

THE COMING-OF-AGE OF A NORTHERN IBERIAN
FRONTIER BISHOPRIC : CALAHORRA, 1045-1190

Carolina Carl

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The Coming-of-Age of a Northern Iberian Frontier Bishopric: Calahorra, 1045-1190

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ABSTRACT

The northern Iberian Bishopric of Calahorra was re-founded in 1045 by García III of Navarre. Between that date and the death of its eighth post-restoration bishop in 1190 all or part of its diocesan territory changed hands seven times between the Kingdoms of Navarre, Leon-Castile/Castile, and Aragon, as they competed over the riojan frontier-zone on which it was located. The position of the diocese on such a volatile secular frontier had consistently profound, but also steadily changing, effects on its political and institutional development. In the initial phase of Calahorra's restoration, its bishop was enormously empowered by his central role in the consolidation of Navarre's southern and western frontiers, but was held back from establishing a centralized diocesan administration by the insecurities inherent in the borderland condition of his see. Following a change of political regime in the Rioja in 1076, the bishopric suffered the severe consequences of its total identification with a defeated secular power when its embryonic diocesan structures were comprehensively dismantled and its bishops subjected to a dominant and hostile crown that effectively undermined their diocesan authority. The debilitation of royal authority in the Rioja and the region's political marginalization between 1109 and 1134 provided the context for the emergence of the see's independent political stance and its notably autonomous and rapid development of a strong cathedral. When Leonese-Castilian regional dominance was forcefully re-asserted between 1134 and 1157, the Bishops of Calahorra were able to put the forceful currents of canonical reform that emanated from an increasingly comprehensive and emphatically territorial secular ecclesiastical hierarchy to use in combining their centrality to the north-eastern border politics of the Crown of Leon-Castile with the independent pursuit of a specifically diocesan agenda. When Castile ceased serving Calahorra's territorial interests towards the end of the twelfth century, the see used the political leverage it gained by its inclusion in the Aragonese Metropolitanate of Tarragona to distance itself from Castilian politics, thus revealing its maturity as a frontier power in its own right.

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INTRODUCTION

The Bishopric of Calahorra was re-founded by García III of Navarre (1035-1054) on April 30, 1045, shortly after the king's (re)conquest of the traditional seat of its Roman and Visigothic bishops in the city of Calahorra at the eastern end of the Lower Rioja (Rioja Baja) from the Taifa Kingdom of Zaragoza. Between that date and the death of Rodrigo Cascante, its ninth post-re-foundation bishop, on March 17, 1190, the see, like the remainder of the Iberian secular church under the influence of an increasingly dominant reforming papacy, underwent enormous transformations as it laid and extended its institutional foundations in a process from which it emerged an emphatically secular, territorial, and hierarchical ecclesiastical institution.

Quite typically in the context of a secular Church that was in the process of establishing physical boundaries that were entirely uncharted at the beginning of this period, no records of the see's exact geographical extension exist for the first 150 years of its post-re-foundation history. However, references to its eleventh-century bishops' authority over the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla and the church of Santa María la Real de Nájera in the Upper Rioja (*Rioja Alta*), and the Cathedral of Calahorra and the monastery of San Martín de Albelda in the Lower Rioja (*Rioja Baja*), indicate that the diocese was restored to coincide with the power of the Kingdom of Navarre in the Rioja, from the region's western borders with Old Castile beyond the valley of the river Oja, to the front line of Navarre's expansion into Zaragoza beyond the lower riojan Cidacos river valley. To the north the Rioja, and with it the Bishopric of Calahorra, was bounded by the line defined by the river Ebro, and to the south, its frontier with the County of Castile was defined by the mountains of the Sierra de la Demanda and the sorian highlands. Between 1049 and the mid-1060's, the Bishopric of Calahorra was

temporarily extended westwards into the old-Castilian territories of the suppressed Diocese of Valpuedra (see map 1). Its assimilation around 1090 of the Diocese of Alava signified the massive extension of its territory northwards over the Basque regions of Alava, Vizcaya, and part of what is today the Province of Guipúzcoa, up to the Cantabrian coast (see map 2). However, this was more a theoretical extension than a real one: in practice the Bishops of Calahorra encountered enormous and highly effective regional opposition to the imposition of their diocesan authority in their Basque provinces.

The defining characteristic of the geographical Bishopric of Calahorra in all of its various manifestations between 1045 and 1190, like many other sees in the highly politically fragmented Iberian Peninsula in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was its occupation of an extremely volatile frontier zone. Calahorra was situated on territory that was not only contested by Christian and Muslim Iberia, but was also the scene of the ferocious struggles for territorial supremacy that defined relations between the northern Christian Kingdoms of Navarre, Leon-Castile/Castile, and Aragon for much of this period. Thus while the Bishopric of Calahorra was originally resurrected to guard Navarre's western and southern frontiers with Castile, the division of Navarre between Leon-Castile and Aragon in 1076 signified the assimilation of the Rioja by the former, as well as the extension of Leonese-Castilian influence over the semi-autonomous regions of Alava and Vizcaya. Then, following the marriage in 1109 of Urraca, Queen of Leon-Castile, to Alfonso I of Aragon, Leon-Castile was plunged into a civil war which resulted in the occupation of the Rioja by Aragon in 1110, and the extension of its authority over Calahorra's Basque provinces. At the same time, the stretch of territory from the Cidacos to the Alfaro river valleys in the Lower Rioja that was to constitute the eastern limits of the Bishopric of Calahorra remained in Muslim hands

until the massive extension of Aragon into the Taifa Kingdom of Zaragoza between 1118 and 1121. The death of Alfonso I 'the Battler' of Aragon in 1134 was followed by the re-assimilation of the Rioja by the Crown of Leon-Castile, which subsequently used the region as the base for the forceful extension of its influence over neighbouring Aragon, the resurrected Kingdom of Navarre, and the Basque nobility. The implosion of the Kingdom of Castile which accompanied the succession of the 3-year-old Alfonso VIII in 1158 was followed in 1163 by a Navarrese occupation of the Rioja and Old Castile which established a frontier between the two powers that ran right through the riojan heartlands of the see. Finally, Castile's subsequent north-eastern offensive culminated in 1179 in the re-integration of the Rioja into the Kingdom of Castile, with Alava and Vizcaya remaining within Navarre's sphere of influence. The upshot of all this frenetic riojan competition was that all or part of the borderland Diocese of Calahorra changed hands no less than seven times during the first century-and-a-half after its re-foundation.

Calahorra's location on such a hot secular frontier had enormous implications for its political and institutional development, and these are the subject of the study which follows. The history of this frontier diocese in the thirteenth century has been studied in detail by Pablo Díaz Bodegas, in a work entitled 'The Diocese of Calahorra and La Calzada in the Thirteenth Century: The Bishopric, its Bishops and Institutions' (my translation).¹ Despite the promise of its title, this highly anecdotal study casts the most cursory of glances at Calahorra's institutions, of which it paints a static picture that leaves no room for discussion of their development over time. While it does address the political implications of Calahorra's frontier condition in depth, it makes no

¹ Pablo Díaz Bodegas, *La Diócesis de Calahorra y La Calzada en el siglo XIII (La sede, sus obispos e instituciones)*, Logroño, 1995

connection between these and the see's institutional and territorial evolution. The only comprehensive account to be written about the history of the Bishopric of Calahorra in the first 150 years after its restoration is included in Eliseo Sainz Ripa's encyclopaedic history of 'Bishoprics of the Rioja from the fourth to the thirteenth Centuries' (my translation).² This is disappointingly disorganized and un-argued, and peppered with inaccuracies and loyalist Catholic and nationalist interpretations that derive from the author's heavy reliance on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century secondary sources, and his overly literal reading of medieval documents.

In the introduction to his 1978 study of the twelfth-century secular church in the Kingdom of Leon, Richard Fletcher identified an urgent need to 'survey the scene', especially with regard to the poorer sees in the north of the peninsula.³ Almost 30 years later, much work remains to be done. Although numerous monographs dedicated to the study of medieval Iberian bishoprics have been published in the past few decades, the interest of their authors has gravitated overwhelmingly towards the peninsular archbishoprics or to those episcopal re-foundations that represented the vanguard of the Christian Iberian (re)conquest.⁴ Similarly, while prominent northern sees with strong royal associations have received considerable scholarly attention, their poorer and less influential neighbours have been largely overlooked.⁵ This is especially true of those

² Eliseo Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja*, vol.I: 'Siglos IV-XIII, Diócesis de Calahorra y La Calzada', Logroño, 1994.

³ Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1978, pp.29-30.

⁴ A few examples are provided by: Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, *Iglesia, Sociedad y Poder en Castilla: El Obispado de Cuenca en la Edad Media (Siglos XII-XV)*, Cuenca, 2003; Angel Barrios García, *La catedral de Avila en la Edad Media: Estructural socio-jurídica y económica*, Avila, 1973; Marta González Vázquez, *El arzobispado de Santiago: una instancia de poder en la Edad Media (1150-1400)*, La Coruña, 1996; Juan Barreiro Somoza, *El señorío de la Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela (siglos IX-XIII)*, La Coruña, 1987; José Luis Martín Martín, *El cabildo de la catedral de Salamanca, Siglos XII-XIII*, Salamanca, 1975; Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *La Iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII (1086-1208)*, Rome & Toledo, 1966-1976.

⁵ Tomás Villacorta Rodríguez, *El cabildo catedral de León. Estudio histórico-jurídico. Siglos XII-XIX*, León, 1974; Hilario Casado Alonso, *La propiedad eclesiástica en la ciudad de Burgos en el siglo XV: el Cabildo Catedralicio*, Valladolid, 1979.

bishoprics that perched on the ever-shifting political borders of medieval northern Iberia, whose enduring unpopularity with Spanish scholars derives from their ambiguous position on a map of the peninsular secular church that was 'restored' according to the dictates of medieval Christian kingdoms, and has since been studied from the various nationalist perspectives of Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, and Galician historians.⁶

The time-frame for this study was determined at one end by the date of Calahorra's re-foundation in 1045, and at the other by Díaz Bodegas' book, which picks up the narrative thread in the last decade of the twelfth century.

In attempting an analytical examination of Calahorra's development on the frontier between 1045 and 1190, I have been able to take advantage of the monumental efforts that have gone into organizing Spain's medieval documentary heritage over the past few decades. As a result of these efforts, Calahorra's cathedral archive and those of its collegiate churches, as well as the archives of the most important medieval riojan monasteries, have been published in modern, critical, and comprehensive editions.⁷ These are complemented by editions of the archives of the neighbouring Bishoprics of Pamplona and Burgos, numerous published collections of royal diplomas, and editions

⁶ Ricardo García Villoslada (ed.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, Madrid, 1979, vol.II, ch.7: 'Movimiento de reorganización eclesiástica', pp.300-35.

