In a charter of the infanta Sancha issued in

1152, there is a reference to a piece of land by the bridge over the River Bernesga which belonged to count Osorio Martínez.(73) In 1156, we see the grant to the monastery of Vega of some houses in the barrio of San Pelayo in León by the counts Pedro Alfonso and Ramiro Froilaz and their wives, together with Vela Gutiérrez and his wife Sancha Ponce.(74) Two diplomas of 1187 and 1201, meanwhile, reveal that Ponce de Minerva had also possessed some houses in the city.(75)

As far as urban property in Castile was concerned, we know, for example, of the houses in Burgos that belonged to count Manrique Pérez and his wife Ermesinda and of the plot of land in the city that Alfonso VII granted to Gutierre Fernández de Castro in October 1138.(76)

In the same manner, far to the south in Toledo, without doubt the greatest and most prosperous urbs of the kingdom, members of the lay nobility were also acquiring town properties. The case of the Asturian magnate count Pedro Alfonso is particularly revealing in this context. In October 1155, the count granted to the Mozarab Miguel Azarafi a bath house in the barrio of Santa Leocadia in Toledo which, so the charter recording the transaction informs us, had been granted to count Pedro by the emperor Alfonso VII.(77) Under the terms of the agreement of 1155, Miguel Azafari was to repair the bath house at his own expense, apart

from the costs of fixing the boiler, which were to be met by the count, and the profits of the venture were to be split between the two men. The agreement is of extraordinary interest to us, for it provides us with a unique example of commercial speculation by a member of the lay aristocracy. If similar projects were ventured by count Pedro Alfonso, or indeed by any other members of the nobility, no record of them has come down to us. Nevertheless, count Pedro Alfonso clearly had numerous interests in the city of Toledo. This much is clear from the grant his daughter, Elvira Pérez, made to the Military Order of Santiago in 1175:

'facio kartam donationis...de tota illa hereditate que ego habeo in Toletto ex parte patris mei comitis domni Petri Adefonsi, scilicet, casas et balneos, fornos, terras, vineas, arbores, ortas...'(78)

But Pedro Alfonso was not the only lay magnate to have property interests in Toledo. In 1148, for example, we can see count Manrique Pérez and his kinsmen granting some houses in the city to the Castilian noble Gonzalo de Marañón.(79) In the previous chapter we drew attention to the agreement of 1176, whereby archbishop Cerebruno of Toledo agreed to rent to count Nuño Pérez de Lara and his wife Teresa Fernández some houses in the city that had belonged to the infanta Sancha, sister of Alfonso VII.(80) And the following year, count Nuño and countess Teresa granted to the see of Toledo various properties in the

city, including some other houses they owned by the royal alcázar, or citadel.(81) A charter issued in 1183, meanwhile, records the grant by Pedro Garcés de Aza of a plot of land in the colación of San Justo in Toledo which, the noble declares, had previously belonged to his grandfather, count García Ordóñez, and his father, García Garcés de Aza.(82)

Nevertheless, revealing as the examples we have cited above undoubtedly are, it would not do for us to overstate the importance of aristocratic property speculation in the flourishing urban centres of the 12th century. For members of the nobility, a town represented above all a convenient meeting place where business might be conducted: the curia-regis might gather there periodically, judicial hearings could be held, and the loyalties of one's vassals might be reaffirmed. Moreover, it was the place where learned men were to be found who could draw up the documents that were increasingly necessary in everyday life. To take a random example, when in 1152 countess María Fernández granted a fuero to the inhabitants of the community of Castrocabón, the document was redacted in the city of León itself rather than on one of the countess's estates.(83) At no time, however, did urban property speculation represent an important part of the economic activity of the lay nobility. The true index of the wealth and power of such men and women

continued to be their rural estates and the peasant vassals who worked them. In other words, as Portela and Pallares have observed, 'la tierra - la riqueza y el poder que de su propiedad dimanaban - es un sólido cimiento del rango aristocrático'.(84) Indeed, it is surely revealing that the large majority of references to aristocratic urban property concern dwelling places of one kind or another; in other words, they no doubt refer to the accommodation where the magnates and their retinue would have lodged when they made their periodic visits to the town. With the notable exception of the agreement between count Pedro Alfonso and Miguel Azarafi we have referred to above, however, references to commercial centres in aristocratic hands remain few and far between.

iii) Great landowners

Thus far we have described the process by which property, both rural and urban, began to be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful landowners from the 10th century onwards. To return to the case of Pelayo Froilaz for a moment, we will remember that the Leonese nobleman and his wife Velasquita Menéndez, added to their patrimony, by a variety of means, on no fewer than 23 occasions between 1105 and 1127. Certainly, this was an impressive rate of expansion,

particularly if we recall that Pelayo Froilaz was certainly not a member of the circle of the great magnates of the kingdom of León. It even compares favourably, for example, with the growth of certain local monasteries during the same period, which depended especially on the pious donations of the faithful to increase their landed wealth.(85)

Nevertheless, in common with ecclesiastical patrimonies, our sources make it clear that few nobles were able to concentrate their lands into compact contiguous estates. Not all the properties acquired by Pelayo Froilaz may be located, but from those place names that can be positively identified, we can observe that the lands were scattered over a fairly wide area in the north of the kingdom of León, from the mountains of Luna on the borders of Asturias down to the village of Antimio, a little to the south-west of the city of León itself. Certainly, as far as the purchases that were conducted are concerned, there does seem to have been a conscious strategy of property acquisition. This much is clear from the various estates that were acquired by Pelayo Froilaz in the vills of Antimio de Arriba and Abajo, in Vega, Riolago, Carrizal and Rio. de .Uimne.(86) It is quite possible that the patrimony Pelayo Froilaz had inherited from his kin was also concentrated at these places and that by pursuing a policy of selective

purchases he was merely attempting to consolidate and extend his influence in determined areas of the kingdom, although we lack the documentation to back up this hypothesis. Similarly, the two properties Pelayo Froilaz obtained by exchange may have been motivated by the same thinking.(87) Nevertheless, as far as other acquisitions of land were concerned, they seem to have frequently taken on something of a random air. If a noble was fortunate enough to receive lands 'pro bono seruicio' from the king or from a lay magnate, or if a particular peasant was obliged to give up his lands to a lord, be it because of famine, the non-payment of a debt, or even in compensation for some crime committed, the recipient of such properties was hardly going to quibble over their location.

Even so, those members of the aristocracy who were able to draw on far greater financial resources than milites like Pelayo Froilaz, no doubt acquired properties at a far more prodigious rate, although the disappearance of their family archives means that it is impossible to demonstrate this conclusively. Even so, from the various documents to have been preserved in ecclesiastical archives, it remains fairly clear that the patrimonies of the most powerful magnates of León-Castile were extended over a very wide area indeed. A royal charter of 1139, for example, recording an exchange of properties between Alfonso

VII and countess Urraca Fernández, refers to 'totis illis comparationibus et gananzas, quas fecit cum marito suo Comite Roderico Martinez, de Carrione usque in Legionem et Cemoram et per totos Campos'.(88) The dominions of count Pedro Alfonso, as we have already seen, covered not only his native Asturias but stretched as far south as Toledo. Count Ponce de Cabrera, for his part, achieved an even more breathtaking dispersal of properties. Quite apart from the Catalan magnate's estates in the west of León near Castañeda in his tenencia of Sanabria, we know of the lands count Ponce held in neighbouring Galicia, of his various properties in the region of León itself, notably at Melgar de Abajo, of his dominions far to the south at Pulgar near Toledo and last, but not least, of the castle he was granted by Alfonso VII at Villamanrique del Tajo.(89) As we have already seen, the scattered nature of aristocratic patrimonies stemmed both from the consequences of the partible inheritance customs, by which an heir might receive part shares in a wide range of family properties, and from the piecemeal way in which properties were acquired. More often than not, however, the poverty of our sources means that it is hard for us to make out in any detail the true extent of a lay noble's patrimony.

At this point, it may be instructive to

consider the case of the Leonese magnate count Suero Vermúdez and his Castilian consort, countess Enderquina Gutiérrez.(90) The Chronica, recording the submission of the leading members of the Leonese nobility to Alfonso VII in 1126, records that count Suero held

'Astoricam, Lunam, Gordonem cum Bergidi parte, necnon Badabiam et Flatianam, totumque vallem usque ad ripam fluminis qui dicitur Ova et usque ad Cabrunianam...'(91)

Reilly comments:

'If the chronicler has not been carried away by his own enthusiasm, Count Suero by then controlled all of the mountainous area between León and Galicia north to the Biscay and a long salient, north of León and south of Oviedo, running eastward almost to the borders of Asturias de Santillana.'(92)

Fortunately, we are able to reconstruct in some detail the reality of the patrimony of count Suero and countess Enderquina on the basis of no fewer than 13 charters issued across the period 1110-1128.(93) In particular, there are the two celebrated diplomas by which the count and his wife made over their family monastery at Cornellana first to the abbey of Cluny in 1122 and then, having reconsidered their decision, to the see of Oviedo six years later.(94) The documents in question reveal the enormous extent of the dominions of count Suero and his wife; in the diploma of 1128 the counts could refer grandiloquently to 'quicquit cernimur possidere in presenti seculo a

Dorio flumine usque ad Oceanum mare, ab Oriē flumine usque fluuium Deuara'.(95) If it is clear that the true power base of count Suero Vermúdez lay squarely in the mountains of Asturias, we may also observe that he had inherited a wide range of properties in Galicia, enjoyed a not inconsiderable presence in the region of León and the Tierra de Campos and could also count on estates far to the south at Toro on the Duero. His wife Enderquina, for her part, held properties further to the east in the region of Burgos.(96)

iv) Other sources of wealth

That vast landholdings were undoubtedly crucial to the status and power of the Leonese-Castilian lay nobility will have become all too apparent across the preceding pages. Nevertheless, we should remember that aristocratic wealth was never based exclusively upon real estate. In the case of Pelayo Froilaz, we have already seen that the Leonese noble acquired numerous properties by investing not only large sums of cash, totalling some 586 silver solidi, but also other moveable wealth, notably livestock and cloth. But other Leonese-Castilian magnates were able to count on far more spectacular sums of disposable income: in 1113, Vermudo Pérez de Traba was able to purchase

property from Queen Urraca for the staggering amount of 3000 solidi; and in 1155 count Manrique Pérez laid out some 1000 solidi to buy the vill of Alcolea from García Garcés de Aza.(97) This wealth would have derived from four principal sources: firstly, those sums of cash such nobles might have inherited from their parents or from other kinsmen; secondly, the stipendia, or money fiefs, that they would have received from the emperor in return for loyal service to the Crown; thirdly, from the booty they acquired during their numerous military campaigns; and finally the income they received from the taxes and other dues that they were able to levy upon the inhabitants of their lordships. Nevertheless, our sources have nothing whatsoever to tell us of the way in which such wealth may have been organised. There is no evidence, for example, that the greatest lay families, as in England, had established their own private exchequers to handle their financial affairs.(98) Yet if such references provide us with indisputable evidence of the vast cash resources available to some magnates, towards the end of the 12th century, for reasons that have yet to be adequately explained, the lay aristocracy of León-Castile seems to have suffered something of an economic crisis. We encounter numerous examples of members of the lay nobility securing cash loans from the wealthy monasteries of the kingdom,

while pious donations to ecclesiastical institutions all but dried up.(99)

As far as other moveable wealth in the hands of the lay aristocracy was concerned, we encounter relatively few references in the documents of this period. Particularly revealing is the carta-unitatis that García and Teresa Pérez had drawn up in 1157, which describes, albeit somewhat vaguely, the moveable goods belonging to the couple that were to be granted on the death of either:

'des de nostro habere ad illa sepultura de Sancti Facundi facere ad nos centum moravetinos de auro et de illa plata et de auro et de lictera, de mulos, de caballos, de equas, de vakas, de moros, de loricas, de helmos, de brofoneras, de spatas, de totas armas, que des illa quinta parte pro anima ubi tu volueris'.(100)

Stock-breeding also probably represented an important source of income for the lay nobility.(101) The elevated prices fetched by livestock in this period are reflected by the fact that many nobles were able to acquire estates in exchange for oxen, horses, mules or even rams. In this way, Pelayo Froilaz purchased no fewer than eight properties between 1113 and 1123.(102) Indeed, our sources demonstrate that if oxen were particularly prized by peasant farmers, a lucrative market in horses took place within aristocratic circles. In 1112, count Froila Díaz gave a horse worth an astonishing 5000 solidi to queen

Urraca in roboramento for her grant to him of various lands in the region of León.(103) Very occasionally, moreover, gifts of livestock might be made to ecclesiastical institutions: in 1149 count Pedro Alfonso and his wife María Froilaz granted 15 cows to the see of Oviedo; and twenty years later, countess María Fernández de Traba gave an unspecified number of mares and cows to the Galician church of Sar.(104)

References to the buying and selling of slaves are notoriously rare, however.(105) True, we know that Fernando Pérez de Traba received a Moorish cook from his father count Pedro Froilaz some time before 1132; in 1147, the Leonese Anaya Rodríguez included 13 Moorish slave girls among the arras he granted to his bride Urraca Téllez; and around about the same time the Galician lady Guntroda Suárez gave, among other things, six Moorish slaves, three men and three women, to the church of San Pedro de Villanova.(106) We also come across a few manumission charters from the same period.(107) And yet, given the almost continuous warfare on the frontier with al-Andalus in the 12th century, it is hard to believe that the supply of such slaves was sluggish. The Chronica refers on numerous occasions to the large numbers of captives who were taken north by the armies of Alfonso VII.(108) Instead, the all too sporadic references to slaves in our sources may be explained in two ways. Firstly, it

is well known that Moorish slaves were frequently baptized and given Christian names, with the result that they are indistinguishable from the 'homines de creatione', or serfs, who are referred to in the charters of the period. Moreover, the rarity with which slaves were granted to ecclesiastical institutions might suggest that their masters were exceedingly reluctant to lose possession of them. This may indicate to us firstly that such slaves fetched very high prices indeed in the kingdom of León-Castile, but more especially, given the notorious shortage of manpower during this period, that slaves were regarded as an essential component of the aristocratic estate economy and were not to be given up readily.

Very occasionally, our sources have something to tell us of the precious objects or luxury goods that belonged to aristocratic men and women. We have already mentioned the unspecified number of weapons that the Leonese nobles García and Teresa Pérez possessed. In 1143 Ponce de Cabrera gave a fine sword to the emperor in-roboratione of a charter.(109) Gutierre Fernández and Toda Díaz gave a cloak to Teresa Ordóñez when the latter made them a grant of lands in 1124.(110) And among the provisions of the will drawn up by countess María Fernández in 1169, were a mule with its own saddle and harness chased

with silver, a fine cloak of ermine and samite, a good bed and a silver cup.(111)

(b) The lord and his manor

According to many Christian authors of the Middle Ages, the society they lived in could be structured into three principal orders or estates: the oratores (the clergy), who tended to the spiritual needs of the community, the bellatores (the warrior aristocracy), who were charged with defending God's Church on earth and with protecting the poor and the weak and, finally, the largest group of all, the laboratores (the peasantry), whose task it was to support themselves and the other two orders from the fruits of the land that they tilled.(112) Nevertheless, as Keen has observed, this 'commonplace of social commentary never adequately corresponded with the facts of social life'.(113) Nor was it meant to. Instead, the concept served to explain the political, social and economic realities of that society by providing theoretical justification for the authority wielded by lay and ecclesiastical lords over the peasantry who inhabited their domains. For it is undeniable that the privileged social position enjoyed by the medieval aristocracy was based to a very great

extent upon their domination of the rural population.

This is echoed by Valdeón, for whom

'El eje fundamental de la articulación social estaba constituido por la dicotomía señores-campesinos. Los señores, laicos o eclesiásticos, a través de sus dominios solariegos y de sus poderes jurisdiccionales, obtenían cuantiosas rentas, lo que les permitía mantener su posición hegemónica en la estructura social. Los campesinos, la inmensa mayoría de los cuales fueron cayendo en formas diversas de dependencia, proporcionaban la fuerza del trabajo esencial sobre la que descansaba todo el edificio social'.(114)

Studies of Leonese-Castilian rural society in the early middle ages have for long stressed the important part that free peasant landowners played within the framework of that society. Thus, according to the celebrated thesis propounded by Sánchez Albornoz, apart from in Galicia and Asturias where serfdom predominated at an early date, the vast majority of the rural population of León-Castile down to the 11th century was made up of such peasant farmers, the pequeños propietarios libres as he calls them, who lived in small villages, farmed their own lands and owed allegiance to no lord save the king.(115) Nevertheless, more recent students of the period have called into question this long-held assumption of peasant independence. Rather, historians such as Pastor and Mínguez have persuasively argued that as early as the 10th century the peasant landowner saw a progressive decline in his

status.(116) Prompted by war, insecurity or famine, large numbers of the peasant population sought the protection of lay or ecclesiastical lords to whom they ceded their property in return for protection. As Martínez Sopena has observed:

'Conocemos la realidad del pequeño propietario libre a través de los jalones de su desaparición, mediante los documentos en que transmite sus derechos a los miembros de una nobleza en alza y a las entidades eclesiásticas de mayor o menor envergadura.'(117)

To illustrate this process, earlier in this chapter we drew attention to the large numbers of peasant landowners who, for one reason or another, saw themselves obliged to surrender their properties to members of the lay aristocracy. This 'penetración lenta e individualizada, la absorción por partes' of peasant property that Pastor has aptly referred to is, without doubt, one of the most eloquent records that we possess both of the spectacular concentration of lands achieved by lay and ecclesiastical magnates during the 11th and 12th centuries and of the steady decline in status of the medieval peasant during that same period.(118)

i) Immune lordships

By the 12th century, the picture that greets us is of a rural landscape dominated by great

agricultural estates in the hands of lay nobles and ecclesiastical institutions.(119) These lordships or manors were frequently political as well as economic units, populated by communities of dependent peasant families. During the course of the 11th and 12th centuries it became frequent practice for the monarchs of León-Castile to grant the privilege of cautum or immunity to the lands of their faithful lay vassals and to those of ecclesiastical institutions. Such an immunity meant that the recipient and his heirs enjoyed the right to exercise judicial authority over the lands and men included within the coto, to collect certain taxes, to maintain public order, and to demand military service from its male inhabitants. Royal officials, such as the merino and saion were forbidden entry.

We encounter numerous examples of such grants of immune lordships from the reign of Alfonso VII. On 1 February 1132, for example, the monarch granted the vill of Fuentes de Carbajal, near Valencia de Don Juan, to Muño Tacón 'cum toto suo directo'; later that same year, an Asturian noble, Alvaro Gutiérrez, was awarded Villasancti, in the Gordón valley, 'pro bono seruicio et fideli quod mihi fecisti'.(120) Among the terms of the donation was the following stipulation:

'Et mando quod homines de Uillasancti carreent suas hereditates ad ipsa uilla iam dicta, et foro quod debent mihi facere faciant tibi.'

The grant the emperor made of royal land at Villanueva and Cardeñosa to his merino Diego Muñoz in June 1137, meanwhile, speaks of a similar privilege:

'et saquo meum saionem de eisdem uillis Cardegnosa uidelicet et Uilla Noua, et de populatione quod amodo non intret ibi, et saquo pesqueram et fossaderam cum saione de tota uestra hereditate tantummodo et de senmanza, et de hereditate Urrace Martinez, et saquo omnes meos directos quos in illis habere debeo. Hanc hereditatem iam dictam, et istos foros dono et concedo uobis Diego Muniz ut teneatis et habeatis illos uos et filii uestri et omnis generatio uestra iure hereditario in perpetuum.'(121)

What is not clear, however, as we mentioned earlier, is whether royal donations of villages automatically awarded to the beneficiary title to the lands in question as well as public powers. This problem has been considered by Martínez Sopena, who has averred that 'la concesión del dominio político de un lugar...no llevaba aparejada siempre la propiedad de las tierras del contorno'.(122) Instead, it frequently appears that the beneficiaries of such grants were already powerful landowners in the places in question. In this way, Alfonso VII granted cautum in 1133 to the estate count Rodrigo Martínez held at Castellanos.(123) In 1144, meanwhile, the emperor awarded the vill of Pajares de Campos to Martín Díaz, which the Leonese noble had previously held as a prestamo, or benefice, from the Crown.(124)

Further to the south on the frontier with al-

Andalus, meanwhile, we encounter cases of lay nobles settling territories and exercising immune authority over them in a way that recalls the presura, or repopulation, of the 9th century. The most celebrated exponent of this activity was count Manrique Pérez de Lara who carved out a sizeable lordship for himself in the area of Molina de Aragón some time in the 1130s, although the count was probably awarded the right to exercise public powers there by the emperor himself.(125) But immunities did not always derive from royal favour; at times of social upheaval, we have seen, when royal authority seems to have been particularly vulnerable, it was not unknown for nobles to appropriate such faculties for themselves.

ii) The evidence of the fueros

In order to be able to discover more about the nature of the relationship between lord and peasant in this period, we must turn our attention to those tantalising legal texts commonly known as fueros.(126) These documents may be classified into three major groups: first of all, they comprise those diplomas which awarded special privileges, such as an exemption from the payment of certain taxes, to a particular community or area; secondly, we encounter the legal texts that were awarded to urban communities, the so-

called fueros municipales, which were generally detailed law-codes in their own right; finally, and of particular interest for our present purposes, the term fuero is used to describe the private contracts that were drawn up to regulate relations between a lord and the peasant vassals who lived within his manor. These 'contratos colectivos agrarios' set out in detail the obligations of the peasants towards their lords, notably with regard to the rents and labour services that they were required to render annually. For Martínez Sopena, 'los textos forales constituyen las fuentes más completas para el estudio de la estructura e implicaciones de la gran propiedad en los siglos XII y XIII'.(127) For this very reason, we would do well to pause for a moment and consider in greater detail the nature of our sources.

The vast majority of the fueros that have come down to us are those that were issued by the monarchs of León-Castile or by ecclesiastical institutions. Lamentably few lay aristocratic fueros have survived to this day. For example, of the 445 fueros issued over the period 1017-1252 that are listed in one recent catalogue, well over half were issued by the Crown, and only 37 texts (a meagre 8.3%) were drawn up by lay lords.(128) As far as the 12th century is concerned, during the course of my own research I have come across a total of 14 such texts.(129) These are

listed in Figure 3.

To these charters we may add the fuero granted by count Pedro Alfonso and his wife María Froilaz to their family monastery of Lapedo in 1164, although the text in question regulates the duties of the peasant vassals of the monastic coto towards the abbot.(130) As far as the fuero granted to the community of Escalona by Diego and Domingo Alvarez in 1130 is concerned, meanwhile, it is very probably a forgery.(131)

In addition, we should also mention those fueros of which some record survives but of which we do not possess full texts. For example, that granted by countess Urraca to the inhabitants of Osorno in Palencia in 1115, which was subsequently confirmed by count Nuño Pérez de Lara and his wife Teresa Fernández in 1176; the fuero given by count Pedro González to Jaramillo Quemado in Burgos in 1128; and that awarded by Gonzalo Osorio and his sisters Constanza and Jimena, the children of count Osorio Martínez, to the community of Villalobos in 1173.(132)

Some of the fueros listed underwent various redactions. In particular, we should mention that of Tardajos near Burgos, which was granted no fewer than four separate ordenances by count Pedro González de Lara or by his wife Eva Pérez between 1127 and 1147.(133) The fueros of Yanguas and Molina de Aragón

FIGURE 3 : 12th century aristocratic fueros

<u>DATE</u>	<u>GRANTED BY</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
1125	Gutierre Fernández/ Toda Díaz	San Cebrián
1127-1147	Pedro González/ Eva Pérez	Tardajos
1129	Estefanía Sánchez	Villarmildo
1145	Iñigo Jiménez	Yanguas
1147	Osorio Martínez/ Teresa Fernández	Villalonso/ Benafarces
1152	María Fernández	Castrocalbón
1152 x 1156	Manrique Pérez	Molina de Aragón
1157	Martín and Elvira Pérez	Pozuelo de la Orden
1169	Sancha Ponce	Villarratel
1171	Armengol de Urgel	Berrueco Pardo
1173	Ponce de Minerva	Azaña
1175	Pedro Pérez/ Fernando Cídez	Almaraz
1181	Gutierre Díaz and Teresa	Villavaruz de Rioseco
1198	Froila Ramírez	Cifuentes de Rueda

likewise received additions at a later date.(134)

As far as the location of these fueros is concerned, it will be observed that they come from numerous far-flung points in the kingdom. Those from Villarmildo, Villalonso, Benefarces, Castrocalbón, Pozuelo de la Orden, Villarratel, Villavaruz de Rioseco, Almaraz and Cifuentes de Rueda are all Leonese; San Cebrián, Yanguas, Tardajos, Molina de Aragón and Berrueco Pardo are to be found in Castile; and south of the Tajo we encounter that of Azaña. Surprisingly, however, no 12th century aristocratic fueros have survived from Galicia.

iii) The structure of the manor

The medieval manor was divided into two principal parts: the demesne, that is, those lands directly exploited by the lord, and those properties that the dominus ceded to his peasant vassals, which are generally referred to as prestimonios in our sources. These small units of land worked by peasant farmers undoubtedly formed the principal component of the manor. It is exceedingly rare that we are told the size of the landholdings, but there is some evidence to suggest that they would have generally comprised a group of small plots of land within a reduced area. A charter from 1082, for example, reveals that of the

various prestimonios held by the peasant Cipriano Froilaz and his wife Dominica, none of the vineyards exceeded three aranzadas in size; and the biggest field dedicated to cereal cultivation measured no more than six eminas.(135)

Earlier in this chapter we described how large numbers of peasant farmers, motivated by diverse circumstances, saw themselves obliged to sell off parts of their meagre landholdings to powerful lay nobles. In time, many others renounced their liberty altogether and commended themselves to lords. This process of commendation may be fairly well reconstructed from our sources. Normally, the man entering dependence would deliver his lands to the lord, who, in addition to promising to protect his vassal, would in turn cede the lands back to the peasant as a prestimonio. We will recall, to cite but one example, the case of Andrés Martínez, who in 1125 delivered his land in the Leonese village of Senra to Pelayo Froilaz 'proque faciatis ad nobis bene in uita uestra de uestire et calcare et gobierno'.(136) In such cases, the peasant would continue to work his lands as he had always done and to enjoy their fruits, but now, in addition to paying an annual rent, he was obliged to perform certain services for his lord. If the peasant failed to comply with these conditions, he would be fined or even expelled from his lands.

Equally, the fueros make clear that the peasant now found his liberty of movement extremely restricted; if he left his lands, the prestimonio would be confiscated by his lord. Moreover, the contract between peasant vassal and the lord of the manor was automatically transmitted to the heirs of the former.