⁷ Rodríguez de Lama, I. (ed.), *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, and: 'Crónica-obituario de Calahorra', in: *Berceo 97* (1979), pp.87-120; Sainz Ripa, E. (ed.), *Colección diplomática de las colegiadas de Albelda y Logroño*, vol.I: 924-1399, Logroño, 1981; López de Silanes, C. & Sainz Ripa, E. (ed.), *Colección diplomática calceatense, archivo Catedral (1125-1397)*, Logroño, 1985; Ubieta Arteta, A.(Agustín)(ed.), *Cartularios I, II & III de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, Zaragoza, 1978, and: *Cartulario de Albelda*, Zaragoza, 1981; Cantera Montenegro, M. (ed.), *Colección documental de Santa María la Real de Nájera*, vol.I: ss. X-XIV, San Sebastian, 1991; García Turza, F.J. (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de Valvanera, ss. XI-XIII*, Zaragoza, 1985, and: *Documentación medieval del monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce ss. X-XV*, Logroño, 1992; Ledesma Rubio, M.L. (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla, 1076-1200*, Zaragoza, 1989; Ubieta Arteta, A.(Antonio)(ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (759-1076)*, Valencia, 1976; Monterde Albiac, C. (ed.), *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Fitero (1140-1210)*, Zaragoza, 1978; Cantera Montenegro, M. (ed.), 'Santa María la Real de Nájera, siglos XI-XIV', vol.II (Appendix of primary sources), Complutense University Madrid, 1987.

of papal letters concerning the Iberian Church.⁸ Additional primary sources relating to the eleventh- and twelfth-century Bishopric of Calahorra can be found in the published archives of monasteries from neighbouring regions, as well as national and municipal archives, collections of medieval legal texts, and José María Lacarra's 'Documents for the study of the reconquest and repopulation of the Ebro valley' (my translation).⁹ I have consulted some 600 charters from these various collections, which contain information concerning royal government, Calahorra's diocesan administration and

⁸ José Manuel Garrido Garrido (ed.), *Documentación de la Catedral de Burgos (804–1183)*, Burgos, 1983, and: *Documentación de la Catedral de Burgos (1184–1222)*, Burgos, 1983; Luciano Serrano, *El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla Primitiva ss. V–XIII*, vol.III (Documentos), Madrid, 1936; José Goñi Gaztambide (ed.), *Colección diplomática de la Catedral de Pamplona I (829–1243)*, Pamplona, 1997; Pilar Blanco Lozano, *Colección diplomática de Fernando I (1037–1065)*, León, 1987; Julio González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, vol.II (Documentos), Madrid, 1960; José Angel Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona (1104–1134)*, San Sebastián, 1990; Cristina Monterde Albiac (ed.), *Diplomatario de la Reina Urraca de Castilla y León (1109–1126)*, Zaragoza, 1996; Pablo Díaz Bodegas, Saturnio Ruiz de Loizaga, & Eliseo Sainz Ripa (eds.), *Documentación vaticana sobre la diócesis de Calahorra y La Calzada – Logroño (463–1342)*, Logroño, 1995; Demetrio Mansilla (ed.), *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, Rome, 1955.

⁹ Juan Lizoáin Garrido (ed.), *Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos (1116–1230)*, Burgos, 1985; Isabel Oceja Gonzalo (ed.), *Documentación del monasterio de San Salvador de Oña (1032–1284)*, Burgos, 1983; Francisco Javier Peña Pérez (ed.), *Documentación del monasterio de San Juan de Burgos (1091–1400)*, Burgos, 1983; Luciano Serrano (ed.), *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza, antiguo monasterio benedictino*, Madrid, 1925; Miguel Vivancos Gómez (ed.), *Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (954–1254)*, Burgos, 1988; David Alegría Suescun, Guadalupe Lopetegui Semperena, & Aitor Pescador Medrano (eds.), *Archivo General de Navarra, 1134–1194*, Astigarraga, 1997; Sebastian Andrés Valero (ed.), 'Documentación medieval del Archivo Municipal de Logroño (I)', *Brocar* vol.5, Fascimile 1 (1979), pp.105–9; Emiliano González Díez (ed.), *Colección diplomática del Concejo de Burgos, 884–1369*, Burgos, 1984; José Gabriel Moya Valgañón (ed.), 'Documentos medievales del Archivo Municipal de Nájera', *Brocar* vol.7, Fascimiles 1&2 (1981), pp.55–62; Ana María Barrero García & María Luz Alonso Martín (eds.), *Textos de derecho local español en la Edad Media: Catálogo de fueros y costums municipales*, Madrid, 1989; Eduardo de Hinojosa (ed.), *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y Castilla, ss. X–XIII*, Madrid, 1919; José María Lacarra (ed.), *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro*, vols.I & II, Zaragoza, 1982 & 1985.

internal regulation, economic and legal transactions involving the see and its representatives, and communications relating to ecclesiastical litigation.

The greatest difficulty presented by these sources concerns their uneven temporal distribution: not only is their sparse coverage of the eleventh century replaced for the twelfth by a rapidly increasing torrent of data, but this progression is itself also sharply dented with regard to every episode of political or institutional instability suffered by the Bishopric of Calahorra. It has therefore been possible to reconstruct a far fuller picture of the diocese from the 1120's to the 1180's, than of the first seven decades that followed its re-foundation. Similarly, the relatively well-documented period during which the see formed a fundamental support for Navarre's southern dominions gave way between 1076 and the opening decade of the twelfth century to a period of diocesan debilitation that has left only the faintest of marks on the documentary record. Another such documentary dip, which occurs with respect to the late 1150's and early 1160's, was occasioned by the context of political insecurity determined by Castile's internal collapse during the minority of Alfonso VIII. The extremely uneven coverage provided by the sources is reflected in the structure of this study, in which the five episcopates that covered Calahorra's 'weak phase' in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries are compiled into a single chapter, while the late and extraordinarily long episcopate of Rodrigo Cascante has been tackled under three separate headings.

The broad range of secondary sources that support this study reflects the convergence of various historical themes on the subject of Calahorra's eleventh- and twelfth-century development. In the first place, it has been necessary to situate the evolution of the diocese within the context of the great transformations experienced by the western Church in general during this period under the increasingly dominant

influence of the Reform Papacy, as well as the more specific framework provided by the development of the Iberian Church. An understanding of the political history of the Kingdoms of Navarre, Leon-Castile/Castile, and Aragon has also been fundamental to the analysis of their impact on the see's development, as has the use of regional studies into various aspects of the history of the Rioja, Alava, and Vizcaya during the period 1050-1200. Finally, important lines of enquiry have been suggested by a variety of works concerning different aspects of the medieval frontier.

It was my original intention to concentrate on the development of the Cathedral and chapter of Calahorra in their local and regional social contexts, in a study that was thematically, rather than chronologically, structured. Although it has been possible to attempt this for the second half of the period in question, both the scarcity of the primary sources regarding this aspect of the see's evolution before the 1120's, and the clearly enormous influence of the region's political history on the Bishopric of Calahorra during this period led me to modify this sociological approach in favour of one that relies more on political and institutional interpretations.

The principal aim of this thesis has been to examine Calahorra's development over a relatively long period in the context of a frontier zone with an exceptionally complex political history. It has therefore been tackled chronologically in the interests of both clarity and cohesion. As the principal intermediaries between royal politics and their diocese, the Bishops of Calahorra take on a particular significance in the context of the present enquiry, which has therefore been subdivided into sections dealing with individual episcopates. Although the episcopates of the nine Bishops of Calahorra who ruled the see between 1046 and 1190 were examined individually, it became clear during the course of this investigation that they fall into four groups of varying sizes that reflect four notably distinct phases in Calahorra's political and institutional

development. These phases have determined the four sections into which this thesis is divided.

In 'Part One: The Jewel in the Crown', the central role assumed by the Bishopric of Calahorra in the politics of Navarre's frontier with Castile under Bishop Gómez (1046-1065) is examined. 'Part Two: The Eclipse of a Frontier Bishopric', is a discussion of the enormously detrimental effects on the see's development of its marginalization under Sancho IV of Navarre and the subsequent annexation of the Rioja by Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile in 1076. This section is subdivided into two chapters, defined by the episcopates of Bishop Munio (1066-1080) and his various, occasionally overlapping, and generally short-lived successors (1081-1108). 'Part Three: Independence on the Periphery', contains an examination into the establishment of a largely autonomous cathedral in Calahorra by two consecutive bishops in the context of the political marginalization of the frontier zone occupied by their diocese. This section is subdivided into two chapters, the first dedicated to the episcopate of Sancho de Grañón (1109-1116), and the second to that of Bishop Sancho de Funes (1118-1146). Finally, 'Part Four: Coming of Age', contains an analysis of three different aspects of Calahorra's emergence as a frontier-power in its own right under Bishop Rodrigo Cascante (1147-1190). It is subdivided into three chapters, the first dealing with the see's relations with the secular powers that surrounded it, the second with the drastic reform of its cathedral, and the third with the extension of its territorial power by a determined and litigious bishop.

Six maps and various charts and tables have been included in this thesis in order to support the discussion of certain developments that are examined in its text. As these are based on documentary evidence that is patchy and often vague, it must be stressed that they are not precise or complete representations of medieval realities, but are

intended as illustrations that might provide a useful tool in the interpretation of the data they depict despite their obvious shortcomings.

In attempting this study, it has been my aim to provide a critical analysis of the available primary sources that has been lacking in previous accounts of the eleventh- and twelfth-century history of the Diocese of Calahorra, and to provide future students of the development of northern Iberian frontier bishoprics with a model that can be usefully extended or modified.

PART ONE

THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN: BISHOP GÓMEZ AND THE RULERS OF NAVARRE, 1045-1065

Gómez makes his first documentary appearance as Bishop of Calahorra in a charter recording a donation made on October 31, 1045, by García III, King of Navarre (1035-1054), to the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, whose abbacy Gómez had held since 1039, and would continue to hold until his death in 1065.¹ The context of his episcopal debut concisely reflects the three most important characteristics that from the outset defined his episcopate. The first concerns his enormous personal power: this document, in which Gómez is for the first time referred to as both abbot of the Rioja's most powerful monastic foundation, and bishop of the diocese to which it belonged, records an important stage on his meteoric rise to the position of regional ecclesiastical superpower, which would culminate in his total monopoly of the riojan church. The second concerns the Cathedral of Calahorra's enduring insignificance as a diocesan centre during this period, here reflected by the absence of any references to Calahorra, whose Navarrese (re)conquest just six months previously had opened the way for the re-foundation of Gómez's see. The last, and by far the most important, concerns the all-encompassing identification with the Crown of Navarre that determined every aspect of Gómez's episcopate, here illustrated by his appearance in the context of a royal Navarrese charter.

¹ Antonio Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (759-1076)*, Valencia, 1976, 237; Ildelfonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol. II, footnote 1 to 221.

Gómez's proximity to the Crown of Navarre is most basically illustrated by his confirmations of 16 surviving charters of the Navarrese royal family, which reveal him to have been an active curial figure.² The particular esteem in which he was held by García III before his appointment as Bishop of Calahorra is reflected by an abundance of royal documents, some of which were issued before October 1045, in which Gómez is addressed as 'venerable father', 'spiritual father', 'glorious abbot', 'our lord Gómez, glorious bishop and abbot', and even on one occasion 'most serene pontiff' by the king.³

A document dated December 13, 1063, in which García III's son, Sancho IV of Navarre (1054-1076), referred to Gómez as '*magistro meo*' when remembering some sins that he had revealed to the bishop '*in confessione*', reveals that the bishop's proximity to the Navarrese royal family had been extended down one generation when Gómez had been appointed confessor to García III's heir.⁴ Gómez's position at the very heart of the Navarrese royal household is also illustrated by his nomination as the only ecclesiastic among the six executors of the will drawn up in 1060 by García III's widow, Estefanía, of which his episcopal church of Santa María la Real de Nájera was furthermore the primary beneficiary.⁵

Gómez's unrivalled proximity to the King of Navarre provides the background to his appointment in 1045 to the Bishopric of Calahorra. His consecration, a decidedly royal affair, took place on March 14, 1046, in the presence of García III and Queen Estefanía, who marked the occasion by making a suitably grand personal

² Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol. II, 7, 13, & 18; Margarita Cantera Montenegro, 'Santa María la Real de Nájera: Siglos XI-XIV' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Complutense University Madrid, 1987, vol.II (appendix of primary sources), 10; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 237, 241, 242, 246, 255, 256, 259, 260, 267-9, & 285.

³ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 234-6, 241-3, & 246.

⁴ Agustín Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Cartulario de Albelda*, Zaragoza, 1981, 49.

⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 19.

donation to their new bishop.⁶ The historic Roman and Visigothic diocese to which Gómez was appointed had been resurrected in 1045 on frontier territory that extended from the city of Calahorra itself and the Lower Rioja in the east, to the Upper Rioja in the west. After the integration of the Bishopric of Valpuesta into Calahorra's diocese in or just after 1049 (which is discussed in greater detail below), and before Castile's gradual recovery of Valpuesta's territory from Navarre between 1054 and 1067, the Diocese of Calahorra also extended east of the Rioja far into Old Castile, and from there northwards to the Cantabrian coast.⁷ Although there are no precise descriptions of the see's territorial extension in the mid-eleventh-century, it is clear from Gómez's entitulation as bishop in (variously) 'Calahorra', 'Nájera', 'San Millán', 'Albelda', and 'Old Castile', that his diocese extended, at least in theory, (and, in the case of its Old Castilian territories, temporarily) from the line of the Ebro southwards and westwards to Navarre's border with the reduced County of Castile, and eastwards to its frontier with the Taifa kingdom of Zaragoza (see map).⁸

The Bishopric of Calahorra as it was restored in 1045 and extended in 1049 thus coincided precisely with the front line of Navarre's eleventh-century expansions, both that which had seen the Pyrenean kingdom's assimilation of Old Castile by right of inheritance on the death of Sancho (III) the Great of Navarre in 1035, and the

⁶ Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 241.

⁷ José María Mínguez, *Alfonso VI: Poder, expansión y reorganización interior*, Hondarribia, 2000, p.62; Luis Javier Fortún Pérez de Ciriza & Carmen Jusué Simonena, *Historia de Navarra I: Antigüedad y Alta Edad Media*, Pamplona, 1993, pp.104-5.

⁸ Gómez is called Bishop in/of Calahorra in: Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 9, 15, & 21; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 44, 47, & 49; Pilar Blanco Lozano (ed.), *Colección Diplomática de Fernando I (1037-1065)*, León, 1987, 66; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 242, 260, & 288; Bishop in/of Nájera in: Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 10, 13, & 18; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 50 & 51; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 241, 256, 259, 269, & 279; Bishop in/of San Millán in: Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 17; Bishop in Albelda in: Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación Medieval del Monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce (ss.X-XV)*, Logroño, 1992, 6; and Bishop in Old Castile in: Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 288.

Navarrese conquest of much of the Lower Rioja from Zaragoza in 1045.⁹ The strategic importance of this frontier diocese to García III, whose reign was predominantly focussed on the socio-economic promotion of the Upper Rioja and the consolidation of Navarre's expansion into eastern Castile, and whose enthusiastic adoption of the western riojan town of Nájera as his principal centre of government has even earned him the nickname 'el de Nájera' among Spanish historians, can hardly be over-estimated.¹⁰

The most eloquent illustration of the centrality of the Bishopric of Calahorra to García III's political project is provided by the Navarrese king's foundation of Santa María la Real de Nájera as an important diocesan centre some time before 1052.¹¹ This magnificent urban church and Navarrese royal pantheon was undoubtedly García III's most important ecclesiastical foundation. Its significance lay partly in its situation within the city that constituted the political and administrative nexus of his reign, from whence it proclaimed the physical and symbolic unity of Church and Crown within the kingdom. It also served a very important purpose as a prominent episcopal power-base, strategically placed to facilitate the Bishop of Calahorra's collaboration in the defence and consolidation of Navarre's southern and western borders with Castile.

There has been some disagreement among Spanish historians concerning Santa María la Real's status during the first three decades of its existence, before its transferral to Cluny by Alfonso VI of Castile in the late 1070's, with some claiming that this urban foundation was from the outset a monastery, and was never intended to

⁹ Fortún Pérez de Ciriza & Jusué Simonena, *Historia de Navarra*, pp. 102-104.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.102-4; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.I, pp.75-9; Francisco Javier García Turza, 'Ciudades y aldeas: Nájera', García de Cortazar, J.A. (ed.), *Del Cantábrico al Duero: Trece estudios sobre organización social del espacio en los siglos VIII a XIII*, Santander, 1999, pp.234-6.

¹¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 13.

serve as a diocesan centre.¹² However, the length and number of subsequent legal battles fought by Calahorra at various periods throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in repeated attempts to recover Santa María de Nájera point towards Santa María la Real's early secular status. This is also hinted at by the fact that the see's central claim in those trials, namely that Santa María had belonged to Calahorra until its confiscation by Alfonso VI, was never in itself refuted by Nájera's cluniac monks, who preferred to stress the legality of the king's act.¹³

The hypothesis that Santa María was originally established as a diocesan centre is also supported by a detailed examination of the sources that relate to its foundation and early years. In her doctoral thesis on the najeran church, Margarita Cantera Montenegro provides a thorough analysis of the language used in contemporary documents to describe the first phase of Santa María la Real's existence. Although she herself points out the etymological dangers presented by the indeterminate nature of eleventh-century ecclesiastical terminology, she is nevertheless able to draw a convincing conclusion from the sources.

In Santa María's foundation document itself, she identifies various phrases which could support a monastic interpretation, and various others that support a secular interpretation of the church's original status. She points out, however, that this royal charter has been preserved in a later copy, included in the monastery's own cartulary, and would therefore have been eminently vulnerable to interpolation by cluniac scribes eager to emphasize the antiquity of Santa María la Real's monastic

¹² Pérez de Urbel (1950) and Yepes (1960) maintained Santa María's monastic origins, while García de Cortázar (1969), Serrano (1935), Lacarra (1948-9), and González (1960), all defended the early existence of a chapter of canons in the najeran foundation. Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.I, pp.82-3.

¹³ For an overview of the dispute between the Bishopric of Calahorra and the monks of Santa María la Real de Nájera over possession of this church and its endowments, see below pp.304-18, and Pablo Díaz Bodegas, 'La disputa cluniacense - Obispado de Calahorra por la posesión de Santa María la Real de Nájera (1079-1224): Mas de cien años de conflicto jurisdiccional en la Diócesis de Calahorra por una disposición real', *Berceo* 126 (1994), pp.89-119.

credentials. She also points out that although Nájera's foundation document does refer to a '*regulari congregationi*' who would serve their church '*regulariter*', nowhere is the Benedictine Rule, the introduction of which into Iberian monasteries in the mid-eleventh century was standard, specifically mentioned, and that it is therefore entirely plausible that the document in fact refers to a chapter of regular canons.