Similar to the process of commendation we have already described, we encounter that of the benefactoria or behetría.(137) In general, the conditions offered by such contracts varied little from those of the prestimonios: the vassal was to hold land from his lord in return for which he would perform certain services and pay rent. The main difference between the two forms of commendation was that on the death of his dominus, the peasant vassal tied by a contract of benefactoria was awarded a certain degree of freedom to choose a new lord. Normally he might be required to choose from among the kinsfolk of his previous lord; to take a most celebrated example, there is the contract issued by Aldonza Ovéquiz to Fernando Ovéquiz and his family in 1077 which stipulated

'ut servias michi in diebus quibus vixero et post obitum meum medie die vel qua hora volueris inter casata de Vanimirel aut inter casata de Afonso Didaz.'(138)

Very occasionally, however, we even encounter cases of peasants being awarded absolute freedom to choose a

lord 'de mar a mar'. Among the provisions of the fuero granted by Gutierre Fernández and Toda Díaz to the inhabitants of the community of San Cebrián near Palencia in 1125, was this far-reaching concession:

'Et post obitum meum et mee coniugis do vobis benefetria in vestris domibus, ut tornetis vos ad qualem seniore[m] volueritis quem villa mandaverit'.(139)

It was this very freedom of choice that has misled some historians into portraying these homines de benefactoria as free men.(140) Nevertheless, our sources reveal all too clearly the very real bond of dependence that existed even between such peasants and their lords. Let us consider, by way of example, the charter of 8 April 1162, by which Rodrigo de las Fuentes de Pereda and his wife Gerolda commended themselves to the miles Pedro Martínez de Artaos:

'como yo Don Rodrigo de las Fuentes de Pereda...con mia muger dona Girolda en iur nuestro de heredamiento nuestro de bienfetria, e porque yo Don Rodrigo sobredicho non habiendo señor, salvo en la merced de Dios, asenoreme con Pero Martinez de Artaos e tomele por señor, que me anparasse e de me defendiesse a mi e a todos que en este heredamiento sobredicho morassen...'(141)

In return for this protection, Rodrigo agreed to pay his lord six loaves and a certain quantity of meat, barley and cider. Moreover, he promised

'por mi e por todos aquellos que de mia generacion, que en este heredamiento sobredicho moraren, de no seer vasalos de otro ninguno senon de vos Pero Martinez sobredicho o daqueles que de vestra generacion venieren'.

In the same vein, we encounter the stern warning issued by count Armengol VII de Urgel to his peasant vassals at Berrueco Pardo in May 1171:

'Et primo dico vobis, quod non eligatis alium senioreni nisi Deo et me atque posterita mea'.(142)

In addition to the various prestimonios that were ceded to peasant vassals, at the heart of the medieval manor lay the demesne, or reserve, those lands that were exploited directly by the lord. Next to nothing is known, however, of the structure or organisation of such estates. From the evidence of later centuries, we know that the demesne did not necessarily comprise a single block of lands, but could rather, like the peasant landholdings themselves, be scattered over a fairly wide area.(143) For the cultivation of these sernas, as they are frequently referred to in the documents of the period, the lord could rely on the labour of his permanent estate workers, the so-called homines de palacio, many of whom, we might suspect, would have been slaves. In addition, however, the lord could also oblige his peasant vassals to work on his demesne for a certain number of days every year. The fueros describe in some considerable detail the organisation of these duties, also termed sernas or opera: not only the precise nature of the labours a peasant might be required to perform, but also the food he would receive in return,

the penalties that were exacted for failing to meet these obligations, and so on. It is to these and other burdens that we must now turn our attention.

iv) The profits of lordship

When a peasant commended himself to a lord, we have seen, it was customary for the latter to grant his vassal some lands to hold as a prestimonio. In return, the peasant was obliged to carry out certain services for his lord and to pay an annual rent. While the charters issued prior to c1100 generally have very little to say about the nature of the servicium that was required of such vassals, the fueros of the 12th and 13th centuries have a great deal to tell us of the various obligations demanded by lords. The important role of such exactions within the feudal lordship has been summed up by Makkai:

'El gran dominio es el marco institucional de la producción y apropiación de la renta feudal; todavía más, la razón de ser del sistema económica feudal es la producción de la renta feudal...(que es) siempre una punción sobre una pequeña célula familiar campesina, independiente en cuanto a su gestión pero dependiente en cuanto a la propiedad de la tierra cultivada.'(144)

The annual rent owed by peasant vassals in return for their prestimonio is generally referred to as offertione or fumagda in our sources.(145) The tax could be paid in cash, normally one or two silver

solidi a year, although, if we can believe the testimony of Sandoval, the inhabitants of Jaramillo Quemado near Burgos were required to pay as much as five solidi to count Pedro González de Lara.(146) Other fueros, however, demanded payment in kind. Here, for example, is the list of produce that was demanded annually from the inhabitants of Villalonso and Benafarces near Zamora by count Osorio Martínez and his wife Teresa Fernández:

'Et dent in anno, in offrecione, medio carnero de duos dentes et decem panes et IIIIor quarteras de ordeo et IIIIor Kupas de mosto de duas ferradas illos qui tenuerint a prestamo'.(147)

In some cases, payment of the feudal rent was due on Saint Martin's day, the 11 November.(148) Not all vassals were necessarily required to pay the same, however, since the sum of rent to be paid depended on the social and economic position of the peasant. At Castrocabón, for example, countess María Fernández ruled that those vassals who had a house in the village and owned a horse, orchard and prestimonio were to pay three solidi annually in offertione and were required to accompany their lord to a local assembly twice a year; those who did not possess a horse had likewise to pay three solidi and to work on the lord's demesne during six days a year. In the case of those peasants who did not even possess a prestimonio, however, an annual payment of only one

solidum was required.(149)

In addition to the annual tax levied on their prestimonios, peasant vassals were required to perform a number of labour services on the lord's demesne.(150) In most cases, the number of days service required per year ranged from 12 to 24, that is, one or two sernas per month. The nature of the boon work is usually specified in the fueros, but they generally involved participation in the labour intensive activities of sowing, reaping or threshing. As Alfonso has observed, 'las prestaciones se nos presentan fundamentalmente como un refuerzo de mano de obra en los momentos punta de los grandes trabajos agrícolas'.(151) At San Cebrián, for example, Gutierre Fernández and Toda Díaz declared:

'Et nos dabimus vobis duos dies in mense ad lavorem infra terminum ville, in arare, in segar, in trilar, in escavar et podar et nichil amplius'.(152)

At Tardajos, countess Elvira required only that her vassals serve for 12 days a year, 'in quale opus necesse fuerit', although she also stipulated that those men who possessed oxen were to take part in ploughing and threshing duties.(153) Further to the south at Azaña, meanwhile, count Ponce de Minerva requested only 'tres operationes in anno, duas inseminando, et terciam in triturando, aut in barbechando'.(154) In the Leonese fuero of

Castrocalbón, we discover that those peasants who owned asses were required to deliver them for the use of the lord on two days each year.(155)

One of the most detailed accounts of the organisation of these sernas is to be found in the fuero of Pozuelo de la Orden, granted by Martín and Elvira Pérez in 1157.(156) The peasants of Pozuelo were required to work on the demesne during 12 days every year and were to be employed in ploughing, pruning and threshing duties. The fuero stipulates that on the occasion of each serna, the vassals of the village would be given three days notice. Then, on the day itself they would be required to take all their tools and to wait 'iuxta villam' where they would presumably have been met by the lord's bailiff or estate manager, who would supervise the labours of the peasants. Those who failed to turn up were to be fined the sum of one solidum or a ram.

At Pozuelo and on other manors, lords agreed to provide their peasant vassals with food and drink during the days that they were required to labour on the demesne. Normally, the fueros indicate that this would have comprised bread, meat and wine, although meat was not necessarily provided every day. At Pozuelo, for example, meat was available during only six of the twelve sernas; during the other six, the lord would merely provide bread, wine 'et condimento

quod sufficiat'.(157) The vassals of San Cebrián, however, could only expect to be given meat on eight of the twenty-four sernas demanded annually; for the rest of the time, they would be given only bread, wine and two conduchos.(158) This stipulation was probably linked to the type of labour that the peasants were required to perform. The fuero of Villafrontín, issued by the bishop of León in 1201, is particularly instructive in this respect, for it makes clear that both the quantity and quality of the food that the bishop's vassals were to receive was far superior during the summer months, the period of intensive agricultural labour.(159) At Azaña, meanwhile, the fuero reveals that the provision of sustenance for the labourers was the responsibility of the count Ponce's maiordomus, who was to provide bread, wine and pulmentum, a kind of stew.(160) If, moreover, a peasant was required to deliver his animals for his lord's use during the days in question, he might also expect the lord to provide fodder. At Castrocalbón, for example, the fuero required:

'Et si habuerit asinos, bis in anno det asinos suos domino soli, sic tamen ut eadem die possit reuerti ad domam suam et dominus soli det illi et asinis suis uictum.'(161)

On the other hand, if a lord failed to summon his vassals for any given serna, he could not subsequently demand their labour at a later date. As

the fuero of Tardajos would legislate: 'si ad unusquisque mense suum diem non petierint, amplius non faciant'.(162)

Before the 12th century the burdens imposed on the peasantry appear to have been decidedly more onerous. For example, lords frequently claimed the right of mañería, whereby the properties of those who died without heirs would pass automatically to the senior; they might levy the nuncio, a tax payable on all inheritances; while those women who wished to marry were required to pay a tax called ossas to the lord of the manor.(163) Many of these so-called 'malos usos' disappeared in the 12th century. This evident improvement in the peasant's lot has been related to the period of social unrest that shook León-Castile during the period 1111-1130.(164) In a famous passage, the Crónicas.-Anónimas record the peasant uprising that flared up in the area of the abbey of Sahagún:

'En este tiempo todos los rrusticos e labradores e menuda gente se ayuntaron, haciendo conjuracion contra sus sennores que ninguno de ellos diese a sus sennores servicio deuido...et negauan los portazgos e tributos e labranças a sus sennores'.(165)

It was presumably in an attempt to avoid unrest of this kind and to discourage farmers from leaving their prestimonios to seek new opportunities on the southern frontier, that lay and ecclesiastical lords sought to

reduce the obligations of their peasant vassals. The suppression of many such burdens is explicitly stated in several of the charters of 'bonos foros' that were issued during the 12th century. As far as the inhabitants of Villavaruz de Rioseco were concerned, for example, the lord of the manor, Gutierre Díaz, legislated

'ut illi homines, qui ibi populati sunt in nostra hereditate vel ad populandum ibi venerint, non pectent nuncium, nec manaria, nec osas, nec roxo, nec exebraduras inter maritum et uxorem'.(166)

Nevertheless, some of the burdens remained in place. One of them was the yantar, or the lord's right to an annual meal at his vassals' expense.(167) One of the best descriptions of this privilege is to be found in the fuero granted by count Ponce de Minerva to the inhabitants of Azaña in 1173.(168) Having detailed the tribute that his vassals at Azaña were to render annually, and the sernas that they were to perform, the count declared:

'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'.

Moreover, if the count and his wife were unable to attend, they were entitled to send their sons, daughters or even grand-children to receive the meal,

although in the event that none of the family put in an appearance, the peasants of Azaña were exempted from payment.

The inhabitants of San Cebrián, for their part, were required to perform mandaderia, or messenger duty, once a year for their lord:

'Et illo cavaliere vel illo pedone quid dominus mandaverit ire in mandaderia, vadat talem viam ut possit ire et revertere in una die, et in illo det dominus cibum illi, et hoc non faciat nisi una vice in anno; et si noluerit ire, si fuerit cavallero pectet III denarios, et si fuerit pedone pectet tres miasas.' (169)

v) Administration

Given the long periods of time that most lay magnates apparently spent at the royal court, or else on campaign, it is hard to believe that they were able to devote much attention to the administration of their domains, be they immune lordships or benefices held from the Crown. Instead, it seems clear that the day-to-day running of their estates was left in the hands of appointed officials, generally referred to as merinos or villici in our sources. 'Pontio de Quiral imperante castello de Ulver, et majorinus eius Pelagio Pelayz', records one charter of 1128; 'Petrus prior in Uillafranca. Reimum de Triacasteila et Elias Denglosema prepositi in eadem uilla sub manu comitis

Remiri et Fernandi Roderiquit et Aluari fratris suis', says another of 1161.(170) Meanwhile, in 1136 Ramiro Froilaz left the administration of the district of Valdeorras to his vicario Gonsalvo Forca, while count Ponce entrusted his honor in the Sierra de Cabrera to the care of four prestameros and a merino.(171)

Elsewhere, the administration of a lordship might be left in the hands of a local concejo, or council, 'esas asambleas vecinales, expresión de la cohesión existente entre los miembros de la comunidad rural', to quote Valdeón.(172) This was the case at Molina de Aragón, where count Manrique Pérez delegated far-reaching powers, such as the maintenance of law and order, to the concejo of his lordship.

Next to nothing is known of the precise duties of the bailiffs who were responsible for the administration of a manor, but we can probably assume that they included the collection of the annual offertione, or rent, which was levied by a lord on his peasant vassals and the supervision of the estate workers on the demesne. Moreover, it seems fairly clear from the evidence of the fueros that the organisation of the sernas, or labour services owed by peasant vassals to the lord of the manor, was also the responsibility of these estate managers. Thus, at Azaña, we have seen, it was the maiordomus of Ponce de Minerva who was responsible for providing the count's

peasant vassals with sustenance during the periods of time they laboured on the demesne. Nevertheless, it would not do for us to imagine that lay nobles never intervened personally in the management of their lordships. Rather, the evidence of several documents reveals all too clearly the direct role that the lord could at times play in the administration of his domains. Let us consider a few examples.

Among the most celebrated of the faculties attributed by a king to his lay vassals, was the right to administer justice. This was the case not only in the various tenencias that were held in benefice from the Crown, but also within the private immune lordships of the lay aristocracy. In this way, we encounter numerous examples from our period of lay magnates being called upon to judge law-suits.

From 13 September 1139, for example, we possess an account of the dispute between the Leonese abbey of San Pedro de Montes and Mayor Sánchez and her sons over an estate at Villa.(173) Mayor Sánchez claimed that she had bought the land in question from Pedro Peláez; the monks, however, held that Pedro Peláez had granted them the property 'pro anima sua'. In an attempt to settle the contention, we are told, 'devenerunt ad consilium ante illum comitem dominum Ramirum', who was aided in his deliberations by various worthies from Valdeorras, together with other

clerics and laymen. In the event, it was resolved that the monks should pay the sum of 160 solidos of Melgueil to Mayor Sánchez, who in turn promised to renounce her claims to the estate.

Rather different in character was the quarrel between abbot Munio of the Galician monastery of Samos and two of the daughters of Alfonso VI, the infantas Teresa and Jimena, which was heard at an uncertain date before the Galician magnate count Rodrigo Vélaz.(174) The cause of the 'grandem contemptionem' in this case was over the ownership of some serfs.

On other occasions, we hear of lay lords being called upon to confirm the bounds of a given estate. In 1151, Alfonso VII granted to the monastery of Cántavos the vill of the same name and its bounds 'sicut exterminavit Guter Fernandiz cum concilio de Almazan'.(175) We also hear of count Manrique Pérez carrying out similar duties at Sabiñan, some time before 1154, and at Arandilla.(176) And we are told that count Ponce de Minerva rode on horseback when he delimited the bounds of his estate at Azaña some time between 1171 and 1173.(177) Meanwhile, the lord of Senabria, Rodrigo Pérez, who governed the area by delegation from count Ponce de Cabrera, apparently went on foot when he confirmed the limits of the estate at Asturianos, accompanied by the abbot of Castañeda, the emperor's portarius and a group of 38

local bonos homines.(178) The charter drawn up to describe the event records graphically:

'Istos supradictos homines dixerunt in ueritate que Deus est et leuauerunt manus suas ad celum et posuerunt pedes suos et manus suas per terminos antiquos sicut scriptum est...'

Not all a lord's time was given over to conflict resolution, however. The issuing of documents would also have occupied him: mandates may have been despatched to his vassals; fueros regulating the conditions of rural settlement were issued; and grants of privileges were made either to lay beneficiaries in recognition of loyal service, or else to ecclesiastical institutions in return for spiritual benefits. We even see count Manrique Pérez taking responsibility for the redaction of three royal charters in 1156.(179) And we also witness lay lords taking an interest in the settlement of their lands.

Without doubt one of the most celebrated features of the Spanish Reconquista of the Central Middle Ages was the process of repopulation, whereby in the wake of successes in battle against the Muslims, the Christians sought to consolidate their gains by attracting large numbers of settlers to their newly-won territories.(180) The great military push southwards from the Duero to the Guadalquivir that took place between the 11th and 13th centuries was followed by what Mínguez has referred to as 'un largo,

laborioso, a veces también doloroso, proceso de colonización'.(181) Faced with a desperate shortage of manpower, generous inducements were frequently offered to attract settlers from the more populous areas of north of the kingdom. We need only consider, by way of example, the numerous privileges and exemptions promised by Alfonso VII in the fuero he granted to the settlers of Colmenar de Oreja in 1139.(182) In León-Castile, this process of reoblación was directed above all by the Crown: thus, Alfonso VI delegated the resettlement of Avila, Salamanca and Segovia to his son-in-law Raymond of Burgundy, and intervened personally in that of Sepúlveda in 1076. Nevertheless, we also see bishops, municipal concejos and lay nobles participating fully in the same activity. A royal diploma of 30 April 1154, for example, acknowledges the role played by Nuño Pérez de Lara in the repopulation of Castronuño, near Toro.(183) In the diploma in question, Alfonso VII granted control over the churches of Castronuño to the see of Salamanca

'pro adiutorio quod, Nunoni Petriz, meo alferiz, fecistis, cum predicta villa popularetur, scilicet, quod iuvastis cum ipsam villam populari et ecclesias ibi edificare et de propriis libris vestris et vestimentis adornare'.

Fortunately, a few texts have survived which demonstrate in greater detail the important part that

lay magnates could play in this process of colonization on the southern frontier during the 12th century. If the earliest, the fuero of 4 January 1130 granted by Diego and Domingo Alvarez to the settlers of Escalona 'propter causam populationis' may not be entirely reliable, no such doubts may be expressed about the fuero that was granted to the town of Molina de Aragón by count Manrique Pérez some time between 1152 and 1156.(184) The lordship of Molina had been acquired by Manrique around the year 1136. As the count declares in the preamble to the fuero:

'Yo el conde Almerich fallé lugar mucho antiguo desierto el cual quiero que sea poblado et ay sea Dios adorado et fielmente rogado'.(185)

The fuero of Molina sets out in considerable detail the organisation of the town and the surrounding countryside. Among its numerous provisions, is a description of the various privileges that settlers would enjoy, a list of the officials who were to serve in the municipal concejo, details of the various rents and services that were to be owed to the lord, as well as a detailed law code.

Considerably briefer is the document of 1152, in which count Manrique divided up his lands at Cedillo and Valaguera near Toledo among two groups of settlers.(186) There is no fuero of privileges and obligations attached, merely a bald list of the settlers' names and the lands they were to receive,

but the text is nonetheless indicative of the efforts being made by the lay aristocracy to make their lands productive. Three years later, we encounter a similar charter, by which count Ponce de Cabrera and Fernando Rodríguez shared out their land at Pulgar, also in the Tagus valley, among a family of settlers.(187)

Rather more detailed in content is the fuero that was granted by count Ponce de Minerva to the settlers of Azaña in 1173.(188) In 1171 we can see count Ponce reaching an agreement with the canons of Toledo over the partition of Azaña (modern-day Numancia de la Sagra).(189) Two years later, the count shared out his half of the village, amounting to some 19 yugadas of land, among a group of 25 settlers. The charter that was drawn up to record the grant, declares that each settler was allotted the land in question, together with eight cahíces of seed and some additional land to plant vines and orchards. In return, the count was entitled to an annual rent in wheat and barley from the farmers, each of whom was also required to labour on the lord's demesne three times a year and to render the count a share of the produce of their vineyards and orchards. And count Ponce and his kin might also expect to enjoy the hospitality of the settlers once a year.

Parallel to this process of repopulation on the southern frontier, however, there took place what Moxó

has referred to as 'la repoblación interior'.(190) That is to say, even in the old kingdom of León-Castile north of the Duero we witness numerous attempts by kings, bishops, abbots and nobles to promote the settlement of hitherto unoccupied land. The fueros of San Cebrián, Tardajos and Castrocalbón, among others, provide clear evidence of lay aristocratic activity in this area. Thus, the fuero granted by count Osorio Martínez and his wife countess Teresa Fernández to Villalonso and Benafarces in 1147 was directed not to the inhabitants of two settled communities, but to 'omnes qui ibi voluerint habitare'.(191)

(c) **Magnates and Milites**

Just as it was normal for Alfonso VII to be served by lay aristocrats bound to him by ties of vassallage, so in turn was it for the magnates of the kingdom to be accompanied by their own fideles. While some of these noble vassals would have been powerful local lords in their own right, others would have been infanzones or caballeros villanos of more humble means. When a lay magnate went off to war, it was customary for him to be accompanied by a retinue of armed knights, known as the mesnada. We do not know

for sure just how big these contingents were, but there is some evidence to suggest that between 40 to 60 knights was the norm.(192)

The Chronica makes several references to such groups of knights: we hear of the militia who served with the Leonese magnates Rodrigo and Osorio Martínez at the siege of Coria in 1138; and of those who accompanied the Castilians Gutierre and Rodrigo Fernández de Castro to invest the town of Colmenar de Oreja the following year.(193) Nevertheless, a lay magnate would also have been permanently attended by a retinue of knights in peacetime as well as on military campaigns. The Chronica records that Alfonso VII summoned his magnates 'cum sua nobili militia' to the wedding of his daughter Urraca and king García Ramírez of Navarre at León in 1144.(194) Reilly has conjectured that such retinues may have numbered around 15 knights, although we are unable to prove this from our sources.(195)

Notoriously little evidence has survived about the way in which relations between the greater and lesser members of the nobility were regulated. In general terms, we may assert that the duties owed by noble vassals to their lords did not vary substantially from those owed by the same magnates to the emperor. Unswerving loyalty was the principal

obligation demanded of a vassal; at any time he might be expected to accompany his lord to war, to the royal court, or even to any of the judicial meetings that the lord might preside over within his domains. He could also be required to confirm any of the charters that his lord might issue; for example, we would wager that several of the vassals of count Pedro Alfonso are to be found among those 'aliorum multorum militum' who witnessed the Asturian magnate's grant to the see of Oviedo in April 1149.(196) Moreover, if the lord fell in battle, it was the duty of his vassals to ensure the safe return of his corpse to his kin. Thus, when the Castilian magnate count Gonzalo Salvadórez made a will prior to setting off to campaign against the Muslims in 1082, he instructed his vassals to take his body to the abbey of San Salvador de Oña in the event that he were killed in battle.(197) It was their duty to comply with his wish, he added, because he had already enriched them very greatly:

'Et uassali mei et seruientes si non me aduxerint si mortuus fuero, sint minus ualentes, sicut proditor qui interfecit dominus, quia ego feci eos diuites et magnates'.

The obedience owed by noble vassals to their lord is illustrated at numerous places in the Historia Roderici, where we encounter references to the milites who served the Cid both in Castile and elsewhere in the Peninsula after his exile by Alfonso VI. In 1089,

for example, we hear that 'Rodericus uero Campidoctus tunc morabatur in Castella suis militibus donans solidatam...'.(198) That same year, when the Cid had been forced into exile, accompanied by his loyal vassals, we are told that he gave permission to some of them to return to their homes in Castile:

'Rodericus nimium tristis regressus est ad castra sua, que erant in Elso; ibidem quosdam militum suorum, quos de Castella secum adduxerat, ad propria abire permisit'.(199)

Finally, when the Cid died in 1099, we hear that his vassals carried his body north from Valencia to the Castilian monastery of Cardeña for burial:

'Uxor autem Roderici, una cum militibus uiri sui, corpus eiusdem Roderici ad monasterium sancti Petri Caradigne detulit, ibique non modicis muneribus pro eius anima monasterio collatis honorifice sepeliuit'.(200)

From the reign of Alfonso VII, we encounter a similar example of such loyalty. When count Gonzalo Peláez was exiled by the emperor, probably in the winter of 1136, the rebellious count travelled to Portugal accompanied by a group of his milites. Thus, we are told by the Chronica that when the count died 'peregrinus in terra aliena', his knights 'asportaverunt eum mortuum et sepelierunt eum in Oveto'.(201)

In return for this loyal service, it was the duty of a lord to reward his vassals. We very occasionally encounter examples of lay magnates making

generous grants of land to their milites in recognition of their loyalty. One such knight may have been Juan Juliáñez who, together with his wife Sol, was awarded the Leonese village of Mansilla Mayor by count Osorio Martínez and countess Teresa Fernández in October 1148, 'pro vestro servicio que nobis fecistis et facitis cotidie'.(202) Dating from 1153, meanwhile, is a charter recording the grant by count Ramiro Froilaz of land at Villa Seca near Mayorga to García Pérez and his wife Teresa Pérez. Here again, we are told, the grant was being made 'pro tuo seruitio que mihi semper fecisti'.(203)

Alternatively, we sometimes glimpse lay magnates intervening on their vassals' behalf to secure largesse from the emperor. Thus, on 18 July 1126, Alfonso VII rewarded Pedro Ovéquiz of Portomarín and his wife María Fernández with some land at Seixón 'intercedente comite Rudrico de Sarria, et uestro fideli seruitio'.(204) In the same way, the emperor granted the vill of Calabor to Pedro Rodríguez de Sanabria on 4 May 1145 'propter servicium quod mihi fecisti et facis et rogatu comitis domni Ponci cuius miles es'.(205) The region of Sanabria lies squarely in the Sierra de Cabrera, a little to the north of Portugal; at this time the area was under the dominion of count Ponce de Cabrera and we may conjecture that the miles Pedro had been recruited by the count into

his knightly retinue and had served with distinction in one of the emperor's campaigns in al-Andalus.

Nevertheless, the chief mechanism by which relations of vassalage were traditionally articulated in western Europe was the fief, that is, a piece of real property granted in temporary benefice by a lord to his vassal. Duby has remarked:

'The vassal with only modest allodial lands welcomed a fief as a considerable addition to his resources, even if the fief was not itself of great value; and the fear of confiscation, which he could hardly evade, maintained his obedience'.(206)

Nevertheless, we encounter lamentably few references in our sources to the fiefs that were granted by the magnates of León-Castile to their noble vassals. According to the Tumbo of the Galician monastery of Sobrado, the church of Guisón was apparently granted as a benefice to one of his vassals by count Fernando Pérez de Traba:

'Postea uenit comes domnus Fernandus Petri et accepit eam de dato regine domne Urrace quando accepit Superaddum cum comite domno Fernando et dedit eam in prestimonio ad Martinum Ueremudiz de Guison'.(207)

Far more common, however, are references to the custom of subinfeudation, whereby lay magnates placed the tenencias they had received in fief from the Crown under the care of one of their own vassals: 'Didagus Pedrez tenens Oxomam per manus comitis Amalrici', records the dating clause of one diploma of 1156;

'Comes Ramirus dominante Iorres. Petrus Martiniz uasallus eius tenente Casoio', declares another of 1165.(208)

Other vassals may have received soldata, or money-fiefs, from their lords, particularly those knights whose presence in the mesnada was only required for the duration of a military campaign. The Historia Roderici, for example, reveals that the vassals of the Cid received such cash payments in return for their service.(209) And, as we have already mentioned, the vassals of count Gonzalo Salvadórez were made 'diuites et magnates' by their lord.(210) Furthermore, the members of a lord's entourage would also have expected to receive a cut of all the booty that was won on campaign. The Chronica describes in great detail the vast spoils that were acquired by the armies of Alfonso VII during the 1130s and 1140s.(211) Nevertheless, such riches could never be guaranteed and merely constituted a welcome additional source of income for the members of the knightly mesnada.

Even so, a lord's entourage was never made up exclusively of mounted knights. Other vassals performed more mundane, but nonetheless necessary tasks in the running of the aristocratic household. One such man may have been Greo Pérez, who placed himself under the protection of count Pedro Alfonso in

February 1154.(212) In return for an undertaking that the count would always provide him with 'uictum et uestimentum et...tota bonitate', Greo Pérez ceded half of the shares he possessed in various monasteria in the region of Asturias. At first sight, this document seems to have much in common with the 'kartula donationis uel perfiliationis' we referred to earlier in this chapter, by which Andrés Martínez granted his estate at Senra to Pelayo Froilaz in 1125.(213) Yet if Andrés Martínez was undoubtedly a peasant farmer struggling to make ends meet, for whom the feudal pact provided a veritable lifeline, we would suggest that given the numerous properties in his possession, Greo Pérez belonged to a completely different social bracket. We might speculate, rather, that the 'entry into dependence' of Greo Pérez marked his entry into the household of count Pedro Alfonso. In this context, the grants made 'pro bono seruitio' by count Pedro Ansúrez to María Fernández in 1113 and by Pelayo Corvo to Sancha Yomar in 1160 may well have been bestowed upon members of their households.(214)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. F.J. Ganshof, Qu'est-ce que la féodalité? (Brussels, 1944); published in English as Feudalism (3rd ed., London, 1964).
2. ibid., xvi.
3. M. Bloch, La Société Féodale (Paris, 1939); published in English as Feudal Society (London, 1961).
4. ibid., xv.
5. W. Kula, Théorie économique du système féodal (Paris, 1970); G. Bois, Crise du Féodalisme (Paris, 1976).
6. See, for example, O. Hintze, 'The nature of feudalism', in F.L. Cheyette ed., Lordship and Community, 22-31.
7. F. de Cárdenas, Ensayo sobre la historia de la propiedad territorial en España, 2 vols (Madrid, 1873-5); A. Herculanó, 'Da existencia ou não existencia do feudalismo nos Reinos de Leão, Castella e Portugal', Opúsculos (Lisbon, 1875-1877), V, 189-294. For two useful surveys of the 'feudal debate' in Spain, see L. García de Valdeavellano, 'Sobre la cuestión del feudalismo hispánico', El Feudalismo hispánico y otros estudios de historia medieval (Barcelona, 1981), 7-62 and J.A. García de Cortázar, 'Espacio, sociedad y organización medievales en nuestra tradición historiográfica', in Organización social del espacio en la España medieval. La corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII a XV (Barcelona, 1985), 11-40.
8. The idea was developed above all in C. Sánchez Albornoz, 'España y el feudalismo carolingio', Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto, 1954), 109-26; En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo. I. Fideles y Gardingos en la Monarquía visigoda. Raíces del vasallaje y del beneficio hispanos (Mendoza, 1942); 'El ejército visigodo: su protofeudalización', Investigaciones... y documentos sobre las instituciones hispanas (Santiago de Chile, 1970), 5-56.

9. L. García de Valdeavellano, 'Las instituciones feudales en España', published as an appendix to the Spanish translation of Ganshof's work: El Feudalismo (Barcelona, 1963) and subsequently reprinted in El Feudalismo Hispánico, 63-162; H. Grassotti, Las Instituciones Feudo-Vasalláticas en León y Castilla, 2 vols (Spoleto, 1969).
10. A. Barbero and M. Vigil, La formación del feudalismo en la Península Ibérica (Barcelona, 1978); R. Pastor, Resistencias y luchas campesinas en la época del crecimiento de la formación feudal. Castilla y León, siglos X-XIII (Madrid, 1980); J.M. Mínguez, 'Ruptura social e implantación del feudalismo en el noroeste peninsular (Siglos VIII-X), SH 3-2º (1985), 7-32.
11. P. Bonnassie, Vocabulario básico de la historia medieval (Barcelona, 1983), 94. For an invigorating piece of polemic, see E. Brown, 'The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe', American Historical Review 79 (1974), 1063-88.
12. J.A. García de Cortázar, 'Espacio, sociedad y organización', 32.
13. For example, Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 207-11.
14. Bonnassie, Vocabulario básico, 95.
15. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 7.
16. Portela and Pallares, 'Elementos para el análisis de la aristocracia', 25-6.
17. Docs.Oviedo, 368.
18. Colección de documentos históricos, I, 305-7; Galicia Histórica, 233-4.
19. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 27-34.
20. R. Rodríguez, Catálogo de documentos del monasterio de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas (León, 1949), 9.
21. ibid. The purchases by Pedro Flaínez and Bronilde are nos. 17, 36-7, 39, 42, 48-53, 56, 58-60, 66-7, 70-1, 73-4, 77, 83, 87-8, 97, 106, 124, 130, 138, 140, 149, 151, 158, 168,

- 171 and 173. Those conducted by Froila Muñiz are nos. 54, 69, 75-6, 78-9, 81-2, 92-6, 98-9, 101-3, 105, 108, 114, 116-19, 122, 125-8, 131-2, 141, 143-7, 150, 154-7, 161-2, 164--7, 169. Details in Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 28-32.
22. ibid., nos. 197-207, 214-16, 218, 221 and 223. On count Froila Díaz, see Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 345-7.
23. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 5-31.
24. Although Sánchez Belda, CAI, 244, erroneously identifies him as a son of count Froila Díaz.
25. On 2 December 1118 he confirmed a grant by queen Urraca to the see of Oviedo: Docs.Oviedo, 362-3.
26. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 13-14.
27. AC León, no. 1382. The charter is edited by Fletcher in Episcopate, 229-30.
28. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 17-18.
29. CAI, §20. Is the fact that the names of Pedro Díaz and Pelayo Froilaz appear together in the witness list attached to the royal charter of 2 December 1118 merely a coincidence? It was certainly common practice for kinsmen to be placed together in such lists; if Pedro Díaz and Pelayo Froilaz did share ties of blood, it would help to explain the participation of the latter in the rebellion of 1130.
30. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 23.
31. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 5-6, 10-11, 17-18, 20-1, 26-7.
32. ibid., 6-10, 11-12, 15-17, 20-2, 23-5, 27-8.
33. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 33.
34. ibid., 32-3.
35. AHN, Clero, 378/5: see Appendix 1, no. XV; Galicia.Histórica, 14.
36. See Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 218; M.C. Pallares Méndez, El Monasterio de Sobrado: un ejemplo del protagonismo monástico

- en la Galicia medieval (La Coruña, 1979), 229 n. 55.
37. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 25.
38. See L. García de Valdeavellano, 'El "renovo". Notas y documentos sobre los préstamos usurarios en el reino asturleonés (siglos X-XI)', CHE 57-58 (1973), 408-48; Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 34-6; Pastor, Resistencias y luchas, 62-73.
39. Rodríguez, Otero de las Dueñas, no.199.
40. ibid., no. 200.
41. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 35.
42. G. Castán Lanaspá, 'Créditos, deudas y pagos en el área rural castellano-leonesa (siglos XI-XIV)', SH 1 - no. 2 (1983), 68.
43. Floriano, Cornellana, 22-6.
44. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 22-3, 30-1.
45. Docs.Oña, I, 215-17; Docs.Valladolid, 185-7, 190-1, 194-6.
46. supra, n. 26.
47. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 14-15.
48. ibid., 19-20.
49. See Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 36-43; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 219-23; M. Recuero Astray, 'Donaciones de Alfonso VII a sus fieles y servidores', En la España Medieval, V. Estudios en memoria del profesor D. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, 2 vols (Madrid, 1986), II, 897-914.
50. For example, on 8 November 1154, Alfonso VII granted land at Corneda to Gutierre Pérez 'pro bono et fideli seruitio quod mihi fecistis in Muntor': AHN, Códices, 325B, fol. 187r-v. Rather different in character was the diploma of July 1135, whereby the emperor granted to count Rodrigo González and his wife Estefanía Armengol and to count Rodrigo Martínez and his wife Urraca Fernández some lands that had been confiscated from the rebellious Asturian count Gonzalo Peláez: Docs.Valladolid, 164-6.

51. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 219.
52. Rassow, 121-2.
53. See, in this context, Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 223-4.
54. On the profiliatio see, for example, Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 63-6; Pastor, Resistencias y luchas campesinas, 60-2 and 'Sobre la articulación de las formaciones económico-sociales: comunidades de aldea y señoríos en el norte de la Península Ibérica (siglos X-XIII)', in Estructuras feudales y feudalismo en el mundo mediterráneo (Barcelona, 1984), 112-14.
55. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 28-9.
56. G. Martínez Díez, 'Las instituciones del reino asturleonés a través de la diplomática', AHDE 35 (1965), 124.
57. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 64.
58. A. Barbero de Aguilera, 'Configuración del feudalismo en la Península Ibérica', En torno al feudalismo hispánico (Avila, 1989), 82.
59. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 44.
60. ibid., 44-52.
61. R. Pastor, Resistencias y luchas campesinas, 73.
62. Rodríguez, Otero de las Dueñas, 77, 83, 87, 158, 172; 76, 82, 93-4, 117, 132, 159.
63. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 29-30.
64. Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 333.
65. P. Floriano Llorente, Colección diplomática del Monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo (Oviedo, 1968), 347-8.
66. AHN, Clero, 1126/4. See Appendix 1, no. VI. Alvaro Rodríguez (fl. 1129 x 1167) was the son of count Rodrigo Vélaz of Sarria. A member of the expedition to Andalucía in the summer of 1151, he was granted the vill of Meira by the emperor, who addresses the noble as 'meo fideli vasallo' (AHN, Códices, 114B, fol. 25r-

- v). He does not appear regularly at court until 1154, witnessing some 37 royal charters over the next three years. He was a prominent member of the court of Fernando II, from whom he received the vill of Coreses in March 1164 (GRF, 379). Lord of Limia, Montenegro, Monterroso and Sarria, and count from 1161, he married a daughter of count Fernando Pérez de Traba, Sancha González, with whom he acquired various estates between 1152 and 1164 (GRF, 189-90, 364; AHN, Clero, 1126/4-6, 9, II; Martín Rodríguez, Orden de Santiago, 199-201).
67. Carlé, 'Gran propiedad', 51-2.
68. On the unrest of this period, see Pastor, Resistencias y luchas, 122-41; P. Bonnassie, 'Del Ródano a Galicia: génesis y modalidades del régimen feudal', Estructuras feudales y feudalismo en el mundo mediterráneo (Barcelona, 1984), 42-3; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 430-2.
69. Floriano Llorente, San Vicente de Oviedo, 84-6.
70. The standard work on the growth of towns is L. García de Valdeavellano, Orígenes de la burguesía en la España medieval (Madrid, 1960). On urban development on the 'camino de Santiago', see also Moxó, Repoblación y Sociedad, 260-5.
71. AHN, Clero, 1325D/8bis.
72. Docs.Oviedo, 377.
73. Martín Rodríguez, 'La orden militar de San Marcos de León', 51-2.
74. Serrano, Vega, 75-7.
75. G. Castán Lanaspá, Documentos del monasterio de Villaverde de Sandoval (siglos XII-XV) (Salamanca, 1981), 70-1; Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 69-70.
76. Docs.Burgos, 346-7; Serrano, El Moral, 39-41.
77. Martín Rodríguez, Orden de Santiago, 174-5. See Appendix 1, no. XIV. The diploma is incorrectly dated 1125 and Martín Rodríguez is probably correct to reassign the document to 1155. The cartulary copyist's mistake was

probably to misread 'Era M^a C^a LX^a III^a' for 'Era M^a C^a LX^a III^a'.

78. ibid., 247-8.
79. AHN, OM-Calatrava, 455/2. It was published by Salazar y Castro, Historia de la Casa de Lara, IV, 8-9.
80. Cart.Toledo, no. 178. See Appendix 1, no. XXIII.
81. Cart.Toledo, no. 180.
82. ibid., no. 206.
83. Rodríguez, Los fueros de León, II, 67-71.
84. Portela and Pallares, 'Elementos para el análisis de la aristocracia', 27.
85. By way of comparison, the Leonese abbey of Eslonza acquired only four properties across the period 1105-1127: Vignau, Cartulario de Eslonza, 91-2; A. Calvo, San Pedro de Eslonza (Madrid, 1957), 273-6.
86. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 7-10, 15-16, 20-8.
87. ibid., 22-3, 30-1.
88. Docs.Valladolid, 185-7.
89. Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 95-6, 211-12; AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 15v-16r; Lucas Alvarez, Tumbo de Samos, 186-7; AHD Santiago de Compostela, Fondo San Martín Pinarío: Serie Priorato de Sar, 37/43; AHN, Clero, 899/7; Cart.Toledo, no. 110; Rassow, 121-2. Moreover, as the tenente of Benavente, Castrotorafe, Castroverde, Salamanca, Toro, Villafáfila, Villalpando and Zamora, it is more than likely that count Ponce held extensive estates in the areas in question: supra, Chapter 1, n. 50 for details.
90. On Suero Vermúdez, see CAI, 255-6; Floriano Cumbreño, Libro Registro de Corias, II, 290-2; Estepa Díez, Estructura Social, 275-7.
91. CAI, §2.
92. Reilly, Urraca, 294.

93. The documents are the following: 30 December 1110 (Floriano, Cornellana, 20-1); 27 June 1114 (Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 13-14); 29 May 1117 (Docs.Oviedo, 355-7); 19 May 1118 (AHN, Clero, 1325C/7); 22 January 1120 (Floriano, Cornellana, 22-3); 4 March 1120 (Docs.Burgos, 178-80); 27 April 1120 (Floriano, Cornellana, 151-2); 8 November 1120 (ibid., 23-6); 7 March 1122 (Docs.Oviedo, 367-70; Floriano, Cornellana, 191-4; Bruel, Chartes de Cluny, V, 314-17); 26 March 1128 (Rassow, 69-70; Floriano, Cornellana, 28-9); 1 February 1129 (Floriano, Cornellana, 29-31 and 31-2); December 1128 (Docs.Oviedo, 376-80).
94. Docs.Oviedo, 367-70, 376-80.
95. ibid., 376.
96. Docs.Burgos, 178-80.
97. AC León, no. 19; AHN, Clero, 378/5: see Appendix 1, no. XV. The Toledan knight Goscelmus de Ribas, for his part, was 'nimium dives in auro et argento et pane et vino et de omnibus divitiis huius saeculi', according to the CAI, §130.
98. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 12.
99. In this context, see H. Grassotti, 'El sitio de Cuenca en la mecánica vasallático-señorial de Castilla', CHE 63-64 (1980), 104-14. Also, Appendix 1, no. XXIV.
100. Calvo, Gradefes, 173-4.
101. J.M. Mínguez, 'Ganadería, aristocracia y reconquista en la Edad Media castellano', Hispania 42 (1982), 341-54.
102. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 8-12, 15-16, 20-2, 27-8.
103. AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 221.
104. Docs.Oviedo, 401-2; Galicia Histórica, 14-16.
105. The standard study remains C. Verlinden, 'L'esclavage dans le monde ibérique médiéval', AHDE 11 (1934), 283-448. See also, Fletcher, St. James's catapult, 12-14.

106. Hinojosa, Documentos, 56-7; AHN, Clero, 897/13; AHN, Clero, 1509/14. Moreover, when Guntruda Suárez founded the house at Vilanova in 1124, she included among the endowments 'ethiopibus quatuordecim inter sarracenos et sarracenas': E. Duro Peña, 'El monasterio de San Pedro de Vilanova de Dozón', AL 43-44 (1968), 40-3.
107. AHN, Diversos, Serie General: Fondo no. 13, legajo 278/10; Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 41-2; Calvo, Gradefes, 337; Muñoz y Romero, Colección de Fueros, 162-3.
108. CAI, §35-6, 39, 119, 126, 131, 162, 187.
109. Alfonso Antón, Moreruela, 294-5.
110. Serrano, El Moral, 31-4.
111. Galicia Histórica, 14-16.
112. See G. Duby, 'The origins of a system of social classification', The Chivalrous Society, 88-93.
113. M. Keen, Chivalry (Yale, 1984), 4.
114. J. Valdeón, J.M. Salrach and J. Zabalo, Feudalismo y consolidación de los pueblos hispánicos (Siglos XI-XV), (3rd ed., Barcelona, 1987), 31-2.
115. C. Sánchez Albornoz, 'Pequeños propietarios libres en el reino asturleonés. Su realidad histórica', in Investigaciones y documentos sobre las instituciones hispanas, 178-201.
116. Pastor, Resistencias y luchas, 56-73; Mínguez, 'Ruptura social', 7-32. Mínguez refers to 'el tan traído tema de la libertad del campesinado castellano que en la historiografía albornociana se ha convertido en una especie de valor absoluto abstracto', 8-9.
117. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 216.
118. Pastor, Resistencias y luchas, 57.
119. On lordships, see the articles by S. de Moxó, 'Los señoríos. En torno a una problemática para el estudio del regimen señorial',

120. Hispania 24 (1964), 185-236 and 'Los señorios: cuestiones metodológicas que plantea su estudio', AHDE 43 (1973), 271-309.
121. Rassow, 72; Floriano Llorente, San-Vicente de Oviedo, 171-2.
122. Rassow, 77-8.
123. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 224.
124. Serrano, Vega, 50-1.
125. Díez Canseco, 'Sobre los fueros', 373-4; Rodríguez Fernández, 'Anotaciones a L. Díaz Canseco', 263-6.
126. On the lordship of Molina, see M. Sancho Izquierdo, El-Fuero de Molina de Aragón (Madrid, 1916); J. González, Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva, 2 vols (Madrid, 1975), I, 162-66.
127. For two good introductions, see A. García Gallo, 'Aportación al estudio de los fueros', AHDE 26 (1956), 387-446 and G. Martínez Díez, 'Los Fueros Leoneses: 1017-1336', in El-Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media. I. Cortes, concilios y fueros (León, 1988), 283-352.
128. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 232-3.
129. A.M. Barrero García and M.L. Alonso Martín, Textos de derecho local español en la Edad Media: catálogo de fueros . . . y . . . costumes municipales (Madrid, 1989).

The texts are the following: the fuero of San Cebrián is edited by Hinojosa, Documentos, 51-3 and by J. Rodríguez Fernández, Palencia (panorámica foral de la provincia) (Palencia, 1981), 225-7; for the various redactions of the Tardajos fuero, see L. Serrano, El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el-siglo. V al-siglo. XIII, 3 vols (Madrid, 1932), III, 186-8 and G. Martínez Díez, Fueros Locales en el territorio de la provincia de Burgos (Burgos, 1982), 53-6, 157-8; the Villarmido text is to be found in J.M. Fernández Catón, Catálogo . . . del . . . Archivo Histórico Diocesano de León, I (León, 1978), 18-19; the fuero of Yanguas is in Llorente, Noticias históricas, IV, 83-9; that of Benefarces and Villalonso is edited by J.Rfus

Serra, 'Nuevos fueros de tierras de Zamora', AHDE 6 (1929), 444-5; the fuero of Castrocalbón was first edited by Díez Canseco, 'Sobre los fueros', 375-7 and subsequently by Rodríguez Fernández, Los Fueros de León, II, 67-71; that of Molina by Sancho Izquierdo, El Fuero de Molina, 53-146; the fuero of Pozuelo de la Orden appears in Hinojosa, Documentos, 64-8; that of Villarratel in Rodríguez Fernández Los Fueros de León, II, 109-11; that of Berrueco Pardo in Hinojosa, Documentos, 77-9; the fuero of Azaña is held in AC Toledo, 0.3.A.2.3 and AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 59rb-60ra: a summary of its contents is to be found in Cart.Toledo, no. 164; the fuero of Almaraz is edited by J.L. Martín Rodríguez, Campesinos vasallos de la iglesia de Zamora en los siglos XII y XIII (Zamora, 1977), 29-33; for that of Villavaruz de Rioseco, see Hinojosa, Documentos, 82-4; and the text from Cifuentes de Rueda in Rodríguez Fernández, Los Fueros de León, II, 167-9.

130. Floriano Cumbreño, Belmonte, 192-4.
131. Muñoz y Romero, Colección de fueros, 485-9. On the Escalona text, see Reilly, 'The chancery of Alfonso VII', 251.
132. Rodríguez Fernández, Palencia, 225, 250; P. Sandoval, Historia de los Reyes de Castilla y de León (Pamplona, 1615), 142; Fernández Duro, Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Zamora, I, 375.
133. Martínez Díez, Fueros de Burgos, 53-6.
134. Llorente, Noticias históricas, IV, 88-9; Sancho Izquierdo, Fuero de Molina, 147-63.
135. Cited by Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 239-40.
136. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 28-9.
137. See, above all, C. Sánchez Albornoz, 'Las Behetrías. La encomendación en Asturias, León y Castilla', AHDE 1 (1924), 158-336 and 'Muchas páginas más sobre las Behetrías', AHDE 4 (1927), 5-157.
138. Hinojosa, Documentos, 32-3.
139. Rodríguez Fernández, Palencia, 226.

140. For example, Mackay, Spain in the Middle Ages, 42.
141. The charter has been edited by Muñoz y Romero, Colección de Fueros, 141-2 n. 44; Hinojosa, Documentos, 69-70 and L. Fernández Martín, Colección diplomática de Santa María de Benevívere (Palencia) 1020-1561 (Madrid, 1967), 12-13.
142. Hinojosa, Documentos, 78.
143. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 241-4.
144. Cited in ibid., 208-9.
145. On feudal rent, see I. Alfonso Antón, 'Renta señorial en la Edad Media de León y Castilla', in Historia de la Hacienda Española (Epocas Antigua y Medieval). Homenaje al profesor García de Valdeavellano (Madrid, 1982), 55-65; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 249-53.
146. Sandoval, Historia de los Reyes de Castilla, 142.
147. Rius Serra, 'Nuevos fueros', 444-5.
148. For example, the fueros of Pozuelo de la Orden and Cifuentes de Rueda. At Tardajos, payment was due on the feast of Saint Michael (29 September).
149. Rodríguez Fernández, Los fueros de León, II, 67-71.
150. The best study is I. Alfonso Antón, 'Las sernas en León y Castilla. Contribución al estudio de las relaciones socio-económicas en el marco del señorío medieval', Moneda y Crédito 129 (1974), 153-210. See also, Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 256-62.
151. Alfonso Antón, 'Las sernas', 177.
152. Rodríguez Fernández, Palencia, 227.
153. Martínez Díez, Fueros de Burgos, 157.
154. AC Toledo, O.3.A.2.3; AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 59rb-60ra. Details in Cart. Toledo, no. 164. For the full text, see Appendix 1, no. XXII.

155. Rodríguez Fernández, Los fueros de León, II, 69.
156. Hinojosa, Documentos, 64-8.
157. ibid., 65.
158. supra n. 152. For a discussion of the term conducho, see N. Guglielmi, 'Posada y yantar. Contribución al léxico de las instituciones medievales', Hispania 26 (1966), 165-70.
159. Hinojosa, Documentos, 100-2.
160. supra, n. 154.
161. Rodríguez Fernández, Los fueros de León, II, 69.
162. Martínez Díez, Fueros de Burgos, 157.
163. García de Valdeavellano, Historia de España, II, 301-3; Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 262-3.
164. Pastor, Resistencias y luchas campesinas, 221-44; Martínez Sopena, op.cit., 262-4.
165. J. Puyol, 'Las crónicas anónimas de Sahagún', BRAH 76 (1920), 245.
166. Hinojosa, Documentos, 82.
167. See N. Guglielmi, 'Posada y yantar', 5-40, 165-219.
168. supra, n. 154.
169. Rodríguez Fernández, Palencia, 226.
170. Quintana Prieto, Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes, 239-40; Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 295.
171. Quintana Prieto, Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes, 246-8, 265.
172. Valdeón, op.cit., 75.
173. Quintana Prieto, Tumbo de San Pedro de Montes, 254-5.
174. Lucas Alvarez, Tumbo de Samos, 257-8.

175. J.A. García Luján, Cartulario del Monasterio de Santa María de Huerta (Huerta, 1981), 3-4.
176. Minguella, Sigüenza, 391-2; García Luján, op.cit., 27-8.
177. supra, n. 154.
178. Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 54-5.
179. Sánchez Belda, 'En torno a 3 diplomas', 58-61.
180. See, for example, J. González, 'Repoblación de la "Extremadura" leonesa', Hispania 3 (1943), 195-273; idem, 'La Extremadura castellana al mediar el siglo XIII', Hispania 34 (1974), 265-424; idem, Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva, passim; and S. de Moxó, Repoblación y Sociedad, passim.
181. J.M. Mínguez, La Reconquista (Madrid, 1989), 133.
182. Rassow, 81-3. The fuero of Oreja has also been published by C. Gutiérrez del Arroyo, 'Fueros de Oreja y Ocaña', AHDE 17 (1946), 654-7 and Martín Rodríguez, Orden de Santiago, 178-80.
183. Docs.Salamanca, 104-5.
184. supra, n. 129, 131.
185. Sancho Izquierdo, Fuero de Molina, 63. On the lordship of Molina, see also González, Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva, I, 162-6 and Moxó, Repoblación y Sociedad, 236-7.
186. AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 71va-b; details in Cart.Toledo, no. 86. For the full text, see Appendix 1, no. VIII.
187. AHN, Códices, 996B, fol. 103rb; details in Cart.Toledo, no. 110. See Appendix 1, no. XVI.
188. supra, n. 154.
189. AC Toledo, O.3.A.2.2: Cart.Toledo, no. 159. See Appendix 1, no. XXI.
190. Moxó, Repoblación y Sociedad, 259-82.
191. Rius Serra, 'Nuevos fueros', 444-5.

192. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 187. See also, CAI, §162, 165, 179.
193. CAI, §139, 145.
194. ibid., §92.
195. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 151.
196. Docs.Oviedo, 401-2.
197. Docs.Oña, I, 113-14.
198. Historia Roderici, 934.
199. ibid., 937.
200. ibid., 971.
201. CAI, §46.
202. Calvo, Gradefes, 306-7.
203. AHD León, Fondo Gradefes, no. 71. See Appendix 1, no. IX.
204. AC Orense, Fondo Monacal, no. 8.
205. Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 51-2.
206. G. Duby, 'The nobility in eleventh and twelfth century Mâconnais, in F.L. Cheyette ed., Lordship and Community, 142.
207. Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, I, 272-4.
208. AC Osma, uncatalogued charter of 5 December 1156; Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 216-17.
209. Historia Roderici, 934.
210. supra, n. 197.
211. CAI, §36, 39, 119, 121-2, 124, 128-9, 131, 143, 168-9, 177, 187.
212. AHD León, Fondo Otero, no. 233. See Appendix 1, no. XII.
213. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 28-9.
214. AHN, Clero, 893/10, 1437/13.

CHAPTER 3

THE NOBILITY AND THE CHURCH

Introduction

The medieval Church in western Christendom before the 11th century has been commonly labelled an Adelskirche by German historians. That is to say, that the vast majority of churches and monasteries lay under the 'protection' (for which we should read 'ownership') of secular patrons. These lay aristocrats controlled the churches and their lands in the same manner as they did any other piece of secular property: they enjoyed the rents and tithes that corresponded to them and they could demand the right to the customary pausadia and prandiam (accommodation and sustenance) from their ecclesiastical possessions. Additionally, a secular lord was empowered to appoint the abbot or priest that he saw fit without consultation with any ecclesiastical authority, while he would also expect to receive diverse spiritual benefits, namely the prayers of his clergy for the good of his soul and the right to burial within the precincts of the church or monastery.

The origins of the proprietary church system, or Eigenkirchen, to borrow yet another German expression, are to be sought in the Late Roman Empire, when secular landlords began to establish private churches on their estates.(1) In the centuries that followed the fall of the Empire, lay-controlled

churches and monasteries became a common feature of the rural landscape in most parts of western Europe; the great majority belonged to members of the aristocracy, both great magnates and lesser nobles alike, but we encounter examples of churches being held by peasant communities too.(2) The foundation of monastic houses by secular patrons became particularly fashionable in aristocratic circles during the course of the 10th century. The most illustrious products of this lay monastic revival were the abbeys of Cluny in Burgundy and Gorze in Upper Lorraine, but at the same time there sprang up scores of more modest institutions right across western Europe.(3)

Lay participation in the affairs of the Church was not limited merely to the foundation of religious houses, however. It was accepted practice prior to the 11th century for kings to appoint to episcopal sees prelates drawn from the ranks of the greatest noble families, with the result that the lay aristocracy controlled the upper echelons of the Church hierarchy just as thoroughly as they did the numerous rural churches and monasteries in their possession.

If we turn from these broad generalisations to look at the situation in León-Castile, an identical picture greets us. Recent studies of the aristocracy in Cantabria and León have demonstrated most clearly how deeply-rooted the institution of the proprietary

church had become by the 11th century.(4) Loring García, for example, has gone as far as to claim that before then 'la práctica totalidad de las iglesias rurales...estaban en manos de laicos'.(5) We know, for example, that in the 11th century the family of the Leonese count Alfonso Díaz possessed no fewer than eleven monasteria and shares in eight others spread across the areas of the Liébana, the Tierra de Campos and the lower Pisuerga.(6) Further to the west in Galicia, meanwhile, the tight grip that the lay aristocracy held over the Church and its most important offices is similarly clear. Fletcher comments:

'The greater noble families shared out among themselves the plums of ecclesiastical preferment. The church was run by them and for them. If they sometimes squabbled over who should get what, there was never any question of outsiders knuckling in to take from them what they would have regarded as their birthright.'(7)

Clerical reaction to the almost total subordination of the Church to the interests of lay powers came in the 11th century. The reform movement championed, in particular, by popes Leo IX (1049-1054) and Gregory VII (1073-1085) condemned not only the widespread practices of simony (the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices) and clerical marriage, but also sought to sever the bonds that tied the Church to the secular world.(8) In the view of the reformers,

it was the duty of the layman to protect the Church and to be generous to it, but not to subordinate the churches, their clergy and their lands to his will.

Brooke has observed:

'The papal reformers demanded libertas for the Roman Church and for all the Churches and all the clergy: freedom from secular control; independence of action; freedom to pursue a wholly spiritual vocation; in a word, disengagement.' (9)

From the mid-11th century, therefore, we can witness the beginnings of a movement which aimed, among other things, to persuade the lay aristocracy of western Europe to turn over to episcopal control the ecclesiastical properties in their possession.

The task of this chapter must be to examine the extent to which the reform movement set in course by the Papacy in the 11th century affected relations between Nobility and Church in León-Castile in the 12th. Firstly, the progress that the ecclesiastical reformers made in reducing the level of secular interference in church affairs and in encouraging the transfer of proprietary churches from lay to ecclesiastical hands will be considered. Secondly, the characteristics of 12th-century lay piety will be highlighted, with particular reference to the monastic houses that were founded and endowed by aristocratic patrons. Finally, the other side to the coin, the numerous disputes and conflicts of interest that arose

between clergy and laymen during the course of the 12th century will be treated.

(a) **The Adelskirche in León-Castile**

i) **The Proprietary Church**

The strictures of the papal reformers against lay control of churches and monasteries were echoed in the decrees promulgated at the various ecclesiastical synods held in León-Castile in the first half of the 12th century. Thus at the council held at León in October 1114 it was agreed that:

'1. Ut in ecclesiis Dei et earum rebus et ministris, nullus laicus violentiam aliquam facere praesumat, et hereditates et testamenta eisdem ecclesiis integre restituantur, quae iniuste ab eis ablata sunt.

2. Ut nullus laicus aliquam habeat potestatem intra sacrarium ecclesiae, quod vulgariter passales, vel dextros appellamus.

3. Quod nullus laicus decimas ecclesiarum, vel primitias, seu oblationes vivorum vel mortuorum nec accipere, neque tangere audeat, et quod nullus ordinatus, a manu laica ecclesiam suscipiat...

7. Ut nulla persona ecclesiam vendat, vel comparet, seu alicui laico incartet, quia simoniacum est.'(10)

Similar prohibitions were voiced at subsequent councils held at Burgos in 1117, at Palencia in 1129 and at Valladolid in 1143.(11) But to what extent can it be said that their admonitions were heeded? The surviving charters of the 11th and 12th centuries

certainly reveal that large numbers of proprietary churches were being surrendered into ecclesiastical hands during this period. Perhaps one of the most striking examples of this trend is the grant of 7 March 1122 by which count Suero Vermúdez and his wife countess Enderquina Gutiérrez made over to the monks of Cluny the Asturian monastery of Cornellana and all its properties.(12) Among the provisions of this most lavish donation were listed the various churches and monasteries that had belonged to count Suero and his family. They comprised no fewer than four monasteria which, the count explains, 'ganamus per nostras incartationes de regina domna Urraca'. In addition, there were three churches and shares in two others 'quas habemus de parentibus nostris vel de nostris ganantiis'. Rather smaller in scale, meanwhile, was the grant by the Castilian magnate García Garcés and his wife Sancha Pérez of the monasterium of San Llorente by the River Aza to the Benedictine abbey of Silos in 1157.(13)

More often than not, however, grants of this kind were merely part-shares in a church or monastery, rather than the institutions in their totality: examples abound of churches being divided among numerous kin. The reasons for this widespread fragmentation of church lands are not hard to fathom, for, like any other piece of secular property, shares

in a church or monastery could be bought, sold or inherited, although it was generally the case that the shares were maintained within a single kin. A good example of this can be observed in the case of the Galician church of Santiago de Franza which was divided up among several members of the Traba family in the early 12th century. The cartulary of the monastery of Jubia reveals the gradual process by which the monks were able to establish control over the whole church in the course of six separate transactions between 1114 and 1148.(14)

Also from the Jubia cartulary we can see the case of another member of the Traba clan, Melendo Rodríguez, who, 'volens ire Ihierosolimam propter purganda peccata in juventute commissa', granted a series of properties in Galicia to the monastery of San Martín de Neda which had been founded by his ancestors.(15) The properties granted by Melendo comprised the church of Baruaos in its entirety, quarter shares in the churches of Arca and Sauto, a tenth part of another at Villa .Osaz and unspecified shares in two others. In the same manner, Diego Muñoz, the nephew of archbishop Diego Gelmírez, bequeathed part-shares in no fewer than six churches in the will he had drawn up shortly before he went 'in hostem contra Cordobam' in 1151.(16)

Clearly, therefore, the heredes or patrons of a

proprietary church or monastery could be numerous: in 1144 we hear that the patrons of the Portuguese monastery of Sermonde comprised no fewer than 38 individuals.(17) Meanwhile, a Leonese charter of 1131 drawn up at the request of 'nos omnes nobiles qui monasterii Sancti Thome de Veiga sumus heredes', records the names of some 24 persons who held a share in the monastery, together with numerous unnamed brothers and sisters.(18)

Attempts to alienate a church without the agreement of all the patrons invariably met with fierce resistance. A document from the archive of Tuy cathedral, drawn up some time between 1120 and 1131, is particularly revealing in this respect: the diploma in question records the grant by Oñega Fernández to bishop Alfonso and the canons of Tuy of her quarter shares in the churches of Paterni and Valadares.(19) We are told that the grant was being made on account of her son, Pelayo Díaz, 'qui peccatis exigentibus hominem quendam interfecit in ecclesia sancti Iacobi de Penso'. The endowment charter goes on to record that shortly after the crime had taken place, archbishop Diego of Compostela summoned the prelate of Tuy and six other bishops to a council. The assembled churchmen resolved that by way of atonement the church of Penso should be handed over to the see of Tuy. Oñega Fernández was apparently willing to meet the

clerics' demands but, we are told, 'ipsam ecclesiam non potuit liberare ab aliis coheredibus suis'. That is to say, the other lay patrons of the church of Penso had flatly turned down her plea for them to relinquish their part-shares in the property. By way of compensation to the see of Tuy, therefore, Oñega Fernández saw herself obliged to make a grant of her properties in the churches of Paternali and Valadares.

We hear much less of proprietary churches in the south of the kingdom, that is, in the area of newly-reconquered lands beyond the Duero and the Sierra de Guadarrama. True, in 1159 count Osorio Martínez and his wife countess Teresa Fernández granted to the church of Zamora the third part of the tithes they held in the churches of Villalonso, Carvajosa, Benefarces, Grallarejos and Pozoantiguo which they declared they had obtained 'hereditario iure'.(20) Nonetheless such examples are few and far between and, even if we take into account the fact that far less documentation has survived from this area, it would still seem likely that a widespread system of proprietary churches like that which existed in the north of the kingdom never really took root in the south. Instead, it has been suggested that in the lands that were reconquered during the course of the 12th century control of the churches passed directly to the bishops to whose diocese the area

corresponded.(21) A notable example of this trend can be witnessed in the charter issued by Alfonso VII at Toledo on 30 April 1154 in which the emperor granted the churches of Castronuño to bishop Navarro and the church of Salamanca.(22) He did so, we are told:

'pro adiutorio quod, Nunoni Petriz, meo alferiz, fecistis, cum predicta villa popularetur, scilicet, quod iuvastis eum ipsam villam populari et ecclesias ibi edificare et de propriis libris vestris et vestimentis eas adornare.'

In other words, the charter makes clear that secular and ecclesiastical responsibilities had been strictly divided in the reoblación of Castronuño.

Yet, if it is clear enough from the surviving evidence that numerous ecclesiastical properties were being surrendered to the Church by their secular patrons during the 12th century, it is far from certain whether such grants arose from an recognition on the part of laymen that their possession of such churches was uncanonical. In the vast majority of cases the charters recording these gifts speak only of the most general spiritual motives that had led lay benefactors to cede their properties to the Church. Thus, when count Gutierre Vermúdez and his wife Toda Pérez chose to cede two parts of the Galician monastery of Villafriío to the see of Lugo in 1130, they did so, we are merely told, 'ob remedium animarum nostrarum, nostrumque parentum'.(23) In fact, only on

two occasions in the documents of the 12th century do we find explicit declarations that a church had been ceded by a layman because it was thought wrong for it to remain in secular hands. When the heredes of Santa María de Valderas granted the church to bishop Juan of León in 1142, we are told that they had done so because:

'lex percipit sacra scriptura confirmat quod nullus laicus in ecclesiis Dei dominum habeat et Spiritus Sanctus maledicit illis qui possident hereditate Sanctuarium Dei'.(24)

Similarly, we hear of a case in 1190 when Juan Suárez granted his share in the church of Ceruela to the church of Lugo not only for the spiritual benefits that he thought that his benefaction would bring him, but also because he had held it 'contra sacros canones'.(25)

Nevertheless, if there is undeniable evidence of an attempt by the Leonese-Castilian Church to reduce lay control over ecclesiastical properties in the north of the kingdom, or else to prevent such Eigenkirchen developing in the south, it would be unwise for us to imagine that the 12th century marked the death-knell of the proprietary church system, as some historians have maintained.(26) For one thing, we still encounter cases of nobles acquiring shares in lay-held churches. Between 1148 and 1154, for example, in the course of three separate transactions, count

Pedro Alfonso obtained properties in no fewer than seven monasteria.(27) A few years later, in 1168, count Lope Díaz gave two parts of the monastery of San Cipriano near Burgos to his brother Sancho.(28) Other nobles even granted their proprietary churches as benefices to their vassals: in this way, we hear, at an uncertain date, count Fernando Pérez gave the church of Guisón in . . . prestimonio to one Martín Vermúdez.(29)

What is more, royal grants of churches to lay vassals in recognition of their loyal service were by no means unheard of: in May 1124, Alfonso VII rewarded the Galician Munio Tacón with the monasterium of San Jorge at Codessedá; and in August 1146 the emperor made over the church of Velerda to his submaior domus Martín Díaz 'propter seruicium, quod mihi fecistis et facitis'.(30) Similar grants from the reign of Fernando II, meanwhile, demonstrate that the practice was still widespread towards the end of the 12th century.(31)

We also hear of lay nobles continuing to set up proprietary monasteries: Vermudo Pérez de Traba refounded the abbey of Genrozo in Galicia for his daughter Urraca in 1138; and ten years later, he established another house at Noguerosa which, after a temporary occupation by a group of monks from Tojos Outos, was to pass to his wife Urraca Enríquez in

1161.(32) Further to the east in Asturias, Pedro Alfonso and his wife María Froilaz established a family monastery at Lapedo in 1141.(33) Some time between 1131 and 1140, moreover, the heredes of the Galician church of Barrantes decided to found a Benedictine monastery on the site.(34) The lay patrons managed to secure support for their project from the local lord, count Gómez Núñez, although they had to pay the magnate the not inconsiderable sum of 100 maravedís to do so. The scheme even reached the ears of the royal court, although, interestingly, there is nothing in the charter which refers to the Barrantes venture, drawn up by Alfonso VII on 14 March 1151, to suggest that the emperor or indeed the ecclesiastical authorities of the realm frowned on the project in any way.

Moreover, if there is abundant evidence that large numbers of proprietary churches were being transferred to ecclesiastical control during this period, there are hints in our sources that laymen were probably less willing to give up the valuable rents and tithes that they derived from such properties.(35) In the Historia Compostellana, for example, we can see archbishop Diego Gelmírez chiding count Pedro Froilaz for his non-payment of tithes, while the Chronica makes clear that the military reverses suffered by the concejo of Salamanca stemmed

from its failure to render tithes to the see of that city.(36) True, as we have already seen in the case of count Osorio Martínez and countess Teresa Fernández, we very occasionally encounter examples of lay nobles ceding their tithes to ecclesiastical institutions. Yet even then, we should note, the noble couple promised the canons of Zamora only one third of their ecclesiastical revenues; it was an act of pious generosity, but emphatically not an admission that lay possession of such churches was wrong. Indeed, the fact that so very few grants of this kind have been preserved in the ecclesiastical archives of León-Castile may not be entirely fortuitous. In this context, we should take into account the bitter complaints voiced by Pedro I of Aragón in the letter he addressed to pope Urban II in 1095.(37) In this most revealing document, the king condemns the attempts of the bishops of the kingdom to force his knights to give up the rents they received from their proprietary churches. Were they to do so, the king suggests, his knights would become so impoverished that they would have to lay down their arms and become beggars:

'de nostris militibus nocte dieque cum gente pagana dimicantibus, a quibus nuper propriorum prediorum ecclesias non parrochitanas presules conantur auferre, talem asserentes sententiam a vobis accepisse, cum ab universis parrochitanis ecclesiis omnem decimationem et quicquid ab ecclesiam pertinet, quod non ita fit aliis in regnis, possideant. Quodsi eos,

ut querunt, a propriis honoribus expulerint, restat ut mendicitati dediti dimissa militia, que absque pecunia exerceri non potest, per totum mundum evagentur.'

It would be interesting to know whether similar fears were being expressed in secular circles in neighbouring León-Castile.

Nevertheless, even if we accept that some bishops were actively campaigning against secular control of churches, others displayed a manifestly more pragmatic approach in their dealings with secular landlords.(38) This is eloquently demonstrated by the agreement that Diego, bishop of León, reached with the lay patrons of the monasterium of San Tirso in 1117.(39) Under the terms of the settlement, the proprietors agreed to cede their lands to the church of León in return for which the bishop was to build a monastery on the site and was to permit the patrons some say in the election of its abbot, as well as the traditional right to claim hospitality from the monastery. From the same year we have a record of an exchange agreement made between bishop Pelayo of Oviedo and count Suero Vermúdez.(40) The charter recording the deal reveals that the bishop had acquired the monastery of San Salvador de Perlora but also that in return he had ceded to count Suero another monastery at Teverga. A decade later we can see archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago coming to an

understanding with a group of nobles over the church of Sabugeira and recognising the right of the secular patrons to a half share of the church and its endowment.(41)

Further to the east in Castile, meanwhile, a pact was made on 5 April 1139 between bishop Simeon of Burgos and Gutierre Fernández de Castro and his wife Toda Díaz over the abbey of El Moral.(42) The agreement provided that El Moral and its properties were to continue in the possession of the Castilian magnates and their descendants 'ita tamen ut obedientiam ac ius episcopale secundum canonum precepta Burgensi ecclesie imperpetuum exhibendo eiusdem monasterii abbatissa persolvat'. In other words, in return for recognition of the supremacy of the see of Burgos over El Moral, bishop Simeon was willing to turn a blind eye to the de-facto lay control of the monastery.

Examples can be found from later in the century too: a document drawn up on 23 August 1164 records an agreement between Pedro, bishop of Mondoñedo, and count Alvaro Rodríguez by which the bishop granted the churches of Vigo, Villasella and Pineira in exchange for some churches and other properties that belonged to the count.(43) Whichever way we look at it, the agreement of 1164 can hardly be described as the action of a zealous prelate eager to enforce the decrees of

the Papal reformers! According to Fletcher, such documents:

'take us into a world in which bishops accepted the proprietary church system; in which they talked about the churches under their care, and handed them out to their subordinates, like so many secular estates; and in which they made little or no attempt to exert an episcopal as opposed to a lordly control over what went on in them.'(44)

The slow pace with which this transfer of churches from lay to ecclesiastical ownership took place has been clearly demonstrated by Martínez Sopena in his study of the western Tierra de Campos.(45) In this area the surviving documentation reveals that across the period 943-1250 no fewer than 101 lay-held churches were transferred to ecclesiastical control. Even so, the late 13th century Becerro . . de Presentaciones from León cathedral reveals that even at this late date there still remained churches in the ownership of local ricos . . homes and hidalgos.(46) Additional local studies of this phenomenon are needed, however, before we can judge whether this pace of change may be regarded as typical of the kingdom as a whole.

ii) Careers in the Church

In describing the characteristics of the Leonese-Castilian Adelskirche prior to the 12th

century, we should mention not only the vast number of proprietary churches that existed, but also the dominant part that the lay aristocracy played in the government of the Church. This is most clearly demonstrated in the 10th century by the example of the Galician noble family of Rosendo, founder and abbot of the monastery of Celanova and subsequently bishop of Mondoñedo and Compostela.(47) For almost a century the bishoprics of Mondoñedo and Compostela were occupied by relatives of Rosendo, while his family was also responsible for the restoration or foundation of some of the wealthiest and most illustrious monastic houses in Galicia, notably those of Samos, Sobrado and Lorenzana.

By the twelfth century, however, the picture had changed dramatically, for bishops, or indeed abbots, drawn from the ranks of the greatest families of the nobility seem to have become few and far between. Several strands of evidence help us to conjecture how this situation had come about. For one thing, there are numerous indications that the kings of León-Castile, particularly after the death of Fernando I, were playing a much more active part in the appointment of bishops, whereas in former centuries such activity had been regarded very much as the prerogative of aristocratic families.(48)

At the same time we can observe an ever

increasing tendency to award bishoprics to foreign clergymen. The dominant role played by such churchmen in the ecclesiastical and political life of the León-Castile of the late 11th and 12th centuries is well known.(49) In particular, in this period we can observe numerous French clerics taking up episcopal appointments in the Peninsula; in Zamora, for example, it has been demonstrated that a veritable 'French episcopal dynasty' held the see between 1150 and 1193.(50)

As far as indigenous Spanish bishops were concerned, the general tendency not to employ their patronymic in the charters they issued, means that it is often very difficult to establish their family origins. Even so, the evidence we have suggests that they were as rule of 'distinguished but less exalted birth' or 'not much more than well-to-do and well-connected'.(51) Moreover, many of them can be demonstrated to have been servants of the Crown, often members of the royal chancery, before rising to the rank of bishop.(52) Of course, a few exceptions can be found: Gonzalo, bishop of Mondoñedo (c.1071-1108) seems to have been related in some way to the Traba family of Galicia and Manrique, bishop of León (1181-1205) came from the influential Castilian family of Lara.(53) The ecclesiastical career of bishop

Manrique may have been due to extenuating circumstances, however, as Fletcher has observed:

'The fact that Manrique of León became blind should alert us to the possibility, it can be no more, that a career was found for him in the church because a physical defect, failing eyesight, rendered him unfit for the life of a secular nobleman.'(54)

Much the same picture greets us when we consider the social condition of the abbots of the kingdom. As with the bishops, the family origins of such men are very rarely revealed, but what evidence we do possess similarly suggests that they were not as a rule recruited from the greatest families of León-Castile. One of the best known, Diego Martínez, who became abbot of the Cistercian monasteries of Benevívere and Sandoval, was the son of Martín Díaz, a nobleman of middling rank who served successively at the households of Alfonso VII and of count Ponce de Cabrera.(55)

By way of contrast, however, abbesses to nunneries were frequently of the very highest rank. As we shall see shortly, numerous noble widows took up residence in religious houses during this period and some, such as Lupa Pérez de Traba, took on the title and duties of abbess.(56) Meanwhile, other noble families appointed their daughters to the nunneries they had founded: the example of María Ponce, who ruled over the Leonese convent of Carrizo, which her

Nevertheless, yet another possibility deserves to be considered. It seems fairly certain that the bishoprics of 12th century León-Castile were mostly an impoverished lot, particularly those situated in the lean lands on the southern frontier.(59) For this reason many noblemen may not have perceived any great advantage to be gained by entering the Church. A bishopric was certainly one way of securing political influence at the royal court, but it was hardly the most appropriate career choice for a lay nobleman eager to line his pockets.

(b) **Lay aristocratic piety in León-Castile**

i) The foundation of monasteries

Perhaps one of the most striking manifestations of the great upsurge of religious fervour that swept western Christendom between the years 950 and 1200 was the extraordinary monastic revival that took place. From around the middle of the 10th century, Brooke has commented, 'the foundation, endowment or revival of monasteries was fashionable once more among the lay aristocracy and the bishops of western Europe and its popularity grew as the centuries passed, reaching its climax in the twelfth.'(60) In León-Castile this enthusiasm was reflected by the plethora of monastic

houses that were founded ex .novo or else revived thanks to royal or aristocratic patronage across the period 950-1200. The lavish endowment charters granted to some religious houses, Lorenzana in the 10th century and Valladolid in the 11th are two examples that spring immediately to mind, are eloquent witnesses to the extraordinary acts of generosity that members of the lay aristocracy were inspired to.(61) The phenomenon deserves closer examination: in this section we must consider the motives that led noblemen to found monastic houses, together with the changing patterns of patronage that established themselves during the course of the 12th century.

According to the English monastic chronicler Orderic Vitalis, who spent most of his life in the Norman abbey of Saint-Evroult, 'every one of the great men of Normandy would have considered himself beneath contempt if he had not made provision out of his estates for clerks and monks in the army of God'.(62) In this way, Chibnall has averred, the founding of a monastery became 'as much an object of ambition and a sign of status for the Norman magnates as the maintenance of a body of armed vassals and the holding of a castle.'(63) In short, monastic patronage was one of the activities lay aristocrats were expected to participate in.

We can be sure that much the same attitude existed in the kingdom of León-Castile in this period, although such sentiments are very rarely voiced in the charters of the 12th century. An important exception to the rule is the document recording the foundation of the monastery of Valbuena by countess Estefanía Armengol on 15 February 1143.(64) In the arenga to the endowment charter, the countess declared that she had been moved to establish a religious house 'quia iustum est senodoxia construere monasteria hedeficare, necessitati pauperum prouidere'. In the same vein, when countess Elvira Pérez, the illegitimate daughter of queen Urraca and count Pedro González de Lara, chose to grant the villages of Nogar and Olmellos to the Leonese abbey of Sahagún in 1168, her motives for making the benefaction were described as follows:

'Quoniam ad Christiane religionis cultum spectare notissimum est, nobiles illustresque personas, debere ecclesias et sacra loca, non modo ab iniuria tueri et deffendere, uerum, elemosinarum et beneficiorum in Dei obsequium suorumque remissionem facinorum, pie, et sancte, uisitare possessionibusque ditare, ac funditus honorare.'(65)

More often than not, however, the charters recording the foundation and endowment of a religious house speak only of the more general spiritual considerations that had motivated the pious deed. To take only one example, when Fernando and Vermudo Pérez de Traba decided to establish a Cistercian monastery

on their lands at Sobrado in 1142, we hear only that they did so 'pro remedio animarum nostrarum parentumque nostrorum, seu animarum parentum domini nostri imperatoris domni Alfonsi, cuius consilio et iussione et fortitudine hec omnia facta sunt'.(66)

The motives imputed by ecclesiastical scribes to monastic benefactors could take on a wide variety of forms, but all essentially proclaimed the same ideal: that by his act of generosity towards the Church the donor would receive important spiritual benefits, namely the salvation of his soul and the forgiveness of his sins. There is often a tendency among 20th century historians to regard these pious declarations with something of a sceptical eye; it is hard for us in our overtly secular world to empathise with the mentality of medieval man, obsessed as he seemingly was with death and the quest for eternal salvation.(67) It is of course impossible for us to judge at this very great distance the true depth of medieval lay piety, but it would certainly not do simply to ascribe the motives openly expressed in medieval endowment charters to the vagaries of the ecclesiastical scribe charged with drawing up the document. Nevertheless, even if we accept as genuine the pious motives that are expressed in the donation charters, we can still agree with Chibnall that

'benefactors looked for far more benefits, both tangible and intangible, from the

monasteries they endowed. Both sides knew without formal expression the mutual duties that custom required of them; it was only when privilege was abused that lord or abbot needed to spell out exactly how much might reasonably be expected in return for a free gift.'(68)

We need to consider what these additional benefits might have entailed.