In the remainder of Santa María la Real's pre-1079 documentation, Cantera Montenegro found no references whatsoever to monks or a monastery in Nájera, but did identify numerous phrases implying Santa María's secular status. Furthermore, she highlights one charter recording an exchange made in 1075 between Santa María la Real and the nearby monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla '*voluntate clericorum Sancte Marie et episcopi Munnionis*', in which the authority of Gómez's successor as Bishop of Calahorra over García III's najeran foundation is made quite explicit. She concludes that, despite the imprecision of contemporary terminology, the evidence of Santa María la Real's early documentation overwhelmingly favours the hypothesis that this royal Navarrese foundation was established as a diocesan centre which was served by a chapter of regular canons and presided over by the Bishop of Calahorra.¹⁴

The importance of Santa María de Nájera to the Crown of Navarre is reflected in the extent of its magnificent endowment, referred to by the *Crónica Silense* which relates how García III built Santa María la Real '*atque argento et auro sericisque indumentis pulcre ornauerat*'.¹⁵ Indeed, Santa María's endowment, which was recorded at a ceremony celebrated on December 12, 1052 and attended by García III of Navarre with his queen, Estefanía, and their children, as well as Fernando I of Leon, Ramiro I of Aragon, and Ramón Berenguer I, Count of Barcelona, was nothing

¹⁴ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol. I, pp.82-85.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.79, cites: Justo Pérez de Urbel & Atilano González Ruiz-Zorilla (eds.), *Historia Silense*, Madrid, 1959, pp.187-8.

short of sensational. It included 32 churches, nine royal estates, 12 other donations of landed property, numerous vineyards, two houses, one district within the town of Nájera, one quarter of the toll associated with Nájera's market, and one tenth of the tribute collected each year by the King of Navarre from the Muslim Kingdom of Zaragoza (which has been estimated to have amounted to some 5000 gold *dinares* per annum).¹⁶ Perhaps most significantly, it also included the Old Castilian Diocese of Valpuesta, defined quite specifically in this foundation document as '*illum etiam episcopatum qui est de Sancto Martino de Zaharra usque in Rotellam et Arlanzonem et Pozam, et alia vero parte ex Alave terminis usque in Arrepan at Cutelium Castrum, in Asturiis, cum monasterio eiusdem episcopatus nomine Vallepositam*' (see map 1).¹⁷

The geography of Santa María la Real's original endowment is extremely significant, as it reflects very neatly the two highly prioritized royal Navarrese purposes that the najeran foundation, and by association the diocese to which it was entrusted, were intended to serve. The bulk of Santa María's endowment, which was situated in or around Nájera in the Rioja Alta, firmly established García III's foundation as a powerful ecclesiastical counterpart to his own emphatically riojan royal government. On the other hand, its inclusion of the Diocese of Valpuesta, as well as specific churches and property in Old Castile, Asturias, and Vizcaya, reveals the important role that García III assigned to Santa María de Nájera and the Bishop of Calahorra in the consolidation of Navarre's hold on the eastern half of the County of Castile which it had assimilated in 1035.¹⁸

¹⁶ José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de Navarra: desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*, Pamplona, 1972, p.118.

¹⁷ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 10.

¹⁸ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.I, p.78, cites: José Angel García de Cortázar, *El dominio del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla, ss. X-XIII: Introducción a la historia rural de la*

The timing of Santa María la Real's foundation highlights the significance of this second function yet further. Although its official foundation charter is dated December 12, 1052, its construction, endowment, and the installation of its congregation are consistently referred to in that document in the past tense. What is more, Santa María's foundation charter also records García III's confirmation of various non-royal donations that had already been made to the church, two by noblemen, and numerous others by the townspeople of Nájera.¹⁹ In the light of the death of Adón, the last Bishop of Valpuesta, in 1049, and García III's assignation of his diocese to Santa María la Real, it seems eminently plausible that this church was in fact founded and endowed in, or shortly after, 1049, and that its foundation document of 1052 in fact represented the ostentatious confirmation of a *fait accompli*.²⁰ By May 1053, if not before, Gómez was styling himself 'Bishop of Calahorra and Old Castile'.²¹

Santa María de Nájera's lasting importance to the Crown of Navarre during this period is evident in its choice as the burial place of both García III (died 1054) and his queen, Estefanía (died c.1066).²² It is further illustrated by the royal navarrese confirmations, donations, and privileges that continued to flow in its direction throughout Gómez's episcopate. These included a set of privileges, including exemptions from royal taxation and the right to free pasturage throughout García III's territory, bestowed by the King of Navarre in December 1052 on the estate of

Castilla altomedieval, Salamanca, 1969, p.162; Fortún Pérez de Ciriza & Jusué Simonena, *Historia de Navarra*, p.104.

¹⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 13.

²⁰ Sainz Ripa mentions Bishop Adón's death in 1049 and Calahorra's assimilation of the Diocese of Valpuesta, but does not make a connection between the latter and the foundation of Santa María la Real; Eliseo Sainz Ripa, *Sedes Episcopales de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1994, vol.I, p.226. Fortún Pérez de Ciriza and Jusué Simonena, do associate Santa María la Real's foundation with the suppression of Valpuesta, but date both to 1052: Fortún Pérez de Ciriza & Jusué Simonena, *Historia de Navarra*, p.104.

²¹ Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 288.

²² Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.I, pp.78-9; vol II, note to 18.

Cuevacardiel, in the Bureba region in Old Castile, which had formed part of Santa María de Nájera's original endowment.²³ They also included Queen Estefanía and Sancho VI of Navarre's confirmations of Santa María la Real's original endowment, granted in 1054 and 1056 respectively.²⁴

Further evidence of Santa María's enduring relevance to Navarre's royal family is provided by the aforementioned will drawn up in 1060 by García III's widow, Queen Estefanía, on whom the king had conferred responsibility on the occasion of Santa María la Real's foundation for ensuring the continued royal funding of the church's building works in the event of his own death.²⁵ In her testament, the queen duly bequeathed to Santa María la Real Nájera's hospice, the nearby royal estate of Cañas, and her own monastery of Santa Coloma, itself endowed with six royal estates. Estefanía's will also provided for a continued monetary contribution to Santa María's building works, and the distribution of her herds and horses among the najeran church and its dependencies.²⁶ Finally, a charter issued by Estefanía in May 1054 in her capacity as Queen Mother, through which she granted some land near Sojuela, some 15km east of Nájera in the Upper Rioja, to a group of refugees who had fled their homes on the Navarrese-Castilian border in the aftermath of Navarre's defeat and García III's death at the Battle of Atapuerca in late March, '*cum consilio omnium fratrum in Naiarensi ecclesia habitantium*', reflects Santa María's centrality to the queen's regency government that briefly followed Sancho IV's proclamation on the battlefield at Atapuerca aged 15.²⁷

²³ Ibid, 11.

²⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 13.

²⁵ Ibid., 13.

²⁶ Ibid., 19.

²⁷ Ibid., 18; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 18. Cantera Montenegro dates this document to 1066, and Rodríguez de Lama to 1060. However, neither of these dates fits the list of bishops who confirm it. A date of 1054 would fit with the listed bishops of Alava and Pamplona, and

Little mention has been made so far of Calahorra, Gómez's historical cathedral city, in discussing the bishop's proximity to the navarrese monarchy. This is due to neither coincidence nor oversight. Instead, it is indicative of the near-total irrelevance of the historic Roman and Visigothic centre of the bishopric to that partnership. As we shall see, Calahorra's failure to translate its unchallenged historical credentials as the centre of the Bishop of Calahorra into a contemporary reality was underpinned by the city's enormously disadvantageous geographical location. As a consequence of the Cathedral of Calahorra's failure to develop into a convincing episcopal centre, the Bishopric of Calahorra displayed a degree of fragmentation and decentralization during Gómez's episcopate that was extreme even by the minimally articulated standards of the mid-eleventh century Iberian Church.²⁸ This is most strikingly illustrated by the range of titles used in contemporary documents to describe the figure who, with the prejudice of hindsight and in the interests of clarity, has hitherto simply been identified as the Bishop of Calahorra. The sources' various references to Gómez as Bishop of (or in) Calahorra, Nájera, San Millán, or Albelda, thus in fact reflect the existence of four markedly different locations with which his episcopal authority was associated during various phases of his episcopate. By examining his connections to each of these diocesan centres, we can learn much about the nature of Gómez's own episcopal power and its close association with the authority of the

also with the charter's content: the queen's active government of Navarre in the context of the minority of her son, Sancho IV, and her grief at the recent passing of her husband, García III are recorded in this charter, which would therefore seem to have been issued shortly after the Battle of Atapuerca in 1054.

²⁸ Although it is an anachronism to talk of diocesan administrations in mid-eleventh-century Iberia, it was rare for Iberian bishops not to identify their authority with a well-established cathedral church, and the mid-century councils of Coyanza (1055) and Compostela (1056 and 1063) all dealt with issues relating to cathedral clergy. Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez, *La Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela en la Edad Media: El Cabildo Catedralicio (1100-1400)*, Santiago de Compostela, 1996, p.19.

Navarrese Crown. We can also discover how Calahorra's status as a frontier bishopric determined both its relationship to Navarre's rulers, and the specific characteristics of its institutional development in the period 1046-1065.

The Cathedral of Calahorra and Santa María la Real de Nájera

The Bishopric of Calahorra was officially restored in late April 1045, six months before the beginning of Gómez's episcopate, when the city of Calahorra and the eastern corner of the Lower Rioja in which it is located were taken from Zaragoza by García III of Navarre.²⁹ Calahorra's cathedral was immediately endowed by its Navarrese conqueror, in what might initially be mistaken for the definitive reestablishment of the church of Santa María de Calahorra as the undisputed centre of the riojan see. His donation, made specifically to the church of Santa María and '*uobis domno Sancio episcopo et clero eiusdem Sedis*' establishes Santa María de Calahorra as an emphatically episcopal church.³⁰ When the king confirmed this endowment one year later on March 3, 1046, he went one step further by specifically referring to Santa María as a cathedral, a title that is not applied to any other church within Gómez's diocese in the sources.³¹

However, despite García III's explicit recognition of Calahorra's unimpeachable formal credentials to become the centre of Gómez's bishopric, there is no evidence that the bishop took up residence in Calahorra or even had any dealings with the place after García III's 1046 confirmation of the cathedral's endowment,

²⁹ Fortún Pérez de Ciriza & Jusué Simonena, *Historia de Navarra*, p.104; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 6.

³⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

beyond two isolated references to episcopal mills in the neighbourhood of the city.³² Neither do the sources contain any further references to either the Cathedral of Calahorra, or the '*clericorum in ecclesia catedrali*' whom the Navarrese king had intended his gift of 1045 to sustain.³³ Calahorra clearly did not take off as a diocesan centre between 1046 and 1065.

This is not surprising, given the city's disadvantageous position at the extreme geographical periphery of both the Diocese of Calahorra and the Kingdom of Navarre, as well as the conceptual periphery of the interests of the monarchy to which it owed its restoration. Perched in the very easternmost corner of the Christian Rioja on territory that had long formed part of the war zone that flanked Navarre's highly unstable border with Muslim Zaragoza, Calahorra was badly connected and impoverished. Although early references to the Cathedral of Calahorra do indicate that its ecclesiastical institutions were maintained by a resident Mozarabic population while it had remained under Muslim control, these must surely have appeared unappealingly shabby to a figure like Gómez who, as we shall see, controlled the most important monastic foundation in the wealthy Upper Rioja.³⁴

García III's endowment of Santa María de Calahorra, to which one might turn in search of a royal initiative to remedy the cathedral's poverty, in fact provides a rather stark illustration of the minimal attention paid by the Navarrese king to this diocesan outpost. His astoundingly modest gift to Calahorra's cathedral comprised nine fields, two vineyards, the tithe of his calahorran royal incomes, and a blanket exemption from royal taxation.³⁵ It pales in comparison to the enormous territorial and jurisdictional package with which he would endow Santa María la Real de Nájera

³² Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 14; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 45.