First of all, we should remember that the large majority of the religious houses that existed in León-Castile at the beginning of the 12th century were still family monasteries belonging to members of the lay aristocracy. Although the rights of these secular patrons undoubtedly varied from house to house, it is clear enough that a proprietary monastery could represent a useful financial investment for its founder.(69) As we have already seen, these ecclesiastical possessions formed part of a family's landed patrimony and could be bought, sold, or divided among numerous kin like any other piece of property. In this way, it is apparent that any subsequent benefactions to a proprietary monastery would, in the last instance, benefit the controlling family itself.

Loring García comments:

'Queda claro que...los patronos laicos eran los primeros en beneficiarse del desarrollo de los patrimonios monásticos, esta circunstancia explicaría la generosidad y frecuencia de sus propias donaciones, puesto que se trata de bienes que seguían controlando gracias a su condición de diverseros.'(70)

It is perhaps in this context, for example, that we

should interpret the apparently generous grant of four monasteria and other properties by Gutierre Fernández and his wife Toda to their foundation at Ibeas de Juarros in 1151.(71)

A religious house could serve its lay patrons in other ways too. For one thing, monasteries frequently acted as credit institutions in a society where money was still scarce.(72) Towards the end of the 12th century, when the lay aristocracy was apparently faced with increasing economic difficulties, we can see magnates being forced to turn time and time again to the monasteries to secure cash loans. We may cite, by way of example, the transaction of 1183 by which count Pedro Manrique and his sister María pawned the vill of Agosín and its castle to the abbey of La Vid in return for 1000 maravedís.(73)

We also know that many patrons and their families enjoyed the privilege to claim hospitality from their religious foundations: thus, the settlement arranged between the see of León and the heredes of the monastery of San Tirso in 1117 allowed that

'quicumque illorum pertransiens in monasterio hospitari voluerit, recipiatur sicut hereditarius'.(74)

Furthermore, it was customary for patrons and their kin to enjoy the right to join their monasteries if at any time they so wished. When count Suero Vermúdez and his wife Enderquina Gutiérrez granted the monastery of

Cornellana and all its properties to the see of Oviedo in 1128 they specified:

'ut si aliquis de propinquis nostris uir siue mulier ad summam deuenierit inopiam, leprosus, cecus, claudus, curuus aut in decrepita positus, de predicto monasterio habeat uictum et uestimentum dum uixerit'.(75)

Similar provisions are to be found in numerous other documents of the period: for example, the counts of Lara, Nuño and Alvaro Pérez, and the other patrons of the abbey of Aguilar de Campóo expected to be treated 'quasi unus de fratribus uestris in eadem domo' if poverty or illness forced them to enter the cloister.(76)

Certainly, a monastery was frequently regarded as an appropriate place for nobles, both men and women, to spend their declining years. Vermudo Pérez de Traba himself, 'diuina inspiratione conmotus', joined the cloister of Sobrado towards the end of his life, where he lived from around 1160 until his death in 1168.(77) More frequently still, however, noble widows often retired to the protection of the cloister on the death of their consorts.

It is a regrettable feature of our sources for the study of 12th century aristocratic society, that they have so very little to tell us about the lives and activities of noble women. The cartas de arras they received from their husbands at marriage, the meagre handful of fueros they issued and the charters

they occasionally subscribed, are very nearly the total sum of our knowledge of their secular concerns. It is only with regard to their relationship with the Church that we are able to make out in any detail the activities of these ladies. Quite apart from the scores of pious donations that were made by aristocratic women to ecclesiastical institutions, in the 12th century we encounter numerous cases of rich widows retiring to, or else founding, religious houses. Let us consider a few examples.

In 1169 count Lope Díaz de Haro and his wife countess Eldonza Rodríguez de Castro founded a Cistercian nunnery at Hayuela in the Rioja.(78) In April of the following year, the house was refounded at the nearby village of Cañas which had been granted to the nuns by its noble patrons.(79) Shortly afterwards, however, count Lope died; on 20 June 1171, his widow Eldonza entered their foundation at Cañas:

'Trado namque me et commendo in ecclesia sancte Marie de Cannas quam comes Lupus maritus meus in proprio solio fundavit.'(80)

Countess Eldonza resided at Cañas for more than 30 years; indeed, she was still alive in November 1203 when the nuns purchased a couple of vineyards in the Rioja.(81) Yet, if the countess never adopted the title and duties of abbess of the house of Cañas, the de facto control she exercised over the affairs of the convent is all too clear from the various documents of

the period which were drawn up 'mandato domine Esloncie comitisse'.(82)

Much the same happened in the case of countess Estefanía Ramírez, who ruled over the fortunes of the Leonese abbey of Carrizo de la Ribera, without ever adopting the title of abbess, from its foundation in 1176 till her death in 1183.(83) The nunnery at Carrizo had been built by countess Estefanía and her husband count Ponce de Minerva, adapting a palace they owned for the purpose. Nevertheless, the convent was still not completed by the time of the death of count Ponce in July 1174 and was not formally founded until September 1176 when the convent was affiliated to the Cistercians.(84) Countess Estefanía entered the cloister and remained at Carrizo until her death, whereupon she was succeeded by her daughter María Ponce, who became the first abbess of the convent.(85)

It was not unknown, of course, for female patrons to assume the abbacy of their foundations. Thus, Teresa Pérez, the widow of the Leonese nobleman García Pérez, became the first abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of Gradefes which she founded in 1168, four years after the death of her husband, and governed the house until her death in 1186.(86)

Meanwhile, the endowment charter of the convent of Santa María de Vega in Oviedo, dated 13 October 1153, provides us with a particularly detailed

description of the considerable outlay of resources that the foundation of a religious house might entail.(87) According to the author of the Chronica, the Asturian lady Guntroda Pérez, the daughter of Pedro Díaz and María Ordóñez, 'erat ex maximo genere Asturianorum et Tinianorum'.(88) Her chief claim to fame was that Alfonso VII chose her as his concubine some time during 1132; the illegitimate daughter she bore by him, the infanta Urraca, was later to marry king García Ramírez of Navarre in June 1144 and subsequently adopted the title of 'queen of the Asturians'.(89) Guntroda Pérez, for her part, 'ad coelestum in quantum potuit anhelavit, nam semetipsam offerens Deo eius famulatui sic adhaesit, in Ovetensi urbe sanctimonialis facta...in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae'.(90) The foundation document of October 1153 sets out in considerable detail the various goods that Guntroda Pérez promised to bestow upon the abbey of Vega 'quod ego a fundamentis cepi edificare'. Quite apart from the numerous lands with which the nunnery was endowed, there is a list of the serfs and slaves who were to serve the nuns, of the livestock that was to pass to Vega and, finally, there is an inventory of the numerous altar goods, including a chalice, vestments, altar books, precious stones and so on, which the convent was to possess. The nunnery at Vega, which was affiliated to the great French house of

Fontevrault, was ruled by Guntruda Pérez until her death in 1186.(91) Nevertheless, in common with Eldonza Rodríguez and Estefanía Ramírez, she did not take on the title of abbess.

We do not hear of any patrons entrusting the education of their sons to monks in this period, nor do we know of any great magnates encouraging their sons to lead a monastic life; on the whole, it would seem that monks, like the abbots themselves, tended to be recruited from the ranks of lesser landed families. Nevertheless, a religious life was sometimes the destiny chosen for the daughters of great nobles. Visclavara and Munia Froilaz, the sisters of count Pedro Froilaz de Traba, certainly spent part of their lives in religious institutions.(92) We have already seen that Vermudo Pérez built a monastery at Genrozo for his daughter Urraca and that María Ponce, the daughter of count Ponce de Minerva and countess Estefanía Ramírez, became the first abbess of the Leonese nunnery of Carrizo.(93)

Quite apart from the material benefits that noble patrons could derive from their monasteries, however, there were spiritual advantages to be gained too. They might expect to be aided by the prayers the monks offered for their souls and to enjoy the right to burial within the monastery. They are advantages we shall have cause to return to later in this chapter.

The monastic houses of the 10th and 11th centuries were above all family institutions. It was not just that the founding family and its kin maintained a special relationship with their favoured monastery, but that the house formed an integral part of their patrimony and prospered or suffered according to the political and economic fortunes of its patrons.(94) In the 12th century, as we have seen, the proprietary church system was far from dead and family monasteries were still being founded. We have already referred to the religious houses that were established for members of his family by Vermudo Pérez de Traba, and to the monasteries that were set up at Barrantes and at Lapedo.

The vill of Lapedo, which enjoyed a long and illustrious history, had been founded in the 10th century by queen Velasquita, the wife of Vermudo II of León (982-999). The vill subsequently passed into the hands of Alfonso V (999-1027) and his successor Vermudo III (1027-1037). On 4 October 1032, however, the latter granted Lapedo to two lay magnates, count Pelayo Froilaz and his wife countess Eldonza Ordóñez, in exchange for the vill of Framiliani in Galicia.(95) At an unknown date, the counts founded a proprietary monastery at Lapedo probably, as Floriano has suggested, to serve as a retirement home in their declining years.(96) On their death, the monastery

was divided up among their six heirs and it was in this dismembered state that the institution reached the 12th century.

At this point, during the summer of 1141, Pedro Alfonso, a descendant of queen Velasquita and lord of much of the Asturias, sought to reunite the various lands of the monastery into his own hands. On 23 June 1141 Pedro acquired the unspecified share that his brother Gonzalo held in the monastery and six days later Vela Gutiérrez granted to his cousin 'in illo monasterio illa sesma integra, cum tota sua ereditate intus et foris; et in illas alias quinque partes illa medietate integra, quam abeo de auis et parentibus meis', that is to say slightly more than half of the property of Lapedo.(97) It was then, Floriano believed, that Pedro Alfonso and his wife María Froilaz entrusted the monastery to a group of Cistercian monks from the Leonese house of Carracedo.(98) There is nothing in the surviving 12th century documents from Lapedo, however, to suggest that the house was at any time affiliated to Cîteaux; rather, it is known that the grant of the monastery of Belmonte (as Lapedo was later called) to the French order took place in 1206.(99) Instead, the evidence of the diplomas issued to Lapedo after 1141 suggests that the monastery continued to be ruled by its lay patrons Pedro Alfonso and María Froilaz who made

numerous and generous donations of lands.(100) On 19 March 1151, however, the counts granted to Alfonso VII 'illo monasterio quem hedificauimus in hereditate nostra in loco qui uocatur Lapedo iuxta flumen de Pionna, ad seruiendum Deo, sub normam Sancti Benedicti.'(101) The charter declared that the emperor was to hold the monastery 'iure hereditario usque in seculum', yet only five years later we can see the Asturian counts continuing to exercise the patronazgo over Lapedo perhaps, as Floriano suggested, 'por delegación del rey'.(102) Revealingly, when Sancha Ordóñez decided to sell her various properties in the Asturias to the monastery of Lapedo on 20 February 1155, the document of sale was addressed to 'uobis Comite domno Petro Adefonso et uxor uestra Comitissa Maria Froilaz et Sancte Marie de Lapedo et uobis Abbati dompno Adefonso'.(103) In the same manner, when in 1164 abbot García and the monks wished to establish and regulate the obligations and services that should be owed to Lapedo by the vassals of the monastery, the fuero was drawn up at the behest of count Pedro Alfonso and his wife María Froilaz.(104)

The surviving charters make it abundantly clear, therefore, that the monastery of Lapedo was established very much as a family house by its noble patrons and that they continued to exercise a close control over the affairs of the institution even after

they had apparently placed it under the patronage of the emperor. What is unclear, however, is whether the control exercised by the counts over Lapedo after 1151 amounted to something more than the mere ius patronatus, or right to protect the monastery, or whether the house and its lands continued to form an integral part of their landed patrimony. Nonetheless, patterns of aristocratic patronage in León-Castile were changing and it is to these changes that we must now turn.

The revival in the popularity of anchorite life was one of the most noteworthy characteristics of the religious revival of the 10th and 11th centuries. Right across Europe there sprang up numerous hermitages or small monasteries inhabited by men anxious to lead a more ascetic life far from the hurly-burly of the secular world.(105) One such community was the small group of hermits who, under the leadership of abbot Robert, established themselves at Molesme in the duchy of Burgundy around 1075. The house rapidly won the favour of the local lay aristocracy, but in 1097, or the following year, abbot Robert moved to set up a new institution at Cîteaux. In the early years of this new monastery's existence there was nothing to suggest that it was in any way different to the scores of similar small religious houses that had come into existence around the same

time. Within half a century, however, the monastery of Cîteaux counted with hundreds of daughter houses and had completely changed the religious and cultural face of western Europe.(106) The Cistercian ideal, promoted and propagated, in particular, by its third abbot Stephen Harding, who drew up the nucleus of what was to become the Carta Caritatis, which defined the spiritual aims and administrative organisation of the Order, and by the indefatigable Bernard of Clairvaux, rapidly caught the imagination of western Christendom.

At roughly the same time, communities of canons regular living under the Rule of St. Augustine were beginning to be established throughout western Europe.(107) Meanwhile, inspired and encouraged by the Cistercian success-story, the Premonstratensian order of canons founded by St Norbert near Lañ in 1120 also found great popular support for its aims. This new order adopted the Augustinian rule, but nonetheless borrowed extensively from the customs of the Cistercians.(108) Cîteaux and Prémontr  were indisputably the two leading lights of the 12th century monastic reform movement and their impact on the Iberian Peninsula was to be profound.

From the outset, Cistercian penetration into Le n-Castile counted with the active support of Alfonso VII. The emperor established the first monastery of the Order, at Fitero in 1140, and this

was followed by subsequent foundations at Sacramenia and Melón (1142), Valparaiso (1143), Huerta (1144), Meira (1151-1154) and Montederramo (1153).(109) He also demonstrated his backing for the the followers of St Norbert by founding a Premonstratensian house at La Vid in 1152.(110) And there were more traditional ventures too, such as the Benedictine institutions the emperor set up in Galicia at Tojos Outos (1135) and Oya (1137).(111)

In the same way, members of the lay aristocracy were enthusiastic promoters of monastic ventures throughout the 12th century. Of course, it should be borne in mind that by no means all these foundations were created ex-nihilo; some of them, such as the Cistercian houses of Sobrado and Moreruela, were revivals of institutions which had existed formerly; others were family monasteries which were subsequently affiliated to other churches, as was the case with the Galician houses of Jubia and Budiño, which were granted to the abbey of Cluny.(112) What is most striking about this period, of course, is the enormous support demonstrated by the lay aristocracy for the new independent orders. In Figure 3 are listed the most important religious houses that are known to have been affiliated by lay patrons to such orders during the 12th century. It may be instructive to

examine in rather closer detail how some of these foundations came into being.

FIGURE 4 : Monastic houses affiliated by lay patrons to independent orders (1142-1176)

<u>MONASTERY</u>	<u>PATRON</u>	<u>DATE</u>
SOBRADO (C)	Fernando Pérez/ Vermudo Pérez	1142
VALBUENA (C)	Estefanía Armengol	1143
LA VID (P)	Domingo Gómez	1145?
RETUERTA (P)	Mayor Pérez	1146
MORERUELA (C)	Ponce de Cabrera	c1158
PERALES (C)	Nuño Pérez	1160
FRESNILLO (P)	Pedro Gutiérrez	1164
NOGALES (C)	Sancha Ponce	1164
BRAZACORTA (P)	Ermesinda of Narbonne	1165
VILLAMAYOR (P)	Nuño Gutiérrez	1166
SANDOVAL (C)	Ponce de Minerva	1167
GRADEFES (C)	Teresa Pérez	1168
BENEVIVERE (A)	Diego Martínez	1169
CAÑAS (C)	Lope Díaz	1169
BUJEDO (C)	Gonzalo de Marañón	1172
MATALLANA (C)	Tello Pérez	1173
BENAVIDES (C)	Estefanía Armengol	1176
CARRIZO (C)	Estefanía Ramírez	1176

Key: C = Cistercian P = Premonstratensian
A = Augustinian

The Galician monastery of Sobrado, lying in the area of Présaras, was founded by count Hermengildo and his wife Paterna in 952.(113) Under the protection of these wealthy and influential patrons and their family, the house prospered and within twenty years had become one of the most important monasteries in Galicia. Yet, just as a monastic house might directly benefit from the good fortune of its noble patrons, so their loss of influence could swiftly bring its ruin. Thus, Pallares Méndez in her study of Sobrado has highlighted how the political demise of the counts of Présaras led to a rapid decline in the fortunes of the monastery they had founded, until the house and its lands were finally confiscated by Fernando I in 1060.(114)

When monastic life was actually extinguished at Sobrado is far from clear, but it seems fairly certain that when queen Urraca granted the monasterium to Fernando and Vermudo Pérez on 29 July 1118 it was no longer inhabited by a regular religious community.(115) The royal grant to the Traba brothers was confirmed by Alfonso VII on 29 May 1135, but it is not until seven years later that we hear of the installation of a religious community there.(116) On 14 February 1142 a charter was granted by the Traba brothers to abbot Pedro and the monks living there

'secundum consuetudinem cisterciensium'.(117) The 'consilio et iussione et fortitudine' of the emperor had been instrumental in bringing about the foundation, the endowment charter informs us.

Aided and protected by its new noble patrons and their kin, who made numerous grants to the monastery in the latter part of the 12th century, the house of Sobrado rapidly acquired great wealth and an enormous expansion in its domains.(118) Yet, if the patronage of the Traba brothers inevitably recalls that exercised two centuries before by their ancestors the counts of Présaras, we would do well to bear in mind the great differences that existed between them. If the 10th century house was indisputably a family monastery inextricably linked to the fortunes of its patrons, the Cistercian foundation was seemingly able to maintain its independence from its lay benefactors. In view of our earlier remarks about the progressive 'disengagement' of the Church from the secular world, this was surely a sign of the times.

In October 1143, well over a year after the foundation of Sobrado, the emperor Alfonso VII granted the royal vill of Moreruela de Frades near Zamora to Ponce de Cabrera in recognition of his loyal services to the Crown.(119) A monastery had existed at Moreruela way back in the 9th century but had been extinct for some time by 1143 since the place is

described as 'diu desertam' in the charter, although we are told that two monks had recently taken up residence. In his grant to Ponce, the emperor makes clear that the count is to undertake the construction of a monastery at Moreruela and to protect - 'manuteneat et conservet' - the foundation. Whether Moreruela actually became a Cistercian monastery in 1143 has provoked intense debate among historians, but it is now widely accepted that it may not have been until around 1158 that the count placed the house under the control of a group of monks from Clairvaux.(120)

In the the cases of both Sobrado and Moreruela the initiative of the emperor seems to have been decisive in bringing about the foundation. The same can be said about the Leonese monastery of Nogales which enables us to appreciate with rather more clarity the way in which the monarch could intervene in the setting up of a religious house. On 14 May 1149 Alfonso VII granted the Leonese vill of Nogales to Vela Gutiérrez, son of count Gutierre Vermúdez and son-in-law of count Ponce de Cabrera by virtue of his marriage to the great count's daughter, Sancha Ponce.(121) The grant was made, we are told, 'propter amorem seruicii, quod fecistis mihi multotiens et facitis quotidie'. The following year, Vela and his wife Sancha founded a Benedictine nunnery at Nogales

which was occupied by nuns from the Galician house of San Miguel de Bóveda.(122) Significantly, the foundation charter of Nogales records that it had been drawn up 'in praesentia Comitum Pontii patris iam dicte Sanctie pro cuius consilio, vel auxilio habuimus ab Imperatore ipsam hereditatem'. What this suggests, therefore, is that the royal grant of Nogales was not merely a spur-of-the-moment act of generosity by Alfonso VII to his faithful miles. Rather we may interpret the sequence of events in the following way: for some time prior to May 1149 Vela Gutiérrez and Sancha Ponce had been planning to set up a religious house of some kind. Possibly the lack of adequate economic resources led the couple to seek the necessary lands from the emperor and they were helped in their cause by count Ponce, the maior domus imperatoris, who must have wielded considerable influence at court. Of course, it might be possible to interpret the foundation of Nogales in another way: that the emperor wished to establish a nunnery at Nogales and had entrusted the foundation and the economic means to do so to one of his faithful vassals. Such a possibility has been rejected by Pérez-Embid:

'La acción de la monarca se suele llevar a cabo sin intermediarios. Más bien creemos que es un noble el que, deseando fundar un cenobio, se hace otorgar por el rey, que difícilmente podría negarse, el lugar

7.45
pertinente a esta piadosa finalidad.' (123)

We might well conjecture that the birth of the monasteries at Sobrado and Moreruela followed much the same pattern.

While numerous scholarly books and articles have been devoted to the introduction and expansion of the Cistercians in the Iberian Peninsula during the 12th century, it is to be regretted that the arrival of the Premonstratensian order of regular canons has received such scant attention. Some 20 years ago, Tomás Moral, in a survey of the surviving sources for the study of the Premonstratensians, demonstrated the very great possibilities that existed for future research into the Order.(124) Unfortunately, Moral's example has not been followed by subsequent historians and our knowledge of the history of the introduction and expansion of the Order remains slight indeed.(125) Nonetheless, we can at least say that the arrival in León-Castile of monks from Prémontré coincided more or less with that of the Cistercian fratres, and that the former likewise enjoyed the patronage of both the emperor and the lay aristocracy. According to tradition, the Order was introduced into the kingdom in around 1143 by two Castilian nobles who had studied at Laón with St.Norbert. One of them, Sancho Ansúrez, the nephew of the great count Pedro Ansúrez, became the first abbot of the monastery built at

Fuentesclaras near Peñafiel by his aunt countess Mayor in 1146, although the house was later moved to nearby Retuerta.(126) Meanwhile, Domingo Gómez, reputedly the illegitimate son of queen Urraca and the Castilian count Gómez González, had at an uncertain date established a Premonstratensian house at Montesacro, although the monks subsequently moved to a new monastery founded for them at La Vid by Alfonso VII in 1152.(127) From these humble beginnings, the Order rapidly acquired popularity among the lay aristocracy of León-Castile with numerous well-endowed houses being founded in the decade following the death of Alfonso VII.

Nobles were experimenting with other forms of patronage too. In the 11th and 12th centuries we hear of several hospitals being built along the camino francés to Santiago de Compostela to attend to the needs of the poor and the hordes of pilgrims who were making their way to the holy city.(128) Prior to 1047, for example, count Gómez Díaz built a 'cenobium helemosinarium conuenientium pauperum uel hospitem' at Arconada.(129) Early in the following century, count Froila Díaz established a similar institution at Arbas in the Asturias; in 1141 María Ordóñez founded a hospital for the poor in the same region; count Nuño Pérez de Lara and his wife Teresa built a hospital at Puente Itero in Castile some time before 1174; while

in 1183 we see Sancho Ordóñez granting his hospital on the road to Benavente to the monks of Moreruela.(130)

The readiness of members of the lay nobility to found or else generously endow monasteries of the new orders, in the face of a tradition which for centuries had supposed the subjection of religious houses to secular control, is a trend which deserves further attention. Above all, it would appear, the great change in the pattern of aristocratic patronage is to be associated with the great surge in religious fervour that seems to have shaken western Christendom during these years. At the same time, we should not disregard the effect that the example of the emperor, himself a great promotor of the independent orders as we have seen, may have had on the lay magnates of his kingdom. As Fletcher has commented: 'Royal courts set fashions in religious devotion as in much else besides.'(131)

Moreover, historians have commonly attributed the enthusiasm demonstrated by monarchy and nobility alike for the independent orders to the important role it was thought that the monks, renowned for their efficient land-management and animal husbandry, could play in the repopulation of the kingdom. Pallares Méndez, for example, has seen in the backing demonstrated by the Traba brothers, Fernando and Vermudo Pérez, for the Cistercian foundation at

Sobrado in 1142, a belief that the Cistercians could contribute greatly to the economic regeneration of the area.(132) The foundation charters of Sobrado and the other Cistercian monasteries which took root in León-Castile during the 12th century, however, tell us nothing about whether such economic motives were really present in the minds of lay patrons when they set up such religious houses, so such hypotheses must remain purely speculative.

Politics influenced greatly in the implantation of the independent monastic orders, we are also invited to believe. Thus, while Bishko has placed the affiliation of various Galician monasteries to the abbey of Cluny in the early 12th century in the context of the power struggle that was then being waged between queen Urraca and the supporters of the young Alfonso Raimúndez, Portela has portrayed the backing given to the Cistercian order in Galicia as part an attempt by Alfonso VII to create a counterweight against the power of the lay nobility and the bishoprics.(133) Alvarez Palenzuela, for his part, has seen in the royal foundations of Herrera, Rioseco and Benavides a desire by Alfonso VIII to consolidate Castilian sovereignty over the disputed border districts with neighbouring Navarre and León.(134) Pérez-Embid, however, has rejected the notion that the Cistercian foundations of the 12th

century might have been used as mere pawns in the power politics of the kingdom:

'Parece dudoso que se pueda extrapolar dicho fenómeno a unas casas de religión unidas entre sí por los escasos lazos que anudaba la caridad, y que en el momento de su establecimiento fueron puestas bajo la filiación de abadías francesas.'(135)

It would not do, however, to reject out of hand the notion that the foundation of a monastery might have been used by Leonese-Castilian magnates to help confirm patrimonial rights or to establish a power centre in a disputed area. Chibnall, for example, has demonstrated how members of the nobility in 11th century Normandy founded abbeys 'to further their feudal ambitions'.(136) Similarly, therefore, might we not see in the patronage of the abbey of Moreruela an attempt by count Ponce de Cabrera, a newcomer to León-Castile after all, to consolidate his hold over the feudal tenancy that had been granted to him in the region of Zamora by Alfonso VII?