³³ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 7.

³⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 6 & 7; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 235.

³⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 6 & 7.

just a few years later. This differed from Calahorra's endowment not only in size, but also in range: while García III's gifts to Calahorra were situated exclusively within the city's municipal limits, those he bestowed on Nájera were widely scattered throughout Gómez's diocese.³⁶ The king's foundational gift to Nájera even included a church in Calahorra that was itself far more substantially endowed than Calahorra's threadbare cathedral.³⁷ The Navarrese Crown's continued patronage of its najeran foundation likewise stands in stark contrast to a total absence of evidence of any further royal donations made to Santa María de Calahorra during Gómez's episcopate.

The reason for the enormous discrepancy between the Navarrese monarchy's intense promotion of Nájera and its neglect of Calahorra lies in the similarly great contrast between the strategic, political, and economic relevance of these two secular diocesan centres during Gómez's episcopate. Nájera, Navarre's undisputed capital, was eminently well-communicated as a prominent stage-post on the *Camino de Santiago*, the pilgrimage route that brought human traffic and trade in unprecedented volume from northern Europe, across the north of the Iberian Peninsula, to the shrine of St. James in Santiago de Compostela.³⁸ As we have seen, Nájera was also strategically central to the Navarrese monarchy's principal political concerns during this period. Furthermore, Nájera was most advantageously situated in the fertile heartlands of the Upper Rioja, which represented the most economically developed region within Navarre, and on the banks of the river Najerilla, the longest and most

³⁶ Ibid., 6, 7, & 13; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 14.

³⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 13.

³⁸ Francisco Javier García Turza, 'Morfología de la ciudad de Nájera en la Edad Media', *III Semana de Estudios Medievales: Nájera, del 3 al 7 de Agosto*, 1992, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño, 1993, pp.69-72; Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1978, pp.9-10.

useful (in terms of both irrigation for agriculture and water supply with which to power mills) of the Rioja's many tributaries to the River Ebro.³⁹

Calahorra, on the other hand, was tucked away in the isolated eastern corner of the Lower Rioja, in territory that can best be described as an impoverished, sparsely populated, and uneventful buffer zone, separating the rich core of Navarre's established riojan interests from Muslim Zaragoza, a tribute-paying client of Navarre which posed much less of an active threat to Navarrese interests than Castile.⁴⁰

Of all the names used to identify Gómez's diocese in the sources, Calahorra was without doubt the most legitimate, a fact reflected in its frequent employment in the sources.⁴¹ However, Gómez's evident reluctance to identify his authority with his traditional cathedral city, epitomized by the fact that he does not refer to himself as Bishop of Calahorra in a single one of his own seven surviving charters, is surely indicative of his own perception of the traditional centre of his see as a deeply unattractive diocesan backwater.⁴²

It is not surprising that Gómez's links to Nájera, Navarre's thriving capital, should have been significantly stronger. He is called Bishop of Nájera just as often as Bishop of Calahorra in the sources, and his physical presence in García III's capital is documented in a handful of charters.⁴³ Nájera also hosted an extremely high-profile church council in 1056, which was attended by Sancho IV of Navarre, his brother the *Infante* (Prince) Ramiro, the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishop of Burgos, 'seu

³⁹ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real de Nájera*, vol.I, p.53.

⁴⁰ José Angel García de Cortázar, 'La organización social del espacio riojano', *Actas de la reunión científica "El Fuero de Logroño y su época"*, Logroño, 26, 27 & 28 de Abril de 1995, Ayuntamiento de Logroño, Logroño, 1996, pp.200 & 207; Lacarra, *Historia política*, p.118.

⁴¹ See footnote 8.

⁴² Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 37, 41, 43, 46, 48, 50, & 51.

⁴³ See footnote 8. Gómez's physical presence in Nájera is recorded in: Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 9-11 & 16.

aliorum plurimorum abbatum et primatum'.⁴⁴ Naturally, Gómez was both present and prominent. Finally, a reference in a document of the early 1060's to a '*casa episcopale*' in Nájera indicates that by that time if not before, the bishop's presence in the town had acquired a certain solidity.⁴⁵

However, despite Gómez's evident preference for Nájera over Calahorra as his episcopal centre, it is important to note that Santa María la Real is nowhere explicitly referred to as a cathedral in the sources, and that there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to support the claim that the Cathedral of Calahorra was itself translated to Nájera in 1052.⁴⁶ What is more, an examination into Gómez's connections as Bishop of Calahorra to the monasteries of first San Millán de la Cogolla, and then San Martín de Albelda, will show that his establishment in Nájera, far from being definitive, in fact represented a relatively brief secular interlude between two periods that were both defined by the bishop's instalment in a different one of the Rioja's two greatest monastic foundations.

San Millán de la Cogolla and San Martín de Albelda

Before the foundation of Santa María la Real de Nájera, the Benedictine monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla was undoubtedly the single most powerful church in the Upper Rioja. This monastery, which is situated on the banks of the river Cárdenas, a tributary to the Najerilla, had been at the forefront of the region's socio-economic reorganization since its mid-tenth-century Christian (re)conquest.⁴⁷ Perched

⁴⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 13.

⁴⁵ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.229; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 321.

⁴⁶ García Turza, *Morfología de Nájera*, p.72.

⁴⁷ Francisco Javier García Turza, 'El monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla en al Alta Edad Media: Aproximación histórica', *Berceo* 133 (1997), pp.12-14.

on a crossroads of intellectual currents from al-Andalus, Leon, Castile, Navarre, and ultra-pyrenean Europe, San Millán was also a highly influential centre of cultural exchange, and had an accordingly busy scriptorium and well-stocked library.⁴⁸ By the mid-eleventh-century, it had accumulated a substantial territorial base and established itself as the Upper Rioja's primary religious institution.⁴⁹

Gómez's links to the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, of which he had become abbot in 1039, long pre-dated his appointment as Bishop of Calahorra.⁵⁰ He did not give up the Abbacy of San Millán after his appointment as Bishop of Calahorra in 1046, but held on to both posts until 1065, the probable year of his death.⁵¹ In doing so, he represented the continuation of a Navarrese tradition that had been encouraged by Sancho III *el Mayor* of Navarre (1004-1035), who installed his bishops in the most important monastic foundations of their respective sees: the Bishop of Pamplona in the Monastery of Leire; Aragonese bishops in San Juan de la Peña; and Bishops of Nájera in San Millán de la Cogolla.⁵²

Considering both San Millán's status as the Rioja's most powerful religious centre, and the established Navarrese custom of associating bishops with pre-eminent monasteries, it is logical that Gómez continued to employ San Millán as the main base of his authority long into his episcopate. Especially during the first five years after his appointment as bishop of Calahorra, San Millán de la Cogolla continued to provide Gómez with his principal residence, as well as the most useful instrument with which

⁴⁸ García Turza, *San Millán*, pp.20-3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.25.

⁵⁰ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, note to 221.

⁵¹ Gómez is not listed in Calahorra's necrology, but his abrupt disappearance from the sources in 1065 points to this year as the most probable year of his death. Sainz Ripa discusses, and convincingly dismisses, the possibility that he was translated to the Bishopric of Burgos in that year. Sainz Ripa, *Sedes Episcopales*, vol.I, p.245.

⁵² Gonzalo Martínez Díez, 'El Monasterio de San Millán y sus monasterios filiales: Documentación emilianense y diplomas apócrifos', *Brocar* 21 (1998), p.45.

to extend his collaboration with the Crown of Navarre in the socio-economic consolidation of its frontiers with Castile.

Between 1045 and 1049, Gómez received no less than ten donations of land, rural churches, and economic and jurisdictional privileges from García III on behalf of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. One of these records the transfer of substantial amounts of property both within and outside of Calahorra's city walls to San Millán just one month after the modest endowment of Calahorra's cathedral in the spring of 1045.⁵³ It therefore represents the king's delegation to the great upper riojan monastery of an important share in Calahorra's urban regeneration in the context of the cathedral's evident inability to monopolize that process. Another two relate to the extension of San Millán's established interests along the river Tuerto in its upper riojan heartlands.⁵⁴

The remainder reflect San Millán's participation in García III's socio-economic re-organization and consolidation of his south-western old Castilian borderlands. Seven royal charters dated between 1045 and 1049 record the transfer to San Millán of eight rural churches and their attached properties, three estates, one bridge-house with its toll, extensive fishing rights, and revenues from a market and jurisdiction, all of them situated in the old-Castilian regions of Pancorbo, Bureba, or Montes de Oca.⁵⁵ A cluster of three of these rural churches and two estates were located at the top of the valley of the river Tirón, which indicates the likelihood that the socio-economic development of that area was entirely entrusted to San Millán.⁵⁶

The motivation behind these royal donations is illustrated in various ways by the charters that record them. When García III gave the church of Santa María and its

⁵³ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 235.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 242 & 246.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 234, 236, 237, 241, 255, 256, & 259.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 236, 241, & 256.

attached land in San Vicente del Valle, near the spring of the river Tirón, to Gómez on the occasion of his consecration as bishop on March 14, 1046, he specifically identified this as a gift that required further development, which he made '*ad populandum*'.⁵⁷ Similarly, of the two properties in Valluércanes, in the region of Pancorbo, that San Millán received from the king on August 27, 1045, one had already been manned by the monk Beila ('*casas quas populavit domno Beila monaco*'), while the other still lacked a workforce, which the monastery was expected to supply ('*concedo absoluteione populandi istas casas*').⁵⁸

In 1049, García III entrusted to San Millán the church and estate of San Miguel de Pedroso, also in the Tirón river valley.⁵⁹ That this was also a new estate, or at least one that required re-organization, is indicated by a separate but contemporary charter, in which the king established what were clearly new boundaries for San Miguel's property.⁶⁰ Finally, the donation to the riojan monastery on October 31, 1045, of the churches of Santa María de Guinicio (on the old Castilian bank of the Ebro on the stretch of river that divides the regions of Alava and Pancorbo) and Santa María de Quijera (which I have been unable to locate), a bridge-house on the Ebro with toll attached, the settlement of Larate (which I have also been unable to locate), complete with half of the revenues of its market and the administration of its criminal justice, and the right to fish the waters of the Ebro from Lantarón to Buradón (both of which are located on the same stretch of the river as Guinicio), illustrates the extensive role that García III envisaged for San Millán in the development of the urban, agricultural, and industrial infrastructures of the old-Castilian side of the upper

⁵⁷ Ibid., 241.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 236.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 256.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 259.