The 'special relationship' that existed between noble families and certain of the monastic houses of León-Castile during the Middle Ages has long been recognised. In the 12th century, for example, it is the case that virtually every lay magnate of the kingdom can be demonstrated to have maintained extremely close contacts with at least one favoured abbey. It is at its clearest, of course, in the

patronatum exercised by members of the lay aristocracy over their proprietary monasteries. It is similarly demonstrated in the generous support offered to the houses of Jubia and Sobrado, affiliated to Cluny and Cîteaux respectively, by successive members of the Traba family; in the close relations maintained between the kin of count Ponce de Cabrera and the Cistercian monasteries of Moreruela and Nogales; and in the frequent donations made by the Castilian counts of the Bureba to the Benedictine abbey of Oña.

Very often, however, a family might establish close links with a religious house even though it had not been responsible for its foundation: thus, the Cistercian monastery of Huerta, founded by Alfonso VII in 1144, was very much the favoured institution of the lords of Molina de Aragón, the descendants of count Manrique Pérez de Lara.(137) Other patrons chose to spread their favours rather more widely: for example, the widow of count Manrique, countess Ermesinda of Narbonne, was a generous benefactor of the monasteries of Huerta and La Vid, as well as the foundress of the Premonstratensian abbey of Brazacorta.(138) Count Ponce de Cabrera, for his part, quite apart from establishing the Cistercian monastery of Moreruela, made munificent grants to the Leonese abbey of Sahagún and to the Galician monasteries of Samos, Sar and Tojos Outos.(139)

Up to this point, we have been talking in fairly vague terms of the 'close relations' and 'special links' that evidently existed between members of the lay aristocracy and certain religious houses during the 12th century. The numerous benefactions made by lay magnates are, of course, the most eloquent record of what the nobility had to offer the monasteries, but these aside, the realities of 12th century patronage are notoriously difficult to make out in any detail. Alfonso Antón has posed the question in these terms:

'Esta relación, ¿se limitaba a proporcionar al monasterio un apoyo pasivo y protector a su expansión y beneficios espirituales y de prestigio para el noble? o ¿implicaba otro tipo de intercambios? Como tantas otras veces las cuestiones quedan simplemente planteadas, sin que podamos darles respuesta ni siquiera hipotética.'(140)

What is clear to us, is that even in the case of those religious houses that were affiliated by members of the lay nobility to the independent monastic orders, the patrons frequently continued to enjoy some considerable say in the running of the house in question. Thus, when countess Estefanía Armengol founded the Cistercian abbey of Valbuena del Duero on 15 February 1143, the countess explicitly stated that 'quamdiu uixero in mea potestate sit, et consilio et uoluntate mea se habeant qui secundum ordinem suum in monasterio uixerint'.(141) Moreover,

she requested that after her death the new abbot be chosen from among her kin.

Similar provisions can be seen in the charter of 5 June 1181, by which Fernando, Juan and Pedro Vélaz, together with Suero Meléndez, gave an estate at Gema to their sister María Vélaz.(142) The charter records that on the death of María, the property was to pass to the Order of Fontevrault, on the condition that a nunnery dependent on the French convent be established there. Nevertheless, we are told, the lay patrons were to have the final say in the election of the prioress and, wherever possible, the candidate should be drawn from their kin. Moreover, any female member of their family who so wished could enter the monastery and be looked after, although it would not be compulsory for her to take the habit.

In the case of the Cistercian abbey of Moreruela, meanwhile, the pactum-amiciciarum that was made between the concejo of Castrotorafe and the monastery in 1156 provides incontrovertible evidence of the influence that count Ponce de Cabrera wielded in the affairs of the house.(143) In their record of the agreement, the monks noted that

'pactum tali est quod ipsi iuraverunt nobis et comiti Pontio constructori Morerole ut firma et perpetua sit amicitia inter nos et illos et ipsi semper defendant et adiuvent nos...'

but we have no idea how this patronage might have

favoured the count.

Furthermore, if it is clear that the owners of proprietary monasteries were able to enjoy at least a part of the rents and tithes corresponding to their houses, there is no evidence that the 12th century patrons of independent abbeys derived any financial benefit. Nevertheless, if the material rewards of monastic patronage in 12th century León-Castile are obscure in the extreme, we are at least rather better informed about the spiritual benefits that monasteries could offer their patrons.

The enormous appeal that burial within the precincts of a monastic house had for laymen in 12th century western Europe is graphically described by the Norman historian Robert de Torigny in his account of the disagreement between Henry I of England and his daughter Matilda. The chronicler relates that while the king hoped his daughter might choose to be buried with her ancestors in the cathedral of Rouen, Matilda preferred to commend her body to the care of the monastery of Bec-Hellouin. According to Robert:

'She knew that it was more propitious for the souls of the departed if their bodies might lie in the place where prayers were offered up most frequently and devoutly to God.'(144)

Robert as a monk, of course, was something of a partial witness. His comments must be placed firmly in the context of the fierce competition that was being

waged between cathedral churches and religious houses throughout the 12th century, as both sides struggled to secure the lucrative donatio..post..obitum that laymen customarily granted in return for the promise of burial.(145) Witness, for example, the satisfaction expressed by the authors of the Historia Compostellana as they recounted the names of the great and famous who had chosen to be buried in the cathedral of Santiago.(146) Some time between 1115 and 1118, meanwhile, pope Paschal II directed a letter to the citizens of Burgos, urging them to choose the cathedral of that city for their final resting-place; the papal missive was doubtless prompted by the anxieties of the bishop of Burgos, feeling all too keenly the competition posed by the great Castilian abbeys of Arlanza, Cardeña, Oña and Silos.(147) The ever-increasing attraction that burial within a monastery had for laymen in this period has been aptly explained by Chibnall:

'Patrons wished their bodies to lie under the protection of a community that would offer constant intercession for their souls. Monasteries were regarded as both family mausoleums and perpetual chantries on a scale appropriate to the dignity of the founders.'
(148)

In an earlier chapter, we observed that the desire to be buried with one's ancestors, the establishment of family pantheons, began to enjoy particular vogue in aristocratic circles from the late

11th century onwards. We mentioned, by way of example, the Castilian abbey of Oña which was the chosen burial place of the counts of the Bureba and their kin throughout the 11th and 12th centuries.(149) And attention was also drawn to the case of count Rodrigo Martínez whose corpse was transported from Coria to León by his brother Osorio and his knights in 1138 and buried 'in sepulchrum parentum suorum, iuxta basilicam Sanctae Mariae, ubi sedes episcopalis habetur'. (150)

Nevertheless, by no means all noble families sought to ensure such continuity of burial practice in a favoured local monastery. It is somewhat surprising, for example, to discover that count Ponce de Cabrera chose to be buried in Zamora cathedral and not in the monastery he had founded at Moreruela, while his wife, countess María Fernández, preferred to join the other members of the Traba family who had sought burial in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.(151) The election of Zamora cathedral by count Ponce to receive his mortal remains, it may be conjectured, stemmed from a desire by the count to reinforce the links of his family with the caput of his tenancy. Even so, while his son by his first marriage, Geráu Ponce, was buried in the Galician monastery of Samos, his daughter, Sancha Ponce, and many of his grandchildren found their final resting place at the Cistercian abbey of Nogales, although one of them, Juan Vélaz,

2 7.45
was interred at Moreruela itself.(152)

A great many of the monasteries that were founded under aristocratic patronage flourished and enjoyed a good deal of economic prosperity: by the end of the 12th century, for example, the houses of Sobrado and Moreruela could be counted among the wealthiest foundations in the Peninsula. Not all fared so well, however. Quite apart from those houses which never managed to achieve more than a modest level of economic development, we hear of other abbeys which foundered within only a few years of their creation. Just such an example is that of the Leonese house of Nogales. On the face of it, the Benedictine monastery founded by Vela Gutiérrez and Sancha Ponce at Nogales in April 1150 was set for a fair future. The house could count on friends in very high places: not only did it enjoy the protection of two well-connected and, one might imagine, wealthy magnates, not to mention that of count Ponce de Cabrera, one of the most powerful men in the kingdom, but it had also received the royal seal of approval in the form of lands for its foundation.(153) Notwithstanding such select company, however, the abbey of Nogales rapidly fell into difficulties and within ten years of its foundation had collapsed. Whether this was due to the economic problems that a good many Leonese-Castilian nunneries shared in this period or, as the author of

the 16th century Tumbo of Nogales believed, to a lack of resolve and application on the part of the nuns is not clear.(154) What is known, is that in 1164, a few years after the death of Vela Gutiérrez, his widow Sancha granted Nogales and its lands to the monastery of Moreruela, which refounded the abbey with Cistercian monks.(155)

The case of Nogales was not an exceptional one, however. The Castilian monastery of Bujedo de Juarros likewise suffered a false start before a Cistercian community was successfully installed there.(156) In 1156, the Castilian magnate García Garcés de Aza, a frequent visitor to the court of Alfonso VII, had attempted to found a monastery, entrusting it to the care of the monks of Gimont. The project foundered, however, possibly, as has been suggested, owing to the unwillingness of Cîteaux after 1152 to sanction any new foundations, an embargo that was not finally lifted until 1164.(157) In the event, count Gonzalo de Marañón, the son-in-law of García Garcés, who had served as alférez to both Alfonso VII and Alfonso VIII, entrusted his lands at Bujedo de Juarros near Burgos to a group of monks from Scala Dei, although it would seem that the foundation never really prospered.(158)

Further to the south, meanwhile, in the area of Molina de Aragón, the family of count Manrique Pérez

de Lara made two abortive attempts to establish a monastic house at Arandilla, in 1167 and 1182, notwithstanding the generous endowments promised by countess Ermesinda and her son count Pedro Manrique.(159)

ii) Endowment of the Church

The foundation of religious houses was not, of course, the only way in which laymen sought to demonstrate their piety. Quite apart from the various monasteries that were founded under secular patronage, the extraordinary number of donations that were made to churches and monasteries during this period remain the most eloquent testimony to the generosity of such benefactors.

In a society where agriculture still formed the bedrock of the economy, and where land remained the most important index of wealth and status, it is hardly surprising that the vast majority of the donations made by members of the lay aristocracy to the churches and monasteries of León-Castile took the form of land of some sort: arable land, pasture, vineyards, orchards, and so on, although the charters which record such grants are generally remarkably vague in their provisions, reflecting the conventional formulae much-loved of the scribes who drafted them,

rather than providing an accurate description of a given estate's contents. To take a random example, the donation made by count Rodrigo Gómez of the village of La Vid and an estate at Navas to the Castilian monastery of Oña in 1135 was described in these imprecise terms:

'Damus ad Sanctum Saluatorem...illam uillam quam uocitant la Uide, ab omni integritate, sicut noster germanus et nos pro cambio accepimus a regali iure, ita totum uobis cum exitibus, et introitus, et omnibus ad hanc uillam pertinentibus, concedimus, cum montibus et fontibus. Damus etiam uobis, totam nostram hereditatem quam habemus in Nauas, cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, in montibus et fontibus.'(160)

There is no indication here whatsoever as to the extent of the properties granted by count Rodrigo Gómez, nor are we told the estimated value of these lands.

As we might expect in a period when urban centres were booming, in the 12th century we witness religious institutions acquiring town properties from lay benefactors. One of the earliest examples of this trend comes in the charter recording the grant of the abbey of Cornellana to the see of Oviedo by count Suero Vermúdez in 1128.(161) Among the provisions of this most generous donation were two inns that the count owned in the city of León. In 1156, meanwhile, the Leonese monastery of Vega acquired a group of

houses in the barrio of San Pelayo in León from count Pedro Alfonso and his wife María Froilaz, from count Ramiro Froilaz and his wife Elo Alvarez, and from Vela Gutiérrez and his wife Sancha Ponce.(162)

Yet pious grants could take on many other forms too. In one exceptional case, the Historia Compostellana even records that count Rodrigo Pérez de Traba endowed the church of Santiago with the castle of Faro 'in Dei obsequium et suorum excessuum remissionem'.(163) We also occasionally hear of donations of watermills and salt pans, both highly-prized in medieval society: in 1115 count Pedro Ansúrez gave a mill in Valladolid to the church of that city; and in 1172 the sons of count Manrique Pérez conceded half the salt pans at Terceguela to the Cistercian monastery of Huerta.(164) In 1153, meanwhile, Elo Alvarez endowed the Premonstratensian abbey of Retuerta with the fishponds she owned in the River Pisuerga and Pedro Martínez made a similar grant later that same year.(165)

Gifts of livestock were not unknown either: in 1149, count Pedro Alfonso and his wife María Froilaz gave 16 cows to the church of Oviedo; countess María Fernández bequeathed an unspecified number of mares and cows to the Galician abbey of Sar in 1169; and later in the century, in 1181, when count Pedro Manrique attempted to found a new monastery at

Arandilla, he promised to endow the house with no fewer than 400 sheep, 40 cows and 10 mares.(166)

Very occasionally, moreover, we come upon charters which record the donation of serfs or slaves to a church or monastery. One of the most notable examples is the record of the grant made by Vermudo Pérez de Traba to the monastery of Nebda in 1145.(167) In this most valuable document, which has been preserved in the cartulary of the monastery of Jubia, Vermudo promised to grant his share of:

'omnes meos homines quos habeo in cauto sancti Martini tam uiros quam mulieres tam minimos quam maximos, qui ad me perueniunt de parte patris mei et de parte amici mei domini Lucii Gimarat et domine Marine...'

Similarly, among the endowments promised by the Galician lady Guntroda Suárez when she founded the monastery of Vilanova de Dozón on 26 November 1124, were 'ethiopibus quatuordecim inter sarracenos et sarracenas'; and we have already seen that the Asturian Guntroda Pérez was able to grant a large number of serfs, as well as ten Moorish slaves, to the nunnery she established at Vega in Oviedo in 1153.(168) Grants such as these are few and far between, however, perhaps reflecting the chronic shortage of manpower that afflicted Christian society at this time.(169)

Gifts of money in the donation charters of this period are surprisingly rare; the 3000 maravedís

promised by count Pedro Manrique in 1181 to help build the abbey of Arandilla are a notable exception.(170) We do encounter two much smaller benefactions to Salamanca cathedral from around the middle of the 12th century, while Munio Sánchez undertook to give the sum of 200 mencales a year and a tenth of any booty he won in war to help the monks of Huerta build a dormitory.(171) It is nonetheless hard to believe that more such grants were never made. It may be conjectured, rather, that churches and monasteries did not feel it necessary to keep a written legal record of such gifts.

Mentions of luxury goods that were granted, however, such as metalwork or textiles, are rather more common. Thus, among the presents promised to the canons of Santiago by countess María Fernández de Traba as she lay on her death-bed in January 1169 were a mule with its saddle and silver bridle, a cloak of ermine and samite, a good bed and a silver cup, while musical tastes in aristocratic circles at this time can be inferred from her grant of 'unam citharam perobtimam'.(172) When the Leonese nobles García and Teresa Pérez drew up a will in 1157, they each promised that on the death of the other they would grant to the abbey of Sahagún 100 gold maravedís to pay for their burial, together with the fifth part of all their gold, silver, livestock and weapons.(173)

In the vast majority of these grants, the donors recalled the pious motives that had impelled them to favour a church or monastery. By far the most common are the 'donationes pro anima', that is, the granting of a gift to a religious institution in order to achieve the purification and salvation of the soul of the donor and the forgiveness of his sins. The charter recording the grant of the monasterium of San Llorente to the Castilian abbey of Silos by García Garcés de Aza and his wife Sancha Pérez in 1157, made 'grato animo et uoluntate spontanea, ob remedium animarum nostrarum et remissionem omnium peccatorum', is a typical example.(174) Other benefactors were more candid about their hopes and fears concerning the afterlife: thus, when Munina Froilaz endowed the Galician monastery of Caabeiro in 1114, she admitted that she feared 'penas inferni et diem iudicii', while in the same year, count Pedro Ansúrez granted his property at Fuensaldaña to the abbey of Valladolid 'timens penas inferni, et desiderans demeniam paradisi'.(175) A rather more optimistic tone is struck in the confirmation of a series of ecclesiastical properties to Valladolid by count Armengol of Urgel and his wife countess Elvira Rodríguez in 1135, which was made 'propter remedium animarum nostrarum uel parentum nostrorum, et in adquisicione paradisi'.(176) Similarly, Gonzalo

Fernández de Traba and his wife Elvira Rodríguez favoured the abbey of Monfero 'ut abeamus parte in prima resurrectione, nos et filiis nostris, et nepotes nostros ad septima generatione'.(177)

In the arengae to such beneficial documents, moreover, we frequently encounter phrases inspired by the Scriptures proclaiming the spiritual benefits to be gained from favouring the Church. 'Melius est elemosinam dare quam thesauros auri reponere', records one grant to the abbey of Cluny in 1117.(178) Meanwhile, the charter recording the donation of the vill of Cobeta to the church of Sigüenza and the monasteries of Silos, Arlanza and Oña by count Manrique Pérez and his wife Ermesinda in 1153, solemnly intones:

'Inter cetera virtutum potencia elemosina maxime comendatur, dicente domino, sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elemosina extinguit peccatum'.(179)

Bonaudo de Magnani has observed:

'Los preceptos evangélicos parecen haber sido a la vez un incentivo y una promesa y los monjes debieron esgrimirlos para ejercer una fuerte presión psicológica en un universo mental condicionado para aceptarlos. La limosna que extinguía el pecado y compraba un lugar en la mansión celestial, fue, tal vez el más publicitado, el más generalizado de los mecanismos de salvación.'(180)

Occasionally, a pious gift was made not only for the spiritual welfare of the benefactor or his family en masse, but for named members of his kin as

well. Thus in 1135, count Rodrigo Gómez and his sisters Sancha and Estefanía favoured the monastery of Oña 'pro remedio anime fratris nostris Didaci Gomesani et animarum nostrarum'.(181) Likewise, countess Mayor Rodríguez, the widow of count Pedro Froilaz de Traba, granted numerous properties to the Leonese abbey of Sahagún in 1126 'pro anima mariti mei Comitiss Domni Petri de Gallecia cum quo presentis vite diutina fructa sunt laetitia'.(182)

Furthermore, a noble might also choose to extend the spiritual benefits to be gained from his pious donation to members of the royal family. When count Rodrigo Gómez granted the vill of Villaverde to Oña in 1137, he expressed the hope that his gift might give 'uitam eternam domino nostro Aldefonso imperatoris'; five years later, when the grant was confirmed by the count, we are told that it was done so 'ut det uitam longeuam et regnum quietum, domno nostro infantulo Garcie filio domini nostri imperatoris Adefonsi, cuius nos nutritores sumus'.(183) In 1143, moreover, when countess Estefanía Armengol founded an abbey at Valbuena de Duero, she did so not only for the good of her own soul and that of her family, 'necnon omnium fidelium christianorum', but more particularly

'propter salutem ac peccatorum remissionem gloriosi imperatoris Yspanie domini mei Allefonsi et pie recordationis domine mee Urraca regine matris eius qui sua benigna

uoluntate cum essem mulier aliene terre multa bona mihi fecerunt, et de supradicta uilla ac de multis aliis hereditatibus sua clementia me hereditauerunt.'(184)

In the same vein, in 1154 the Galician magnate Fernando Yáñez promised his estate at Oliveira to the cathedral church of Tuy both for the good of his own soul but also, we hear, 'pro anima regine domne Urrace, in cuius tempore et servicio eam ganavi et ipsam me heredavit'.(185)

On a very few occasions, moreover, we come across pious donations being made for the soul of other members of the nobility: in June 1143, for example, the Asturian noble Gonzalo Vermúdez and his wife Cristina Peláez made a grant of lands to the church of Oviedo 'pro anima comitis Gundisalui et nostra'.(186)

Other donation charters are rather more explicit about the spiritual benefits that donors expected to receive in return for their benefaction. We have already seen the attraction that burial in a monastery had for many members of the lay aristocracy, while at the same time others were choosing to be laid to rest in cathedral churches. Count Pedro Froilaz and his wife Mayor preferred to be buried in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela than in the monastery of Jubia, which had for some time been the most favoured religious house of the Traba family. Their bequests to

Santiago were so numerous that the authors of the Historia Compostellana considered that it would be wearisome to their readers to list them all.(187) Another member of the Traba family, countess María Fernández, the daughter of count Fernando Pérez, finding herself 'gravi et longa infirmitate detenta', drew up a will on 13 January 1169 asking that her body might be buried 'in claustro beati Iacobi iuxta patrem meum'.(188)

Furthermore, lay nobles were anxious to ensure that after their death frequent prayers would be said for the good of their souls. To this end, when count Suero Vermúdez made a generous benefaction to the church of Lugo in 1118, he secured the undertaking of the canons of the cathedral that they would say a mass for his soul every day for a year after his death, and thereafter once a year on the anniversary of his passing.(189) On 1 April 1157, count Pedro Alfonso promised no less than half his property to the monks of Lapedo, in return for which he instructed:

'Et meum corpus ubicumque migravero de hac vita usque ad monasterium vestrum me indignum et peccatorem si vobis aliquis me feceris honorifice sepelire; et pro me et pro generatione mea, semper oretis, et post obitum meum omnia que supra diximus, usque in finem seculi abeatis.'(190)

In the will countess María Fernández had drawn up on her death bed in January 1169 is a detailed list of the prayers the countess expected to receive in

return for her numerous and generous donations: a mass was to be said for her soul on 15 August (Assumption Day) by the monks of Antealtares, on 8 September (the birth of the Virgin) by the inmates of the priory of Sar, on 29 September (the feast of St Michael) at the abbey of Tojos Outos and on 30 December (the translation of St James) by the canons of Compostela.(191)

Sometimes, we even hear of lay benefactors providing that on the anniversary of their death, a special meal should be held in their remembrance. Thus in 1156, Diego Muñoz of Saldaña and his wife Urraca Téllez asked the monks of San Zoilo de Carrión to hold

'in unoquoque anno anniuersarium et sacrista refectionem qui tenuerit supra dictam hereditatem senioribus, pro animabus nostris et parentum nostrorum.'(192)

And among the provisions of the donation made to the abbey of Sahagún by countess Elvira Pérez in 1168, was the request that every year on the anniversary of her death 'in conuentu generale officium celebrabunt, et in refectorio eodem die sicuti pro auo meo pauper unus procuretur.'(193)

Mention should also be made of that peculiarly medieval phenomenon, the familiaritas, or 'traditio corporis et anime', as it is invariably described in the documents of the period.(194) This meant either that an individual chose to renounce the saeculum and

spend the rest of his days dwelling in a religious house, giving up all his worldly possessions to the monastery and depending totally on the protection of the monks, or else that the layman made a donation to a monastery and owed love and service to it. In both cases he was able to enjoy the prayers of the monks and to share in other spiritual benefits as a member of the familia of the house. The evidence we have, is that those who physically joined monasteries tended to be clerics or lesser landowners who, for one reason or another, were unable to make ends meet. For such men, in the words of Puyol, the familiaritas represented 'un contrato de enfermedad, pobreza y vejez'.(195) Men of higher rank, however, generally seem to have preferred to remain in the secular world, while continuing to enjoy the benefits that membership of the monastic familia brought with it. Moreta Velayos comments:

'Las escasas entregas y relaciones de familiaridad que se dieron por parte de los condes y magnates tal vez fuesen más honoríficos que reales, y, desde luego, totalmente libres, sin que mediase ningún tipo de condicionamiento material.' (196)

Even so, as we have seen, Vermudo Pérez de Traba entered the cloister of Sobrado towards the end of his life, while another Galician magnate, Pelayo Curvo, became a confrater of the monastery of Melón.(197)

On occasion we come across grants being made by

members of the lay nobility to atone for certain wrongs they or their family had done to a church or monastery. Earlier in this chapter, we drew attention to the grant made by Oñega Fernández to the see of Tuy to expiate the crime of her son Pelayo Díaz, who had murdered a man in the church of Penso. And other examples are not hard to find either: in 1123 Rodrigo and Osorio Martínez granted to the Leonese abbey of Sahagún the villas of Valdecespedes and Villa Dot 'pro releuamine criminum' of their brother Pedro who had died in battle.(198) In particular, the brothers indicated that the second of these properties was to pass to the priory of Sahelices, a dependant of Sahagún, 'pro malis, quae frater noster Petrus Martini vibens ibi intulit'. The following year, according to the Historia Compostellana, count Pedro Froilaz, who had struck count Alfonso Vermúdez before the altar of the cathedral of Santiago, was persuaded by archbishop Diego to give the monasterium of Corispindo to the see 'in remedium supradicti dedecoris'.(199) Sancho Sánchez, meanwhile, the nephew of countess Lupa Pérez de Traba, gave the church of Ruix to the Galician monastery of San Martín Pinarío in 1133

'pro multa mala que feci in ipso monasterio, fregi suum cautum...et raubavi vestras greges cum vestris equabus cum suo kaballo et raubavi vestras vacas et prendidi vestros homines'.(200)

Other nobles had even more to repent of: thus, in

1171, another Galician, count Rodrigo Alvarez, granted the church of San Salvador de Sarria to the see of Lugo because

'olim diabolico furore arreptus, armata manu extra me exiens, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Mal in territorio de Ventosa que est in Lucensi episcopatu, partim demolitus, partim ignis combustione in cinerem redigens destruxi.'
(201)

Men and women about to undertake a long or dangerous journey might similarly choose to favour a church or monastery. We have seen elsewhere that count Gonzalo Salvadórez made a grant to the monks of Oña prior to setting off on his ill-fated campaign of 1082, while the Galician Rodrigo Froilaz, 'ad mea ida de illo fossado de Portugale', favoured the abbeys of Antealtares and Tojos Outos.(202) In the same way, when Diego Muñoz, the nephew of archbishop Diego Gelmírez, was about to join the royal expedition to Córdoba in 1151, he drew up a will sharing out his properties among several ecclesiastical institutions.(203) It would seem that pilgrims about to make the long journey to the Holy Land did much the same. In 1161, for example, countess Elvira Ramírez, the widow of count Rodrigo Gómez, confirmed the grant of Villaverde her husband had previously made to the monks of Oña and added new gifts of her own shortly before she set out for Jerusalem.(204)

Other benefactors chose to make a donation to a

church or monastery in return for certain help that they had received: thus, Vermudo Pérez granted some serfs to the Galician monastery of Jubia in 1145 'pro unam mulam quam mihi datis in presenti eunti Portugaliā'.(205) Without doubt the the most striking example, however, is that of count Martín Flaínez, who gave a meadow, money and candles to the Castilian monastery of Santa Eugenia in 1118 because 'corpus filii mei Roderici Martini a maligno demonio curavit'.(206)

iii) Pilgrimage and Crusade

The astonishing popularity that the twin phenomena of pilgrimage and crusade attained among western European lay society between roughly 950 and 1200 has for long fascinated historians. Why was it that so many men and women chose to go on pilgrimage in this period and how was it that the notion of Crusade, conceived and promoted by the Church, managed to win such enormous popular support? These are complex phenomena to which a short essay such as this cannot possibly hope to do justice; yet we cannot comfortably ignore them if we wish to gain a greater understanding of the mentality of medieval man. In this section, therefore, we shall consider the reasons for the extraordinary development of medieval

pilgrimage and its impact among lay aristocratic society in León-Castile. The related concept of Crusade, which acquired peculiar characteristics of its own in the Peninsula, will be examined separately when we come to consider the military activity of the noble class.