Ebro, as well as the line of communication by which the regions of Alava and Pancorbo were linked by a bridge across that river.⁶¹

During the initial phase of his episcopate, San Millán de la Cogolla clearly provided the main channel for the development of Gomez's collaboration with the Navarrese Crown. However, this situation did not continue beyond about 1049, after which the torrent of royal donations to San Millán abruptly dried up. The end of this spurt of patronage also coincided with the emergence of Gonzalo, who gradually took over from Gómez as the second, or deputy, Abbot of San Millán. Between 1047, when this figure first appears in the sources, and 1049, Abbot Gonzalo supervised three donations made to San Millán by members of the regional nobility, and the admittance of four new monks into the monastery.⁶² That he did so in his own right, more often than not in Gómez's absence, indicates that he had probably taken over much of the monastery's routine administration during the late 1040's. His confirmation alongside Gómez in 1050 of two of García III's charters indicates that by then his co-abbacy of San Millán, which was clearly unproblematic, was also endorsed by the Navarrese royal court.⁶³ Immediately after 1052, Gómez's own involvement in cogollan affairs, which is recorded in 20 charters from the first seven years of his episcopate, became markedly less intense, and the abbot-bishop can only be linked to his monastery on one occasion between late 1052 and March 1055.⁶⁴ Although Gómez did formally retain the Abbacy of San Millán all the way through his episcopate, and was actively involved in the monastery's administration on

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 247 & 251-253.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 267 & 269.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 237, 241-3, 246, 251-2, 255-7, 259-60, 267-70, 279-80, 285-6, & 288.

numerous occasions after 1055, that involvement never recovered its pre-1052 intensity, and he was never again without a 'co-abbot' in San Millán.⁶⁵

Gómez began to distance himself from San Millán de la Cogolla in the context of the foundation of Santa María la Real de Nájera and the incorporation of the Diocese of Valpuesta into that of Calahorra in, or shortly after, 1049. By the time Nájera's royal foundation was officially endowed in 1052, a 'co-abbot' to whom the administration of San Millán could be effectively delegated had been securely installed, and Gómez was free to transfer his seat to his new, secular, and extremely high-profile diocesan centre in Nájera, where he was most active between 1051 and 1056.⁶⁶ That the King of Navarre directed this process is evident from the transfer of the main focus of his patronage from San Millán to Nájera at the end of the 1040's, his active endorsement of the establishment of a second abbot in San Millán, and his foundation of Santa María la Real as a specifically diocesan church under Gómez's authority.

However, a sudden surge in evidence connecting Gómez to the central riojan monastery of San Martín de Albelda between 1058 and the end of his episcopate in 1065 indicates that by the late 1150's, the Bishop of Calahorra had once again shifted the seat of his episcopal government to a monastic setting.

A possible explanation for this is provided by the serious implications for Santa María la Real de Nájera of the battle fought between Navarre and Leon-Castile in January 1054 in Atapuerca, on the border between Navarrese-controlled Old Castile and Burgos. Atapuerca, a resounding Castilian victory, resulted in the death of García III and the proclamation of his 15-year old heir, Sancho IV. Although

⁶⁵ Ibid., 291-341.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 321; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 10 & 13; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 11.

Fernando I of Leon-Castile did not in fact recover most of Old Castile in 1054, he did re-integrate the north-western corner of the Bureba into his Castilian dominions immediately after Atapuerca, and his presence on Navarre's south-western borders after 1054 became increasingly menacing. In January 1054, Santa María de Nájera lost the royal patron whose assertive penetration into Old Castile had lain behind its own foundation and subsequent promotion. He was succeeded by Sancho IV, under whom the town of Nájera never regained its capital status, and whose hold on Old Castile gradually degenerated before the region's re-integration into Castile was finally completed by Sancho II in 1067.⁶⁷ In these circumstances, Nájera's decline was inevitable, and towards the end of the 1050's, Gómez once again transferred his episcopal base.

By the mid-eleventh-century San Martín de Albelda, like San Millán de la Cogolla, already boasted a long and prestigious history as an important monastic foundation and protagonist of the socio-economic consolidation of the Christian (re)conquest of the Rioja. San Martín had been founded by Sancho I of Navarre (905-925) towards the end of his reign in the central riojan valley formed by the river Iregua, the second most important of the Rioja's tributaries to the Ebro.⁶⁸ It was created, and remained, an emphatically Navarrese foundation, and led the settlement and economic regeneration of the central Rioja in close collaboration with its royal patrons.⁶⁹ Albelda was also one of the region's most important intellectual and

⁶⁷ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, p.62.

⁶⁸ Albelda's foundation charter, which is dated January 5, 924, has been revealed to be a falsification, but other documents of the 920's support the hypothesis that Sancho Garcés I of Navarre founded Albelda during the first half of that decade. Mercedes Lázaro Ruíz, 'El Monasterio de San Martín de Albelda: Estrategias en la ocupación del territorio y valoración socioeconómica (925-1094)', *VII Semana de Estudios Medievales: Nájera, del 29 de Julio al 2 de Agosto del 1996*, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño, 1997, pp.356-61.

⁶⁹ Sebastián Andrés Valero & Carmen Jiménez Martínez, 'El dominio de San Martín de Albelda (siglos X-XI)', *Segundo Coloquio sobre Historia de La Rioja, Logroño, 2-4 de Octubre del 1985*, Colegio Universitario de la Rioja, Zaragoza, 1986, pp.345-8.

cultural centres, as the location of one of Christian Iberia's most famous tenth- and early-eleventh-century scriptoria.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Albelda, like San Millán de la Cogolla, had already enjoyed a long association with the bishops of the Rioja by the time Gómez became Bishop of Calahorra in 1046 (however, unlike their relationship to San Millán de la Cogolla, where numerous Bishops of Nájera had been installed as abbot since the early eleventh century, Gómez's episcopal predecessors had been very prominent patrons, but not abbots, of Albelda).⁷¹ Like San Millán de la Cogolla, therefore, San Martín de Albelda's political, economic, and religious regional dominance, as well as its ties to the bishops of the Rioja, were well established facts by the time Gómez became Bishop of Calahorra in 1045.

Gómez's installation in Albelda after Atapuerca is amply illustrated by the sources, which link his episcopal authority and activity extremely convincingly to this central riojan monastery between 1058 and his death in 1065. Indeed, the truth behind his own declaration that he was '*episcopus, dum essem domnus Albaidensis*' is supported by the evidence of no less than seven other charters that record his direct management of Albelda's territorial affairs in his capacity as bishop.⁷² His effective assumption of Albelda's abbacy, which is implicit in the above citation, is further indicated by a stark contrast between the relative documentary prominence of the monastery's priors, Iñigo and Vidal, and the total absence of any references to any Abbot of Albelda during this period.⁷³

⁷⁰ García Turza, *San Millán*, p.23.

⁷¹ Andrés Valero & Jiménez Martínez, *El dominio*, p.348.

⁷² Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 37, 41-3, 45-6, 48, & 51.

⁷³ Iñigo, Prior of Albelda, is referred to in: Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 43; and Vidal, Prior of Albelda, in: *Ibid.*, 44-5, 48, & 51. The idea that Gómez was the first Bishop of Calahorra to assume the Abbacy of San Martín de Albelda is supported in: Andrés Valero & Jiménez Martínez, *El dominio*, p.348.

Gómez's connection to Albelda is first established in a document dated November 1, 1048, which records an exchange made between García III of Navarre and 'Bishop Gómez', '*simul cum omni collegio Albaidensium fratrum*'.⁷⁴ It reveals that the bishop's power over San Martín was already an established fact by the time he shifted the focus of his episcopal government there sometime before March 1058, the date of the next surviving charter to link his activity to Albelda.⁷⁵ Despite the decade that separates the two documents, the explicit formula employed in the former to establish the bishop's authority over the central riojan monastery is also entirely characteristic of the cluster of documents that link Gómez to Albelda during the period 1058-1065.⁷⁶ What is more, his identification as 'bishop in Albelda' in the dating clause of a charter dated June 19, 1058, reveals the specifically episcopal nature of the authority that Gómez exercised from his albeldan base during the last seven years of his episcopate.⁷⁷ This is further highlighted by his use around 1062 of San Martín as the centre from which to launch the reconstruction and rehabilitation of what he specifically referred to as the 'episcopal monastery' of San Andrés de Jubera, some 15km east/southeast of Albelda in the Jubera Valley.⁷⁸ Finally, three of Albelda's surviving charters from this period contain statements such as '*et qui fuerit episcopus post domno Gomizianus et abbas de cenobio Albelda*', which indicate a general perception of the association of Gómez's episcopal authority with the monastery of San Martín as a permanent feature of the Diocese of Calahorra.⁷⁹

After departing from Santa María la Real de Nájera in the late 1050's, Gómez actively assumed the abbacy of San Martín de Albelda. It is clear from the above that

⁷⁴ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 37.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 41-2, 48, & 51.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 45-6 & 51.

he did so in his capacity as Bishop of Calahorra, and that after doing so, it was widely accepted that the authority that he exercised from his base in Albelda was of an emphatically episcopal nature. It is also clear that he intended the association of his episcopal authority with the monastery of San Martín de Albelda to outlast his own episcopate.

Having established a likely reason behind his departure from Nájera, and the reality of the transfer of Gómez's episcopal seat to Albelda in the late 1050's, it is important to address the question of why the bishop did not simply return to his former base in San Millán de la Cogolla after 1054, rather than turning to the relatively less powerful and less well-connected monastery of Albelda, whose association with the Rioja's bishops was furthermore less of an established tradition than that of San Millán.⁸⁰ This question has two possible answers, both of which are closely related to Gómez's function with respect to the frontier politics of the Kingdom of Navarre under García III and Sancho IV.

Gómez's personal proximity to García III, Queen Estefanía, and Sancho IV of Navarre has been amply demonstrated. What has not so far been touched on is the tension inherent in his combination of the active tenure of the Abbacy of San Millán de la Cogolla during the early years of his episcopate, and his prominence within the Navarrese Crown. This tension derived from San Millán's position directly on Navarre's southern frontier with the County of Castile, on fertile and strategically valuable territory that had been defended by Navarre and coveted by Castile ever since the Christian (re)conquest of the upper Rioja in the early 920's.⁸¹ As the region's dominant monastic foundation, San Millán de la Cogolla represented the

⁸⁰ García Turza, *San Millán*, p.25.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.12-5.

main instrument in the creation of political, jurisdictional, and spiritual bonds between the population of the Cárdenas valley in which it was situated and both of the two dominant secular powers that hoped to establish their control in that area. This was an attribute that its abbots exploited with great success. Since the early tenth century, San Millán had thus benefited enormously from the patronage race that developed between successive Kings of Navarre and Counts of Castile who competed in their eagerness to secure its loyalty.⁸² The unification of Navarre and Castile under Sancho (III) the Great between 1029 and 1035 had rendered such competition temporarily meaningless. However, a donation made by Fernando I of Leon-Castile in 1051 to Gómez 'Bishop of Nájera and Abbot of San Millán', as well the king's supervision in 1048 of the admission of four Castilian monks to the riojan cloister, and his confirmation seven years later of a large donation of land in Castile to San Millán, all indicate that by the early 1050's, Castile's campaign to attract San Millán had been relaunched.⁸³

In the event, Fernando I's overtures to the riojan frontier monastery cannot have posed too serious a threat to the Navarrese monarchy's hold over San Millán, which experienced a massive growth spurt between 1035 and the end of the eleventh century that was principally fuelled by the sustained and massive patronage of García III and Sancho IV of Navarre.⁸⁴ However, in the light of both San Millán's traditional double political loyalties, and the increasing tension on Navarre's frontier with Castile which would explode onto the surface at Atapuerca in 1054, it seems that the Navarrese kings might have sought to bolster their position in the Cárdenas valley by combining the use of overwhelming patronage to secure San Millán's loyalty with the

⁸² Martínez Díez, *San Millán*, pp.19, 33, 40-41, & 46; García Turza, *San Millán*, pp.12 & 15.

⁸³ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 253, 280, & 292.

⁸⁴ Martínez Díez, *San Millán*, pp.9 & 20.

effective removal of San Millán's abbot from his frontier stronghold and his installation in an alternative, and emphatically Navarrese, location, far from the temptations of the Castilian border and within the constant sight of the Navarrese royal court.

This hypothesis is supported by Gómez's retention of the Abbacy of San Millán de la Cogolla after his transfer to Nájera, where he was installed as the principal religious representative of García III's najeran government.⁸⁵ It is further substantiated by Gómez's adoption of Albelda, a royal monastery of unimpeachably Navarrese leanings, as his episcopal base after Nájera's change of fortune in the mid-1050's, rather than San Millán, whose abbacy he still held, and whose position as the region's most powerful monastic institution remained unchallenged. Indeed, Albelda's dramatic territorial expansion between 1050 and 1075 has been directly attributed to the prominent role played by the monastery in the Navarrese Crown's consolidation of its position in the Rioja in the face of an increasingly serious Castilian threat to the region.⁸⁶

Gómez's installation in Albelda in the late 1050's also reflected the change in the focus of the Navarrese Crown after the death of García III, as the reign of his successor, Sancho IV, saw the steady erosion of Navarre's presence west of the Rioja by the increasingly assertive Sancho II of Castile (1066-1072), and the modest extension of Navarre's power in the Lower Rioja, with the conquest around 1070 of Tudején, in the Alfaro river valley.⁸⁷ In the context of the new defensive and eastwards focus of Navarre's riojan government, the monastery of Albelda became a

⁸⁵ García's patronage of San Millán de la Cogolla between December 1052, when Santa María de Nájera was officially founded, and his own death in January 1054 was limited to a single, albeit important, donation that represented an extension of the monastery's holdings in the Cardenas valley. Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 288.

⁸⁶ Andrés Valero & Jiménez Martínez, *El dominio*, p.352.

⁸⁷ Lázaro Ruiz, *Albelda*, p.375.

highly relevant base from which the Bishop of Calahorra could contribute to the king's socio-economic revitalization of his eastern borderlands.⁸⁸

When Gómez entrusted the reconstruction of the deserted episcopal monastery of San Andrés de Jubera to don García sometime before December 1062, he also bestowed on him the lordship of its estate, in the explicitly stated expectation that the nobleman should install new settlers there.⁸⁹ Through this initiative, the Bishop of Calahorra directed the socio-economic regeneration of the Jubera Valley, which was situated some 10km east of Albelda, and throughout which the possessions of San Andrés were scattered.⁹⁰ The success of his venture is demonstrated by a series of donations made by Jubera's new inhabitants to the church of San Andrés on the occasion of its consecration, on December 13, 1062. Sancho IV's support of Gómez's juberan enterprize is illustrated by his confirmation of this charter and implicit assistance at the consecration of Jubera's church.⁹¹

Another indication of Albelda's collaboration with Sancho IV's government in the central and Lower Rioja is provided by a '*carta populationis*' issued by Gómez on July 25 1063 in order to regulate life on the albeldan manor of Longares, situated between Albelda and Alberite in the Iregua Valley. Its terms, which were particularly harsh, included significant restrictions to the inhabitants of Longares' rights regarding private property and freedom of movement.⁹² It has been pointed out that the severity of this charter reflected the monastery's desire to tighten the dependant status of its tenants in the context of the increasingly saturated seigniorial landscape of the central riojan Iregua Valley, while at the same time encouraging the movement of labour

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp.375-9.

⁸⁹ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 46.

⁹⁰ Lázaro Ruíz, *Albelda*, p. 376.

⁹¹ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 47.

⁹² Ibid., 48.

towards the more recently (re)conquered and less harshly regulated river valleys of the Lower Rioja, in whose socio-economic regeneration Albelda was itself deeply implicated.⁹³ Although it is not possible to establish any direct link between the Navarrese Crown and the charter that Gómez issued to his tenants in Longares, it is worth noting that the bishop's encouragement of the eastwards migration of the Iregua Valley's inhabitants contributed directly to Sancho IV's promotion of the Lower Rioja.

Conclusions

The outstanding characteristic of Gómez's episcopate was undoubtedly the multiplicity of successive episcopal centres with which his authority and administration as Bishop of Calahorra were associated. We have seen that his rejection of the traditional centre of his see, and his establishment in first San Millán de la Cogolla, then Santa María la Real de Nájera, and lastly San Martín de Albelda, all ultimately responded to the changing needs and priorities of the Crown of Navarre. They therefore sharply reflect the degree to which Gómez's episcopate was defined by an exclusive partnership with Navarre's rulers.

Each time Gómez transferred the seat of his episcopal government, he did so in response to royal Navarrese dictates that were in turn invariably determined by the politics of Navarre's frontiers with the Kingdoms of Zaragoza and Leon-Castile: the failure of Calahorra's historic cathedral to take off as an effective diocesan centre during this period was primarily determined by its location on Navarre's impoverished, badly connected, and politically less significant border with Zaragoza;

⁹³ Lázaro Ruíz, *Albelda*, p.377.

Gómez's departure from San Millán de la Cogolla around 1050 was motivated by García III's desire to remove the bishop, who was also the abbot of that great riojan monastery, from the frontier vantage-point from which the rectors of San Millán had traditionally offset their dependence on Navarre with the patronage of their Castilian neighbours; his subsequent installation in Nájera, García III's riojan capital, both bound the Abbot of San Millán more closely to the Navarrese royal court, and facilitated the Bishop of Calahorra's participation in the consolidation of Navarre's western frontier, as Nájera represented the base from which he could extend his authority over the suppressed old-Castilian Diocese of Valpuesta; finally, Gómez's departure from Nájera and establishment in Albelda sometime between 1054 and 1058 both resulted from developments relating to Navarre's frontiers: while the former was a response to the debilitation after Atapuerca of the very western Navarrese frontier that the Bishop of Calahorra had been installed in Nájera to defend, the latter was a reflection of both the continuation of the Navarrese royal policy of maintaining the Abbot of San Millán at a safe distance from the temptations of the Castilian border, and the central position assigned to the Bishop of Calahorra in Sancho IV's socio-economic consolidation of his eastern riojan border with Zaragoza.

The history of the Bishopric of Calahorra under Gómez was thus primarily defined by the bishop's function with respect to the Crown of Navarre, and that function was in turn determined by the changing politics of Navarre's south-western and south-eastern frontiers. This situation had two very different implications for the see's development, both of which affected the Bishopric of Calahorra in ways that long outlasted Gómez's own episcopate.

The first concerns the unparalleled political and strategic significance of Gómez's frontier diocese to the Crown of Navarre during a period in which the

promotion and defence of the Rioja and, until 1054, Navarrese-controlled Old Castile, consistently dominated the Navarrese royal agenda. Calahorra's centrality to the political concerns of both Garcia III and Sancho IV of Navarre ensured for the riojan see a level of royal patronage, in the endowment of Santa María la Real de Nájera, that it would never again attain, and an enormously significant, if ultimately reversible, extension of its diocesan limits through its assimilation of the Diocese of Valpuesta. It also underpinned the massive accumulation of personal power during this period by Calahorra's bishop, who owed to his intense and unerring collaboration with the Crown of Navarre not only his permanent position at the very heart of the Navarrese royal household, but also the unquestioned dominance that he had secured by the late 1050's over every one of the Rioja's most important religious foundations. Gómez's appointment as Bishop of Calahorra, his retention of the Abbacy of San Millán de la Cogolla throughout his episcopate, his installation in the royal foundation of Santa María la Real de Nájera, and his assumption of the Abbacy of San Martín de Albelda, were all ultimately determined by either García III or Sancho IV of Navarre. The singularity of Gómez's monopoly over the riojan church renders it especially significant: although the monastery of Albelda did remain within the power of subsequent Bishops of Calahorra, and was finally converted into a calahorran collegiate church in the 1150's (below, pp.196-7), Gómez was the last Bishop of Calahorra to also hold the Abbacy of San Millán de la Cogolla, and his direct episcopal successor, Munio, was the last Bishop of Calahorra to possess Santa María la Real de Nájera before its transferral to Cluny by Alfonso VI of Castile in the late 1070's. Never again would the power over the riojan church be so comprehensively united in the hands of one individual.

The strategic importance of the frontier Bishopric of Calahorra to the Crown of Navarre was undoubtedly the main factor behind the see's great enrichment, and its bishop's massive empowerment, during the period 1046-1065. However, in the longer-term Gómez's intense identification with the Crown of Navarre had extremely serious implications for the development of his diocese that would determine its institutional and political weakness for decades to come. The most obvious of these were reflected in the brutal efficiency with which Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile responded to Calahorra's loyalty to Navarre by crushing the power of both its institutions and its bishops after his conquest of the Rioja in 1076, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Calahorra's weakness in the face of Alfonso VI's frontal assault of the late 1070's was to a large extent determined by the uncharacteristically undeveloped state of its diocesan institutions. This absence of institutional consolidation was directly related to the see's centrality to the politics of Navarre's frontier during Gómez's episcopate.