The concept of anachoresis, which was first coined and developed in late Antiquity and the early middle ages, is one of the key-words in our attempt to understand the popularity of medieval pilgrimage.(207) Anachoresis formed the basis of the ascetic movement that was so popular in this period and represented the desire by an individual to turn his back on the secular world. This withdrawal could be achieved in two ways: a layman could either join a religious house where he would spend the rest of his days, or else he could undertake a peregrinatio, or pilgrimage.

Originally, such pilgrims had been permanent exiles; men who had left their homelands for good. Under the penitential system that was gradually adopted in the western Church between the 9th and 11th centuries, however, pilgrimage began to take on a new form.(208) Under the new teaching, the peregrinatio began to be regarded as a mechanism to expiate sin; in return for the absolution of his sins, a layman would undertake a pilgrimage to a sacred place. The holy cities of Jerusalem, Rome and, from around the 10th

century, Santiago de Compostela, were the three greatest goals of course, but a pilgrimage might also be made to a humbler shrine associated with a popular local saint. 'Wherever lay the shrine, the tomb, the relics of a saint, there the pilgrims could gather', Brooke has observed.(209) In this way, pilgrimage began to be accepted as a means of spiritual cleansing by laymen who felt themselves otherwise unable or unwilling to devote the rest of their lives to the service of God. In attempting to understand the great popularity that pilgrimage acquired from around the second half of the 10th century, therefore, we must bear two things in mind. Firstly, that pilgrimage was not only regarded as a penance, but was also positively seen as a way of securing salvation in the next world by men and women who genuinely seem to have feared for the fate of their souls. Secondly, as time went on and pilgrimage became evermore widespread, we can appreciate how firmly rooted among the mores of aristocratic society the concept of peregrinatio became. As Fletcher has commented, 'going on pilgrimage was something prominent territorial lords were expected to do'.(210)

Pilgrimage seems to have become a particularly widespread practice in León-Castile from around the 11th century onwards. Moreover, we certainly know that there were many lay nobles among the stream of men and

women who annually crossed the Pyrenees and followed the Camino de Santiago to the shrine of St James at Compostela.(211) Among them, in around 1141, we hear, was count Alfonso Jordán of Toulouse, himself an occasional visitor to the royal court in the early years of the reign of Alfonso VII, 'qui peregrinus veniebat per viam regiam ad Sanctum Iacobum causa orationis'.(212) Somewhat suprisingly, however, we have no explicit record that any of the magnates of León-Castile made a pilgrimage to Compostela in this period. Nevertheless, we may suppose that some of the members of the court of Alfonso VII would have visited the shrine of the apostle whenever the royal itinerary took in Santiago, as was the case in 1127, 1137 and 1141.(213) We might also imagine that there were pilgrimages to the tombs of other holy men, such as to that of San Isidoro in León, although, here again, no record of such visits has survived.

Nobles were also ranging much farther afield, however, something that did catch the attention of their contemporaries. The visit that Pedro Froilaz made to Rome in 1109 would have undoubtedly been regarded by the Galician count as a peregrinatio, even if the Historia..Compostellana tells us only of the urgent business he had at the papal court.(214) Other nobles were making it as far as Jerusalem: the Leonese Munio Pérez pawned many of his goods to the abbey of

7 7.45

Sahagún in 1100 in return for the sum of 1000 maravedís to enable him to undertake the journey to the Holy Land.(215) We also hear of visits by count Fernando Muñoz in 1101, by count Rodrigo Vélaz in around 1121 and of two journeys there by count Fernando Pérez, the second in 1153.(216) It was not only the great magnates who were making the long journey either: for example, a Galician infanzón named Pedro gave his share of the church of Trasmonte to the see of Compostela on 24 November 1134, 'tunc temporis ituro Jerosolyam', while Pedro Rodríguez, 'peregrinus in Iherosolimam', gave land at Layo to the monks of Caabeiro in 1160.(217) Women did not shrink from making the long pilgrimage either: we have already seen that the countess Elvira Ramírez, widow of count Rodrigo Gómez, visited Jerusalem in 1161.(218)

In some cases, however, it seems clear enough that such pilgrimages to the Holy Land involved a military dimension as well. After all, as far as western Christendom was concerned, the men who took up the cross to go on the Crusades were participating in a very special form of peregrinatio. Thus, we are told that count Rodrigo González, when exiled by Alfonso VII in around 1137, 'peregrinus factus est, et abiit trans mare in Hierosolimis causa orationis' although, as the author of the Chronica reveals elsewhere, this did not stop him getting involved in the military

campaigns that were being waged against the Muslims while he was there.(219) Nonetheless, there are obvious differences to be drawn between those Leonese-Castilian magnates who paid short visits to Jerusalem, such as count Fernando Pérez in 1153, and landless exiles like count Rodrigo González, who may well have been seeking to carve out a new lordship for himself in the Holy Land. True, we hear from the Historia Compostellana that large numbers of Galicians took up the cross to campaign in the Holy Land in 1120, but from around this time it is also clear that laymen were being increasingly encouraged to direct their crusading zeal towards the frontier with al-Andalus.(220)

(c) Conflict with the Church

Up to this point it will have been possible to appreciate the close and mutually beneficial contacts that characterised the relationship between Church and Nobility in 12th century León-Castile. We have underlined the importance of the monasteries that were founded under aristocratic patronage and highlighted the large number of generous donations that were made by laymen to ecclesiastical institutions. In return, we have seen, nobles were promised all manner of spiritual benefits and, on occasion, considerable

material advantages too. Nevertheless, if it can be fairly said that Nobility and Church had a great deal to offer one another, we should not forget that friction between these two powerful social groups was a recurring theme throughout our period. It is the causes of this conflict that must occupy our attention.

The duties of a medieval bishop were varied: we might expect that the spiritual and moral welfare of his flock, as well as the regulation of his diocesan organisation, will have occupied much of his attention, but a bishop was also responsible for the defence and well-being of his church and its properties.(221) It does not seem, however, that the exercise of secular as well as spiritual lordship were regarded as two essentially different activities.

Fletcher comments:

'Today we should make the distinction between the pastoral action of a bishop and the watchfulness of a lord over his properties. But this may be anachronistic...there is evident a mingling of lordship and pastoral care in the actions of the Leonese episcopate.'(222)

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the pages of the Historia Compostellana. This most precious source is our most informative guide to the sometimes cordial, and frequently turbulent, relations that were maintained between archbishop Diego Gelmírez and the high nobility of Galicia across the period

1100-1140. But it is also a work we must approach with considerable caution, for the Historia is a very partial witness, produced at the request of Diego Gelmírez and designed above all to celebrate the deeds of the great archbishop. Furthermore, we should not make the mistake of assuming that what held for the Galicia of Diego Gelmírez held for the rest of León-Castile too.

The seriousness with which archbishop Diego took his secular responsibilities is demonstrated at various points throughout the Historia Compostellana: we hear of the numerous properties he acquired for his see, of his castle-building activities, of the fleet he had constructed to repel the attacks of Viking and Saracen pirates, and of the numerous military campaigns he undertook, both on his own initiative and at royal behest.(223) He seems to have been particularly energetic when he deemed that the integrity of his ecclesiastical lordship had been usurped and he did not shrink from coming to grips with even the greatest of the Galician lay magnates. In 1116 we can see him chasing Pedro Froilaz with an army into the mountains of Deza because the count had trespassed 'per confinia terra Beati Iacobi'.(224) Later, in 1121, we hear that the archbishop razed to the ground the castle of Raneta which belonged to another Traba, Fernando Pérez, 'cumque Beati Iacobi

7.1.5
Ecclesie in quibusdam adversaretur', while in the same year a castle by the River Isso belonging to count Munio Peláez, possibly that at Grovas, met the same fate 'quod honori Beati Iacobi et publicae viae iter agentibus quasi latro in silva insidiabatur, utpote praedonum atque latronum domicilium'.(225) According to the Historia, the destruction of the fortress by the Isso was meant as a clear warning to the other Galician magnates:

'Hujus rei eventum Archiepiscopus ceteris Gallaeciae Principibus dedit in exemplum, ne castella prope honorem Ecclesiae Beati Iacobi aedificare praesumant, neve cui obsequi debent, rebelles existant.'(226)

Occasionally, however, the archbishop had to resort to more peaceful means if he wished to turf out a noble from one of the castles in the vicinity. In 1121, for example, we hear that he was most anxious to recover the fortress of Faro, which had originally belonged to the see of Santiago, from the hands of another member of the Traba clan, Vermudo Pérez.(227) We are told, however, that Vermudo was most unwilling to give up the castle to the archbishop:

'At vero Veremundus nec pollicitis Archiepiscopi, nec minis accomodat animum, nec spirituales, nec materiales ejus metuit gladium. Quippe tantum taleque municipium retinere utilius opinatur.'

In the end, it was only after the archbishop had threatened to besiege Faro and the counts Fernando Pérez and Munio Peláez had intervened to mediate

between the two parties, that Vermudo 'invitus atque coactus' agreed to hand over the fortress, although the archbishop was required to placate the magnate with 'datibus aliisque praestimoniis'.

It does not seem that Diego Gelmírez's anxiety for the well-being of his lordship and his ferocious defence of it were misplaced. If we are to believe the authors of the Historia-Compostellana, rumours that the lordship of Santiago might be confiscated by the Crown and dismembered among the lay powers of Galicia were rife during the reigns of both Urraca and Alfonso VII.(228) But archbishop Diego was in a far better situation than most of his episcopal colleagues: his was a rich see and he could afford to maintain a large body of paid knights in his service to enforce his will and to defend his lordship against lay encroachment.(229) Moreover, we hear that many of the leading magnates of Galicia held benefices from the archbishop and swore oaths of loyalty to him in return.(230) We do not know how many other bishops were able to do the same, but it certainly seems unlikely that the prelates of more impoverished sees like Mondoñedo and Coria could run to such luxuries. For such bishops the most obvious course of action was to take their complaints before the royal curia for judgement.

Several records of disputes between bishops and

lay magnates have come down to us, the large majority of them concerning litigation over title to a piece of land. It is striking that such quarrels become increasingly common in the 11th and 12th centuries, that is, precisely at the same time as great lay and ecclesiastical lordships were being created in León-Castile at the expense of small independent landholders.(231) A good example is the boundary dispute concerning certain lands belonging to the see of Mondoñedo and others in the possession of count Rodrigo Vélaz of Sarria which is recorded in a charter of Alfonso VII issued at Palencia on 10 July 1128.(232) In the arenga to the diploma the plight of the church of Mondoñedo is made clear:

'Quia multa mala et multae discordiae, lites et contentiones erant inter Episcopos Menduniensis Ecclesiae, et Comites illius terrae, propterea quia familiae et gentes terrarum erant plures in illa Sede, et paucissimae de regalengo, et Comites cum caractere Regis graviter opprimebant illas plebes de illa Sede, unde ipsi et tota terra illa erat semper in excommunicatione.'

The king, we are told, 'volens inter eos pacem et concordiam mittere, et de medio eorum discordiam, et omnia mala auferre', decreed a new division of boundaries that was apparently acceptable to both bishop Munio and count Rodrigo Vélaz.

Another lawsuit between lay and ecclesiastical magnates was settled near Calatrava in June 1147, when Alfonso VII and his army were making their way south

to attack Almería.(233) On this occasion, the emperor issued a charter confirming bishop Martín and the church of Orense in possession of the vills of San Martín and San Jorge which the Galician noble Fernando Yáñez 'iniuste invasit'.

Other quarrels could be settled far from the curia regis, however. Some time between 1130 and 1135, for example, we hear of a lawsuit between bishop Arias of León and count Rodrigo Martínez over the property that had belonged to Pedro Peláez.(234) The church of León claimed that Pedro had formerly granted to the see all his lands that lay between Toro on the river Duero and the mountains of Asturias 'pro rapinis et maleficiis que fecerat in possessionibus et hominibus sancte Marie Legionensis scilicet ecclesie'. Later, however, it is recorded that:

'Quia vero isdem Petrus Pelaiz res comitis Roderici rapuerat, impetitus super rapina ab ipso comite coram rege, coactus a rege quod rapinam comiti restitueret, has predictas hereditates post prime donationis pactum comiti in vadimonio posuit.'

The dispute was heard in León before a council comprising Rodrigo Vermúdez and Pedro Braoliz 'et aliis baronibus civitatis' and the cathedral chapter. The council ruled that the bishop should recover the lands in question, but that he would have to pay compensation to the count.

On other occasions it seems, conflict between

lay and ecclesiastical lords could be settled by an 'out of court' agreement. The mandate directed at an uncertain date by count Armengol of Urgel to his vassals in the town of Valladolid refers to the pact he had made with the bishop of Palencia concerning the church and properties of Santa María de Valladolid.(235) Count Armengol instructed his vassals that the church and its lands, which had been granted to the see of Palencia by his grandfather count Pedro Ansúrez, and had subsequently fallen into lay hands once more, should be restored to the bishop.

But bishops were not the only ones who felt themselves driven to litigation by disputes over land rights; several monasteries of the kingdom, vulnerable to the pressures of secular lords who claimed some of their lands as their own, likewise did not hesitate to take their complaints before the curia regis. The dispute heard in 1132 between the Leonese abbey of Eslonza and a local nobleman, Pedro Díaz, over the property of the church of San Juan de Verbio is a typical example.(236) The monks of Eslonza claimed before the royal curia that some years before, after the death of Alfonso VI in 1109, Pedro Díaz 'intrauit eum...violenta manu et abstulit supra fate ecclesiae, medietatem sibi vindicans et aliam eidem ecclesiae reliquens'. In the event a compromise was decreed by the curia: Pedro Díaz and his wife María Ordóñez were

to continue to enjoy the usufruct of Verbio, but on their death the church would pass once more to Eslonza.

Meanwhile, the Cluniac abbey of Sahagún, undoubtedly the wealthiest in the kingdom of León, found itself embroiled in numerous law suits with lay notables during the course of the 12th century. One of these, the quarrel between the monks and María Gómez and her sons over the lordship of Villavicencio in the Tierra de Campos, 'que altercatio ab eis diu retractata, cum inter eos nullo modo terminari potuisset', was heard at the court of Alfonso VII in 1136.(237) Other grievances were aired elsewhere: the controversiam between Sahagún and the family of 'quendam nobilem militem' Munio Fernández was discussed at the council of Carrión in 1130.(238) On other occasions, however, the monastery was apparently able to reach an agreement without recourse to litigation, as seems to have been the case with the pact they made with count Ponce de Cabrera over some land near Melgar in 1157.(239)

Rather different in character was the altercation between Vermudo Pérez de Traba and the Galician abbey of Tojos Outos in 1161. Earlier, we mentioned how in 1148 Vermudo Pérez and his wife, the infanta Urraca Enríquez, had established a proprietary monastery at Noguerosa, which they had placed under

the control of a group of monks from Tojos Outos.(240) Three years later, we can see Vermudo and Urraca endowing Noguerosa with various properties, in return for the undertaking that Urraca and four other ladies would be admitted to the house whenever they so wished.(241) In 1160, Vermudo Pérez retired to the cloister of the Cistercian abbey of Sobrado, which he and his brother Fernando had founded; at roughly the same time, it would seem, his wife Urraca, 'sub eodem habitu, et in eadem regula in prefato monasterio de Nogyrosa Deo uotam se fecit'.(242) Together with a group of other ladies, she entered the family monastery at Noguerosa and expelled the monks, who were obliged to return to their mother house at Tojos Outos. The matter did not end there, however, for in September 1161, abbot Arias of Tojos Outos took the case before the judgement of Fernando Curialis, the archbishop elect of Santiago de Compostela.(243) In the event, a compromise was reached: Urraca Enríquez was to be allowed to keep Noguerosa, but Tojos Outos was to receive four villages in compensation for its loss.

Perhaps the most famous dispute between a layman and a religious house in the 12th century, however, was the long drawn-out quarrel which saw count Suero Vermúdez and the powerful Burgundian abbey of Cluny pitched against one another.(244) Earlier in

this chapter, we drew attention to the splendid endowment charter of 7 March 1122 which records the grant by count Suero and his wife countess Enderquina of the Asturian monastery of Cornellana and its lands to Cluny. The house at Cornellana had been founded in 1024 by the infanta Cristina, daughter of Vermudo II of León and great-grandmother of Suero Vermúdez.(245) Following her death, the properties of the monastery were divided up among her heirs, but in 1120 Count Suero Vermúdez was able to gain control over the whole of Cornellana, following a series of transactions with the other heredes of the house.(246) Two years later, the count and his wife countess Enderquina Gutiérrez granted the monastery and all its properties to the abbey of Cluny.(247) For the monks of Cluny, the house at Cornellana without doubt represented one of their most valuable acquisitions in the Peninsula: the donation charter of 1122 reveals that the monastery not only held lands in the mountains of Asturias and León, but also that it owned properties to the west in Galicia and as far south as the Tierra de Campos and Toro on the River Duero.

At some time after 1122, however, we are not quite sure when or why, count Suero Vermúdez seems to have had second thoughts about his most munificent gift to Cluny. Six years later, in December 1128, the count made the monastery and its extensive properties

over to the see of Oviedo.(248) Not surprisingly, the monks of Cluny were outraged. They raised the matter with the papal legate Hugo at the council of Carrión in 1130, considering themselves 'injuste expoliatos esse'.(249) The letter sent by Hugo from the council to abbot Peter of Cluny reveals that the legate and the other assembled churchmen had ruled that Cornellana should be restored to the monks of Cluny but that 'rex et Suerius, comes, hactenus distulerunt.' Their admonishments would seem to have fallen on deaf ears, however: over a 160 years later the abbey of Cluny was still bitterly complaining about its loss.(250)

With the obvious exception of the Cornellana imbroglio, in the various examples we have cited above a compromise acceptable to both litigants generally seems to have been reached. Nonetheless, in the large majority of these diplomas the Church is portrayed as the innocent victim of aggression by members of the lay nobility. We should be careful to take some of these claims with a pinch of salt, however. It is not to be doubted, of course, that there were unscrupulous laymen around in 12th century León-Castile who were eager to take advantage of the vulnerability of the churches and monasteries to feather their own nests and did not flinch from using force to do so. One valuable document has survived, however, which

demonstrates that on occasions it could be a nobleman who felt himself to be the aggrieved party and might successfully fight a lawsuit against the Church.

The document in question, a charter drawn up by the scriptor imperatoris Hugo, probably while Alfonso VII was with his court at Salamanca on 26 June 1140, records the settlement of the dispute between the Galician nunnery of Ramiranes and a local aristocrat Alvaro Rubeo and his sociis over Montecelo which both parties claimed as their own.(251) Initially, before taking his case to law, we hear of the crude tactics that were employed by the noble to recover his land: Alvaro Rubeo and his sociis armed themselves and issued a challenge to the nuns of Ramiranes:

'Des hominem et pugnet mecum coram isto populo, et si uincero illud erit mons noster. Si ipse uincerit me, erit uester.'

The challenge vividly conveys the tone of medieval secular society; in such circles trial by battle may well have remained the most common form of judicial procedure - we encounter other examples of the practice in this period - but a monastery was clearly in no position to fight a duel.(252) Instead, we are told that the nuns took their case before the local lord, Pelayo Corvo, who declared himself unwilling to judge the quarrel, but instructed both parties to send spokesmen to accompany him to the imperial court which was then at Salamanca. On reaching Salamanca, Alfonso

VII instructed his maiordomus, Diego Muñoz, to judge the case. It was then, we hear, that Alvaro Rubeo produced his masterpiece, namely 'unam cartam quam asserebat quomodo fuerat montem exquisitum in tempore domini Adefonsi regis diue memorie aui imperatoris'. Diego Muñoz, evidently recognising the authenticity of the charter, therefore judged that 'quomodo fuit diuisus per bonos homines et iuratos in tempore domini Adefonsi regis ita stet semper.'

If we have dwelt rather longer on this dispute than any of the others mentioned above, it is because of the extraordinary interest that the quarrel has for the historian of this period. Above all, the diploma of 26 June 1140 provides a valuable corrective to the overriding impression given by the surviving documentation that the Church was invariably the innocent party in the numerous lawsuits it was forced to fight, while casting important light on judicial procedure in 12th century León-Castile.

If land ownership is the most frequently recorded cause for litigation between ecclesiastical and lay society in this period, we should not forget the other quarrels that periodically arose between the two. We know, for example, of the long legal battle the Galician Traba family was engaged in with the see of Santiago over possession of some serfs (homines creationis) who dwelled between the rivers Ulla and

Tambre.(253) The Historia Compostellana relates that a settlement to the 'odiosa contentio' was finally reached in 1134 when archbishop Diego agreed to compensate count Fernando Pérez for the serfs with the vill of Lubre.(254) The previous year, we have seen, another Traba, Sancho Sánchez, had come into conflict with the abbey of San Martín Pinario over the men and livestock that the nobleman had seized from the monks.(255)

Yet if we wish to discover rather more about the numerous causes of friction between Church and Nobility in the early 12th century, we must turn once more to the Historia Compostellana. At various places in the Historia, for example, we hear how some Galician magnates incurred the wrath of archbishop Diego by imprisoning certain individuals. In 1126, the Historia claims that Fernando Yáñez, 'tyrannica feritate et avaritiae stimulis incitatus', imprisoned several citizens of Santiago, whereupon Diego Gelmírez, combining to perfection the spiritual and secular roles of a medieval churchman, excommunicated the noble and laid waste his lordship.(256)

A similar case arose in 1130 when we hear of the imprisonment of an archdeacon of Trastámara by knights of count Rodrigo Pérez, although on this occasion, the archbishop's biographer assures us, the mere threat of excommunication was enough to bring the

count to heel.(257) Count Rodrigo was forced to swear on the Gospels that he had taken no part in the imprisonment of the archdeacon; he promised to confiscate the fiefs that he had granted to his knights; and to hand over to the archbishop the peasants who had taken part in the uprising against the archdeacon. According to the Historia, which relates with evident relish the whole episode of the count's humiliation at the hands of Diego Gelmírez, the aim of the archbishop in taking this action against Rodrigo Pérez and his malefactoribus was 'ut ipse, et sua Ecclesia, et sui Canonici inde honorati essent, et ut alii perterriti suas manus ad tantum scelus deinceps extendere non auderent'.(258) Even so, this did not prevent Rodrigo's half-brother, count Fernando Pérez, enraging Diego Gelmírez yet again four years later by imprisoning one of the archbishop's knights and the archdeacon of Nendos.(259) The Historia Compostellana recounts such incidents with loving detail, probably in its desire to demonstrate the manner in which the great archbishop, the clypeus patriae, was able to hold his own among the powerful lay magnates of Galicia. Nevertheless, there was evidently so much more that the archbishop's panegyrists chose not to tell us, that we should be wary of accepting such stories at their face value.

One of the recurring concerns voiced in the

pages of the Historia Compostellana is that of the lawlessness of one form or another which seems to have been an ever-present part of Galician and, we might add, Leonese-Castilian lay society. There are complaints of attacks by laymen on merchants and pilgrims making their way to the holy city; it would seem that the aggressors, eager for booty, made little distinction between the two and regarded both as fair game. In 1130, for example, we even hear that a member of the Traba family, García Pérez, took part in an assault on some merchants from England and Lorraine who had journeyed to Galicia to sell their wares.(260) Such lawlessness was condemned at the church councils held at León in 1114 and at Palencia in 1129, without producing any apparent improvement in public order.(261) Violence was undoubtedly an ever-present feature of medieval society, but the kingdom of León-Castile in the period between 1110 and 1135, that is, during the anarchy of the reign of Queen Urraca and the difficult early years of the reign of her son, seems to have been particularly disorderly.(262) During this troubled time, the Historia tells of the looting of valuables from Santiago cathedral; of the depredations that count Pedro Froilaz and his sons perpetrated against the see and the poor of Galicia; we even hear of some milites who robbed a church far to the south in Salamanca.(263) We learn from other

sources of the near-anarchy prevalent in neighbouring León.(264)

It was in response to this serious social disorder that the ecclesiastical council held by Diego Gelmírez at Santiago in March 1124 invoked the so-called Pax Dei, or 'Peace of God', 'quae apud Romanos et Francos et alias fideles nationes observatur'.(265) The 'Peace of God' movement had its origins in southern France towards the end of the 10th century and developed from the Church's concern with the role of the laity in society.(266) Initially, the movement was concerned principally with the protection of ecclesiastical property and the poor from lay aggression at a time when society was becoming increasingly violent and anarchic. Subsequently, at a series of 'Peace Councils' held in the early 11th century, the Church sought to 'regulate' warfare by teaching that war was a source of sin and by urging knights to abstain from fighting during specified periods, such as Lent. 'Private war could not be abolished, so an effort was made to control it by giving it rules', Brooke has observed.(267)

During the course of the 11th century the movement spread to northern France, to Germany and to Catalonia, but there is no evidence that the Pax Dei reached León-Castile until its introduction at Santiago in 1124. The assembled clerics at Santiago

announced that the peace was to be kept 'in toto Hispanie Regno ab omnibus Christianis inviolabiliter' and prescribed the periods of the year when no layman was to commit violent acts 'ita ut nullus hominum, licet habeat cum alio homine homicidium, vel aliam quamlibet inimicitiam, praesumat eum occidere, vel capere, vel aliquo modo ei nocere.'(268) To reinforce the decrees the council required that all laymen were to swear an oath to keep the peace and promised dire consequences if that oath were subsequently broken :

'Et qui eam violare praesumpserit, Episcopus cum toto Episcopatu suo eat super eum ad destructionem ipsius et bonorum suorum, donec satisfaciat, et Dominus ejus cuius ipse fuerit, auferat ei praestimonium suum, et nullus alius deinceps eum colligere praesumat, donec de violatione pacis iuste et canonice satisfaciat.'(269)

Wars against pagans, patriae invasores or peace-breakers were excluded from the prohibitions, however. Moreover, it was declared that any man who was killed while trying to punish a peacebreaker, or else was slain during a period when he had lain down his arms, was to receive full remission of his sins 'ac si in Hierosolymitano itinere mortuus esset'.(270) It is far from clear whether the provisions of the council of 1124 had the desired effect of reducing lawlessness in León-Castile; for one thing, the Historia Compostellana refers to numerous violent acts in the years that followed.(271) Nevertheless, there is no

record that the Pax Dei was proclaimed at any subsequent church councils, while the strengthening of royal power and the resumption of campaigning against the Muslims from 1133 would seem to have largely curbed private wars and directed instead the energies of the nobility towards winning booty on the frontier with al-Andalus.

The moral conduct of laymen was also a frequent bone of contention in ecclesiastical circles. In particular, churchmen viewed with horror the widespread practice of taking concubines; the papal letter from Paschal II in 1109 condemning 'illicita copulatione' was undoubtedly issued in response to the complaints voiced by members of the Galician clergy.(272) Similarly, a privilege granted by Fernando II to the monastery of Jubia in 1169 condemned the practice whereby

'milites et satellites necnon et rustici, contra statuta canonum ac regum decreta, ancillas religiosorum ducant concubinas, quarum occasione cautos irrumpere et possessiones eorum inuadere'.(273)

The rapacity of secular lords and the oppression of the poor was likewise a frequent concern of archbishop Diego Gelmírez.(274) In 1130, for example, 'omnes Gallecie terras crudeli tyrannide oppressas et aggravatas esse videns', the archbishop and several of the leading magnates of Galicia swore an oath to administer territories more justly.(275)

Epilogue

There can be no doubt that the 12th century marked something of a watershed as far as relations between Church and Nobility were concerned. On the face of it, if it would be a clear exaggeration to affirm that the century witnessed the demise of the proprietary church system, the intrusive role of the layman in the affairs of the Church was apparently on the wane. We have seen that bishops seem only rarely to have been recruited from the ranks of the high aristocracy; large numbers of proprietary churches were turned over to episcopal control; patterns of patronage began to change and the new monasteries that were founded seem, initially at least, to have been able to keep their secular patrons at a distance. Portela has portrayed the changes in the following way:

'Si la nobleza laica altomedieval era la que utilizaba a los monasterios, a través de la propiedad o el patronazgo, como un instrumento más del dominio del espacio y de sus habitantes, la situación que nos revelan los documentos de los siglos XII y XIII supone, respecto a esto, un giro verdaderamente copernicano. Si antes los laicos eran los dueños, ahora, no solamente han dejado de serlo...sino que se ven obligados a recurrir a la protección de los monasterios.' (276).

This is surely an exaggeration. It is indeed the case that towards the end of the 12th century we encounter numerous examples of lay nobles turning to

ecclesiastical institutions for cash loans; around the same time the stream of pious donations by laymen to churches and monasteries that had flowed steadily for generations abruptly dried up.(277) But even if some noblemen were evidently beginning to feel the pinch at a time of economic crisis, this does not allow us to conclude that the aristocracy as a whole no longer enjoyed any influence in Church affairs. For at precisely the same time, numerous monastic houses continued to rely on the protection of secular patrons. Prosperous abbeys such as Oña in Castile, Moreruela in León or Sobrado in Galicia may have been able to maintain their economic independence, but a very large number of smaller foundations looked to the lay nobility to guarantee their survival. From the second half of the 12th century, we encounter references to encomenderos, that is, lay patrons responsible for the protection of a religious house.(278) If the Papacy and the church councils of León-Castile had vehemently denounced the evils of the proprietary church system at the beginning of the 12th century, churchmen were not slow to realise that a total separation between Church and Nobility was never going to be practicable and that compromise agreements with secular patrons would have to be reached. We have already referred to some of the arrangements bishops and lay nobles came to over certain ecclesiastical

properties. The ruling of the Third Lateran Council in 1179 which allowed the layman the ius patronatus over a monastic house was effectively little more than official recognition of a practice that had been going on for decades.(279) Faci is surely correct, therefore, when he asserts that the papal reform movement resulted in 'la regulación del régimen de las "iglesias propias", y no su desaparición.'(280) The Adelskirche of previous generations may have been to a very great extent a thing of the past, but lay influence in the affairs of the Church continued all the same.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. J. Gaudemet, L'Eglise dans L'Empire Romain (Paris, 1958), 304-306.
2. Fletcher, Episcopate, 165-66.
3. See, for example, C.B. Bouchard, Sword, Miter, and Cloister. Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198 (New York, 1987).
4. M.I. Loring García, 'Nobleza e iglesias propias en la Cantabria altomedieval', SH 5 (1987), 89-120, and Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 46-50.
5. Loring García, art.cit., 105.
6. Martínez Sopena, 'Parentesco y poder', 46-48.
7. Fletcher, Saint James's catapult, 43.
8. See, for example, Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 237-68.
9. ibid., 255.
10. HC, 191-2.
11. The decrees of these councils have been collected together by García y García, 'Concilios y Sínodos', 481-94.
12. Docs.Oviedo, 367-70.
13. Docs.Silos, 87-8. The terms monasterium and ecclesia were frequently employed interchangeably in the charters of the period: see M.I. Loring García, art.cit., 90-3.
14. S. Montero Díaz ed., 'La colección diplomática de San Martín de Jubia', Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela 7 (1935), 72-3, 76-7, 79-80, 84, 85-6.
15. ibid., 80-1.
16. Galicia Histórica, 142-3.

17. J. Mattoso, Le Monachisme Ibérique et Cluny: Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mille à 1200 (Louvain, 1968), 64.
18. Martín Rodríguez, Orden de Santiago, 172-4.
19. AC Tuy, 11/20. It is edited by P. Galindo Romeo, Tuy en la Baja Edad Media (2nd ed., Madrid, 1950), ap. viii. The charter is dated 13 April 1118, which is clearly wrong, since Diego Gelmírez did not accede to the archbishopric of Compostela until 1120. Equally, it could not have been redacted after 1131, the year of the death of bishop Alfonso of Tuy. It is possible that the scribe meant to write 'era M^a C^a LX^a VI^a', which would give us the year 1128.
20. AC Zamora, 14/27-8; Tumbo Negro, fol. 4r-5r, 30r-v.
21. Fletcher, Episcopate, 167, 170-1.
22. Docs. Salamanca, 104-5.
23. AHN, Clero, 1325C/21. Printed in ES XLI, 304-6.
24. AC León, no. 1399.
25. AHN, Clero, 1325H/12
26. For example, J. Orlandis, 'Reforma eclesiástica en los siglos XI y XII', in La iglesia en la España visigótica y medieval (Pamplona, 1976), 342.
27. Valcarce García, San Isidoro de León, 148; Rodríguez, Otero de las Dueñas nos. 233, 234.
28. AHN, Clero, 351/15.
29. Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, I, 272-4.
30. AC Santiago de Compostela, Pergaminos sueltos, 7/3; Rassow, 97-8.
31. GRF, 329-30.
32. AHN, Clero, 526/7 and 556/4; Vaamonde, Ferrol y Puente deume, 46-7.
33. Floriano Cumbreño, Belmonte, 72-5.

34. AC Tuy, 1/3,4 and 3/7. Published in ES XXII, 270-73. The charter recording the Barrantes venture was redacted on 14 March 1151, but the events it describes must have taken place some time between 1131, when bishop Pelayo succeeded to the bishopric of Tuy, and 1141, when count Gómez Núñez was exiled from the kingdom.
35. See Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 295-97.
36. HC, 174-5 and CAI, §124.
37. A. Ubieto Arteta, Colección Diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y de Navarra (Zaragoza, 1951), 235-38.
38. See Fletcher, Episcopate, 167-72.
39. AC León no. 1382: published by Fletcher, Episcopate, 229-30.
40. Docs.Oviedo, 355-57.
41. HC, 464, 468-70.
42. Serrano, El Moral, 41-5.
43. Martín Rodríguez, Orden de Santiago, 199-201.
44. Fletcher, Episcopate, 169.
45. Martínez Sopena, Tierra de Campos, 288-95.
46. ibid., 295.
47. See E. Sáez, 'Los ascendientes de San Rosendo', Hispania 8 (1948), 3-76, 179-233.
48. Fletcher, Saint James's catapult, 43-6.
49. Fletcher, Episcopate, 77-9.
50. ibid., 44, 78.
51. ibid., 84.
52. ibid., 80.
53. ibid., 61, 84, and St. James's catapult, 43 n.36.
54. Fletcher, Episcopate, 85.

55. On Diego Martínez, see L. Fernández, 'La abadía de Santa María de Benevívere en la Edad Media', Miscelánea Comillas 37 (1962), 13-44.
56. AHRG, Particulares, no.58.
57. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 43-5.
58. Shideler, The Montcadas, 65-86.
59. Fletcher, Episcopate, 225-7.
60. Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 241.
61. ES XVIII, 332-40; Docs.Valladolid, 24-9.
62. Cited by Chibnall, The World of Orderic Vitalis, 47.
63. ibid., 47.
64. AHN, Clero, 3440/1. It has been edited by Manrique, Annales, II, 196 and Canal Sánchez-Pagín, 'Don Pedro Fernández', 66-8.
65. AHN, Clero, 900/17.
66. Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 30-1.
67. See, for example, S. Moreta Velayos, El monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña. Historia de un dominio monástico castellano (902-1338) (Salamanca, 1971), 101.
68. Chibnall, op.cit., 50.
69. Loring García, 'Nobleza e iglesias propias', 93-4, 117.
70. ibid., 117.
71. AHN, Clero, 249/3.
72. See R. Génestal, Rôle des monastères comme établissements de crédit (Paris, 1901).
73. AHN, Clero, 378/21. See Appendix 1, no. XXIV.
74. supra note 39.
75. Docs.Oviedo, 378.
76. AHN, Clero, 1647/16.

77. AHN, Clero, 556/4; Vaamonde Lores, Ferrol y Puente deume, 69-70.
78. AHN, Clero, 1023/16 and 17.
79. ibid., 1023/18.
80. ibid., 1023/19.
81. ibid., 1023/26.
82. ibid., 1023/23 and 26.
83. On Estefanía Ramírez, see Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, xvii-xix.
84. Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 43-5.
85. ibid., xix.
86. Calvo, Gradefes, 176-9, 229-35.
87. Serrano, Vega, 166-8.
88. CAI, §32.
89. ibid., §91-4.
90. ibid., §95.
91. Serrano, Vega, xxv.
92. Fletcher, St. James's catapult, 35.
93. AHN, Clero, 526/7; Casado Lobato, Carrizo, I, 43-5.
94. See especially Mattoso, Le... Monachisme Ibérique, 83-98; Pallares Méndez, Sobrado, 107-9.
95. Floriano Cumbreño, Belmonte, 61-3.
96. ibid., 5.
97. ibid., 72-5.
98. ibid., 7.
99. M. Cocheril, 'L'implantation des abbayes cisterciennes dans la Péninsule ibérique', AEM 1 (1964), 238, 283.

100. Floriano Cumbreño, Belmonte, 92-4, 107-10, 110-12, 131-4, 188-90, 194-5.
101. ibid., 110-12.
102. ibid., 11.
103. ibid., 127-9.
104. ibid., 192-4.
105. See H. Leyser, Hermits and the New Monasticism (London, 1984).
106. For a brief survey of the expansion of the Cistercian Order, see Cocheril, 'L'implantation des abbayes cisterciennes', 219-29.
107. See J.C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin canons and their introduction into England (London, 1950) and D.M. Robinson, The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales. (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 80, 2 vols (1980), I, 5-11.
108. See H. Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford, 1951).
109. On the expansion of the Cistercian Order in the Iberian Peninsula, see especially Cocheril, 'L'implantation des abbayes cisterciennes', 217-87; V.A. Alvarez Palenzuela, Monasterios cistercienses en Castilla (Siglos XII-XIII) (Valladolid, 1978); E. Portela Silva, La colonización cisterciense en Galicia (1142-1250) (Santiago de Compostela, 1981); J. Pérez-Embú Wamba, El Císter en Castilla y León. Monacato y dominios rurales (siglos XII-XV) (Valladolid, 1986) and 'El Císter femenino en Castilla y León. La formación de los dominios (siglos XII-XIII)', En La España Medieval, V, Estudios en memoria del profesor D. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, 2 vols (Madrid, 1986), II, 761-96.
110. AHN, Clero, 378/3.
111. AHN, Códices, 1002B, fols.2v-3v; Rassow 78-9.
112. Bruel, Chartes de Cluny, V, 255-7 and 345-6. See Bishko, 'The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal', 305-56.

113. Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, I, 21-3, 27-9.
114. Pallares Méndez, Sobrado, 107-9.
115. AHN, Clero, 526/3 and 4.
116. Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, II, 24-5.
117. ibid., II, 27-8, 30-2.
118. Pallares Méndez, Sobrado, 113-45.
119. AHN, Clero, 3548/10. Published by Alfonso Antón, Moreuela, 294-5.
120. See M. Cocheril, 'La fondation de L'Abbaye de Moreuela', Etudes sur le Monachisme en Espagne et Portugal (Paris-Lisbon, 1966), 156-80; Pérez-Embid, El-Císter, 45.
121. Rassow, 105-6.
122. Manrique, Annales, II, 175.
123. Pérez-Embid, El-Císter, 47.
124. T. Moral, 'Hacia una historia de la Orden Premonstratense en España y Portugal', BRAH 165 (1969), 219-53.
125. A revealing study for Catalonia, meanwhile, is that of E. Corredera Gutiérrez, 'Los condes soberanos de Urgel y los Premonstratenses', Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia 36 (1963), 1-144.
126. On Retuerta, see F. Antón Casaseca, Monasterios Medievales de la provincia de Valladolid (2nd ed., Valladolid, 1942), 69-114.
127. AHN, Clero, 378/3. For a brief history of the abbey of La Vid, see Q. Aldea Vaquero, T. Marín Martínez and J. Vives Gatell, Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España, 4 vols (Madrid, 1972-5), III, 1704-5.
128. J.M. Lacarra, J. Uria and L. Vázquez de Parga, Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela, 3 vols (Madrid, 1948) I, 281-93.
129. Docs.Carrión, 3-5.
130. V. and J.M. García Lobo, Santa María de Arbas. Catálogo de su archivo y apuntes para su

- historia (Madrid, 1980), no.7; Floriano Llorente, San . Vicente . de . Oviedo, 324-6; Docs.Burgos, 302-3; Alfonso Antón, Moreruela, 324-5.
131. Fletcher, Saint James's catapult, 78.
132. Pallares Méndez, Sobrado, 223.
133. Bishko, 'The Cluniac priories', 337-8; Portela Silva, La colonización cisterciense, 56-9.
134. Alvarez Palenzuela, Monasterios cistercienses, 241-2.
135. Pérez-Embid, El Císter, 37.
136. Chibnall, The World of Orderic Vitalis, 50-1.
137. García Luján, Huerta, 15-17, 28-9, 35-6, 50-1, 68-70.
138. ibid., 15-17; AHN 378/9. On the nunnery of Brazacorta, see Aldea Vaquero et. al., Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica, III, 1533.
139. AHN, Clero, 899/7; Lucas Alvarez, Tumbo de Samos, 186-7; AHD Santiago de Compostela, Fondo San Martín Pinarío: Serie Priorato de Sar, 37/43; AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 15v-16r.
140. Alfonso Antón, Moreruela, 246.
141. supra, n. 64.
142. J.L. Martín, Documentos . . . Zamoranos . . . I. Documentos del Archivo Catedralicio de Zamora. Primera Parte (1128-1261) (Salamanca, 1982), 33-4.
143. AHN, Clero, 3548/16 and 17. See M.I. Alfonso Antón, 'Sobre la "amicitia" en la España medieval. Un documento de interés para su estudio', BRAH 170 (1973), 379-86, at 385-6 and Moreruela, 301-2.
144. Cited by Chibnall, The . . World . . of . . Orderic Vitalis, 53.
145. See J. Orlandis, 'Sobre la elección de sepultura en la España medieval', AHDE 20 (1950), 5-49.

146. HC, 459, 462-3, 475-6, 477-8.
147. Docs.Burgos, 175.
148. Chibnall, The World of Orderic Vitalis, 53.
149. Sagredo Fernández, 'Los condes de Bureba', 92.
150. CAI, §139.
151. Fernández Duro, Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Zamora, I, 363; Galicia Histórica, 14-16.
152. Lucas Alvarez, Tumbo de Samos, 186-7; BN, Manuscritos, 19,418, fol. 250r-v; Alfonso Antón, Moreruela, 317-18.
153. supra, page 300-1.
154. Pérez-Embid, El Císter, 46.
155. Alfonso Antón, Moreruela, 308-9.
156. Alvarez Palenzuela, Monasterios cistercienses, 88.
157. Pérez-Embid, El Císter, 277 n.22.
158. ibid., 287.
159. García Luján, Huerta, 15-17, 68-70.
160. Docs.Oña, I, 209-10.
161. Docs.Oviedo, 376-80.
162. Serrano, Vega, 75-7.
163. HC, 506.
164. Docs.Valladolid, 106-7; García Luján, Huerta, 28-9.
165. Antón Casaseca, Monasterios Medievales, 259-60, 260-2.
166. Docs.Oviedo, 401-2; Galicia Histórica, 14-16; García Luján, Huerta, 68-70.
167. Montero Díaz, Jubia, 84-5.

168. E. Duro Peña, 'El monasterio de San Pedro de Vilanova de Dozón', 40-3; Serrano, Vega, 166-8.
169. See in this context, L.C. Kofman and M.I. Carzolio Rossi, 'Acerca de la demografía astur-leonesa y castellana en la Alta Edad Media', CHE 47-48 (1968), 156-61.
170. García Luján, Huerta, 68-70.
171. Docs.Salamanca, 101-3, 109-10; García Luján, Huerta, 52-3.
172. Galicia Histórica, 14-16.
173. Calvo, Gradefes, 173-4.
174. Docs.Silos, 87-8.
175. AHN, Códices, 1439B, fol. 37v-38r; Docs.Valladolid, 91-2.
176. Docs.Valladolid, 178-9.
177. AHN, Clero, 497/4.
178. Bruel, Chartes de Cluny, V, 280-2.
179. Minguella, Sigüenza, 390-1.
180. M. Bonaudo de Magnani, 'El monasterio de San Salvador de Oña. Economía agraria y sociedad rural. (1011-1399)', CHE 51-52 (1970), 77.
181. Docs.Oña, I, 209-10.
182. AHN, Clero, 894/18: edited by Escalona, Sahagún, 518.
183. Docs.Oña, I, 215-17, 220-1.
184. supra, n. 64.
185. AC Tuy, 10/24. See Appendix 1, no. XIII.
186. Docs.Oviedo, 392-5.
187. HC, 478.
188. supra, n. 172.
189. AHN, Clero, 1325C/7.

190. Floriano Cumbreño, Belmonte, 131-4.
191. supra, n. 172.
192. Docs.Carrión, 61-3.
193. AHN, Clero, 900/18.
194. See J. Orlandis, 'Traditio corporis et animae. La familiaritas en las iglesias y monasterios españoles de la Alta Edad Media', AHDE 24 (1954), 95-280.
195. J. Puyol, El abadengo de Sahagún (Madrid, 1915), 227. See, for example, the case of Froila Arias, who in 1151 granted various properties to the abbey of Sobrado and declared his wish to join the community 'ut accipia ibi confessionem ad salutem anime mee': Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, I, 403.
196. Moreta Velayos, San Pedro de Cardeña, 104.
197. AHN, Clero, 556/4; AHN, Códices, 324B, fol. 343v.
198. AHN, Clero, 894/11: edited by Escalona, Sahagún, 515-16.
199. HC, 414.
200. AHN, Clero, 512/10.
201. AHN, Clero, 1325E/23. See Appendix 1, no. XX.
202. Alamo, Oña, I, 113-14; AHN, Códices, 1002B, fol. 98r.
203. Galicia Histórica, 142-3.
204. Docs.Oña, I, 269-71.
205. Montero Díaz, Jubia, 84-5.
206. Docs.Oña, I, 177.
207. See P. Brown, The making of late antiquity (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 85-6; Fletcher, Saint James's catapult, 83-4.
208. Fletcher, St. James's catapult, 86-7.
209. Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 357.

210. Fletcher, Saint James's catapult, 93.
211. Lacarra et.al., Las peregrinaciones I, 59-61.
212. CAI, §90.
213. LFH IV, ap., 12-15, 21-5, 28-30, ; Galicia Histórica, 433-5; AU Santiago de Compostela, pergaminos sueltos, no. 14; Archivo del Monasterio de San Payo de Antealtares, 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, nos. 16 and 50.
214. HC, 91-2.
215. V. Vignau, Indice de los documentos del monasterio de Sahagún (Madrid, 1874), nos. 1408 and 1414.
216. AHN, Clero, 890/14; HC, 328-9; AHN, Clero, 527/6, 1126/6.
217. HC, 561; AHN, Códices, 1439B, fol. 23v..
218. Docs.Oña, I, 269-71.
219. CAI, §48, 125.
220. HC, 291-2, 428-30.
221. See Fletcher, Episcopate, 158-80.
222. ibid., 159.
223. HC, 69-73, 135-6, 151-3, 185-9, 198-9, 301-3, 304-7, 314-5, 325-6, 424-5, 443-4 .
224. ibid., 218-19.
225. ibid., 314-15. The identification of the castle by the Isso as that of Grovas is made by J. Campelo in Historia Compostelana o sea hechos de D. Diego Gelmírez, trans. M. Suárez (Santiago de Compostela, 1950), 293 n. 2.
226. ibid., 315-16.
227. ibid., 357.
228. ibid., 194-5, 204-5, 446-7, 570-1, 590-1.
229. ibid., 97-8, 107, 390.

230. ibid., 328-9, 357.
231. See M.I. Alfonso Antón, 'Conflictos en el proceso de expansión de un señorío monástico', Homenaje a Emilio Gómez Orbaneja: Moneda y Crédito (Madrid, 1977), 20.
232. ES, XVIII, 345-9.
233. CDO, I, 145-7.
234. AC León no. 1410: edited by Fletcher, Episcopate, 238-9.
235. Docs.Palencia, 86-7. See Appendix 1, no. XI.
236. Vignau, Eslonza, 19-20.
237. Escalona, Sahagún, 526-7.
238. Bruel, Chartes de Cluny, V, 361-3.
239. AHN, Clero, 899/11. See Appendix 1, no. XVII.
240. supra, n. 32.
241. Vaamonde Lores, Ferrol y Puente deume, 47.
242. AHN, Clero, 556/4. Appendix 1, no. XIX.
243. ibid.
244. An account of the dispute may be found in F.J. Fernández Conde, La Iglesia en Asturias en la Alta Edad Media (Oviedo, 1972), 127-33.
245. On the early history of the monastery, see the introduction to Floriano Cumbreño, Cornellana and Libro Registro de Corias, II, 405.
246. Floriano Cumbreño, Cornellana, 22-6 and Libro Registro de Corias, I, 130.
247. ibid., 191-4; Docs.Oviedo, 367-70; Bruel, Chartes de Cluny, V, 314-17.
248. Docs.Oviedo, 376-80. The authenticity of this charter has been called into question by Fernández Conde, La Iglesia en Asturias, 133 n. 60, although the author makes no attempt to demonstrate his claim. My own examination of the document in question, however, has found nothing in it that raises cause for suspicion.

249. Bruel, Chartes de Cluny, V, 363.
250. Fernández Conde, La Iglesia en Asturias, 127.
251. AHN, Clero, 518/13. The document has been edited by E. Duro Peña, 'El monasterio de San Pedro de Ramiranes', AL 25 (1971), 59-60 and M. Lucas Alvarez and P.P. Lucas Domínguez, San Pedro de Ramirás. Un monasterio femenino en la Edad Media. Colección diplomática (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), 182-3. The charter, which survives in a 12th century copy, raises numerous problems for the historian, which have not been dealt with by either of its two editors. The document is dated 26 June 1137, but must be reassigned to the period 1138-1140, since Diego Muñoz, maiordomus imperatoris between 11 December 1138 and 19 December 1144, and Diego Froilaz, alférez between 2 October 1137 and 26 June 1140, witness. We know from other sources that Alfonso VII was with his court at Salamanca on 24 and 26 June 1140 (Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers, I, 110; Galicia Histórica, 75-6); the similarity of the witness list attached to the charter he had drawn up on 26 June, with the confirmantes who appear in the Ramiranes document, make it highly likely that the dispute between Alvaro Rubeo and the nuns of Ramiranes was heard at court in June 1140. The presence of one 'Pelagius Astoricensis episcopus', who is known to have held the see of Astorga between 1097 and 1121, among the witnesses to the document is probably to be attributed to a blunder by the copyist.
252. See, for example, the conueniencia of 1121 published in CDMR, 116-17.
253. HC, 548.
254. ibid., 558-60.
255. supra, n. 200.
256. HC, 431-2.
257. ibid., 501-2.
258. ibid., 502.
259. ibid., 547-8.

260. ibid., 505.
261. ibid., 192, 485.
262. Bonnassie, 'Del Ródano a Galicia', 42-3.
263. HC, 71-2, 105-6, 430-1.
264. See, for example, R. Pastor, 'Las primeras rebeliones burguesas en Castilla y León (Siglo XII). Análisis histórico-social de una coyuntura', Conflictos... sociales... y estancamiento económico en la España medieval (2nd ed., Barcelona, 1980), 13-101 and Resistencias y luchas campesinas, 113-41.
265. HC, 417-19.
266. See, for example, H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and Truce of God in the eleventh century', Past and Present 46 (1970), 42-67; T.N. Bisson, 'The organized peace in Southern France and Catalonia (ca.1140-ca.1223)', American Historical Review 82 (1977), 290-311; G. Duby, 'Laitly and the peace of God', The Chivalrous Society (London, 1977), 123-33; P. Contamine, War in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1984), 270-5
267. Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 350.
268. HC, 418.
269. ibid., 418.
270. ibid., 418.
271. ibid., 431-2, 501-2, 547.
272. ibid., 90.
273. GRF, 265-6.
274. HC, 175-6, 217.
275. ibid., 502-5.
276. Portela Silva, La colonización cisterciense, 120.
277. On loans to the nobility, supra, n. 72-3 and Portela Silva, La colonización cisterciense, 119-21. On the slump in donations to religious

houses, see Moreta Velayos, San Pedro de Cardena, 199-204; J.A. García de Cortázar, El dominio del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos X a XIII) (Salamanca, 1971), 334; Pallares Méndez, Sobrado, 224, 241-3; Bonaudo de Magnani, 'San Salvador de Oña', 78-9.

278. The earliest reference to the practice in the 12th century occurs in a charter of 1165 in which Arias Pérez, the vassal of count Ramiro Froilaz, is described as 'tenente comenda' of the monastery of San Martín de Castañeda: Rodríguez González, Tumbo de Castañeda, 96-7. On the development of encomiendas, see Pérez-Embid, El Císter, 208-12 and J.L. Santos Díez, La encomienda de monasterios en la corona de Castilla (Madrid, 1961).
279. J. Faci, in F.J. Fernández Conde, Historia de la Iglesia en España, II-1^o. La Iglesia en la España de los siglos VIII-XIV (Madrid, 1982), 139.
280. ibid., 139.