By the time of Gómez's death in 1065, no bishopric in Christian Iberia had yet developed the institutional coherence that would later be enshrined in the twelfth-century cathedrals, from which bishops would oversee an increasingly comprehensive and emphatically territorial secular church administration that was clearly differentiated from both the monastic church and secular power. In this sense Gómez was quite typical, as a highly curial ecclesiastical magnate who relied heavily on the well-established power of the great monastic centres of his diocese in order to

exercise a geographically discontinuous ecclesiastical authority that rested far more soundly on territorial lordship than it did on ecclesiastical administration.⁹⁴

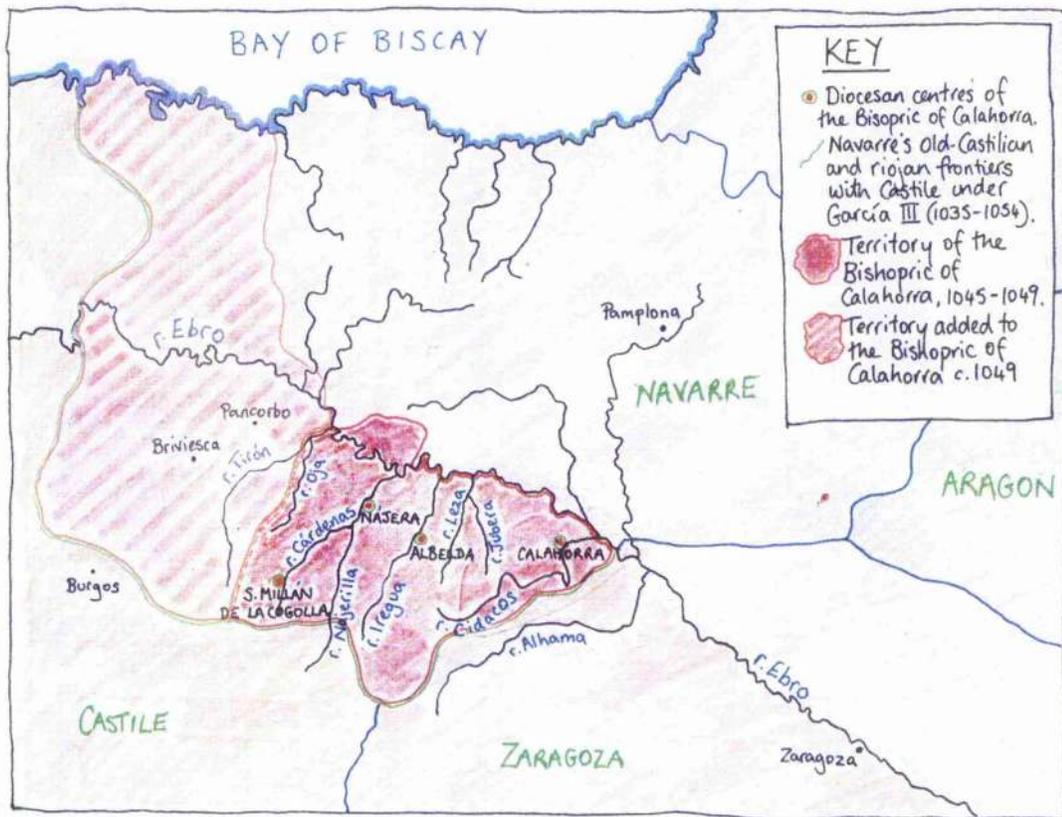
However, Gómez's episcopate did stand out from those of his Iberian contemporaries in one fundamental way, which concerned the direction, rather than the outcome, of their institutional development. While most Iberian bishops of the 1050's and 1060's had begun, under the influence of the trans-Pyrenean eleventh-century ecclesiastical reform movement, to take the first steps towards the development of the centralized, hierarchical, highly territorial, and above all secular institutional structures that would underpin the gradual disassociation of their power from both monastic and lay dominance, Gómez, under the prevailing influence of the Navarrese Crown, not only rejected Calahorra's existing cathedral as the seat of his episcopal government, but also transferred that seat between no less than three alternative locations during his episcopate, tearing up any institutional roots that he might have laid down with each move. What is more, his last move, which saw him abandon his newly-established secular diocesan centre in Santa María de Nájera in favour of the emphatically monastic one of San Martín de Albelda, went directly against the contemporary developmental current that was sweeping the rest of the Iberian episcopate towards the establishment of increasingly secularized diocesan institutions.

The atypical developmental characteristics manifested by Calahorra during Gómez's episcopate, which would leave the see without even the most rudimentary of independent institutional bases to fall back on when faced with Alfonso VI's hostility in the late 1070's, were without doubt a by-product of his see's centrality to the politics of Navarre's south-western and south-eastern frontiers. They did not,

⁹⁴ Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford, 1989, p.220.

however, respond to a royal Navarrese intent to prevent Calahorra's institutional development, but rather to the insecurity inherent in its frontier condition. In this respect, it must be emphasized that through his magnificent installation of Gómez in Santa María la Real de Nájera around 1050, García III in fact created for his riojan bishop a secular diocesan base to which most of his Iberian contemporaries would not even have aspired. In the late 1050's, it was a dramatic change in the political climate on Navarre's western frontier, and not any royal Navarrese desire to arrest Calahorra's institutional development, that forced Gómez's episcopal government back into a monastic setting.

The Bishopric of Calahorra's frontier position thus had enormous implications for the development of the see, and these were both extremely positive and extremely negative in nature. On the one hand the heightened strategic significance of the frontier see determined the enormous extent of its political, material, and developmental promotion by the Navarrese Crown during the first two decades of its re-foundation. On the other, the political insecurities associated with a frontier zone that was as intensely coveted as the eleventh-century Rioja determined Calahorra's inability to lay down any lasting institutional foundations during this period. Gómez's episcopate itself can be seen as one continuous and glorious celebration of the great opportunities extended to the Bishopric of Calahorra as a direct result of its frontier situation, which was marred only slightly by the necessity to shift his episcopal centre away from Nájera after 1054. It was during the episcopates of Gómez's late-eleventh- and early-twelfth-century successors that the equally great dangers that had been inherent in Calahorra's frontier condition throughout the period 1046-1065 came abruptly to the surface in the context of a dramatic change in the Rioja's political landscape.



Map 1: The Bishopric of Calahorra under Gómez, 1046-1065.

PART TWO

THE ECLIPSE OF A FRONTIER BISHOPRIC: BISHOP MUNIO AND HIS SUCCESSORS, 1066-1108

Munio's episcopate (1066-1080) was divided into two extremely different phases by the dramatic sequence of events sparked off by the assassination on June 4, 1076, of Sancho IV of Navarre by a group of Navarrese potentates that included his own brother, the *Infante* Ramiro. The immediate result of the king's murder was the collapse of his kingdom: by the end of July the historical pamplonan core of Navarre and most of Guipúzcoa had been assimilated by Aragon, while the Rioja, Alava, and Vizcaya had recognized the authority of Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile.¹ The wholesale transfer of the territory of the riojan Bishopric of Calahorra from Navarre to Leon-Castile in the summer of 1076 had extremely detrimental implications for the see, and marked the beginning of a sudden and almost total eclipse that was to obscure Calahorra's history for the remainder of Munio's episcopate and the duration of the confused and overlapping episcopates of his immediate successors, Sancho (1080-1087), Pedro (1081-1085), and Siegfried (1088). Under Bishop Pedro (1089-1108), Calahorra's situation finally began to stabilize after its emergence as a politically 'castilianized' and institutionally weakened diocese.

¹ José María Mínguez, *Alfonso VI: Poder, expansión y reorganización interior*, Hondarribia, 2000, pp.62-3.

2.1 MUNIO (1066-1080)

Before June 1076, Munio's episcopate had much in common with that of his predecessor, Gómez, inasmuch as it was principally defined by his loyalty to the Navarrese Crown and the role assigned to his see in the context of Navarre's frontier politics. However, the Navarrese phase of Munio's episcopate displayed none of the grandeur that the see had exuded under his predecessor. This was due both to the dismemberment of the Bishop of Calahorra's monopoly over the riojan Church by Sancho IV of Navarre on the death of Bishop Gómez in late 1065, and the king's decision to bypass the see when delegating the defence of his riojan frontiers.

Munio under Sancho IV of Navarre

Like Gómez, Munio was a highly curial bishop whose appearances at the court of Sancho IV underpinned the total identification of his see with the Kingdom of Navarre. Munio thus confirmed 22 of the charters issued by Sancho IV between 1066-1076.² Judging by the size and calibre of their witness-lists, it seems probable that the bishop's confirmations of a further 10 charters issued by various members of the Navarrese high nobility during this period also reflect his attendance at the Navarrese royal court.³

However, the very same royal charters that demonstrate Munio's loyalty to the Crown of Navarre also reflect Sancho IV's effective sidelining of the Bishopric of

² Margarita Cantera Montenegro, 'Santa María la Real de Nájera, siglos XI-XIV' (unpublished PhD thesis), Complutense University Madrid, 1987, vol.II (appendix of primary sources), 20; Antonio Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (759-1076)*, Valencia, 1976, 344-5, 357, 360, 368, 377, 383-4, 393, 396, 398, 399, 401, 407-8, 418, 421-2, 424-5, & 432.

³ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 343, 362, 382, 397, 403, 415, 420, 423, 428, & 438.

Calahorra as the ecclesiastical representative of his royal government in the Rioja: of the 22 royal charters confirmed by Munio before 1076, only three did not record Sancho IV's patronage of San Millán de la Cogolla, that great riojan monastery that had severed its ties of dependence on the Bishops of Calahorra as recently as the death of Gómez at the end of the year 1065.⁴ The remaining 19 document the enormous torrent of royal Navarrese gifts of territory, jurisdiction, ecclesiastical property, and privileges that engulfed San Millán between 1065 and 1076, and which made Sancho IV the single most important patron that the riojan monastery would ever have.⁵ The contrast with Sancho IV's patronage of the Bishopric of Calahorra during this period, which consisted of the gift of one rural church, and the confirmation of another, could hardly be starker.⁶

The evident deflation of Calahorra's status within the Kingdom of Navarre occurred in the context of a defensive and increasingly autocratic reign. During the last decade of his life, Sancho IV's western borders came under great pressure as Sancho II of Castile eroded Navarre's old-Castilian presence with growing aggression and to increasing effect during the 1060's. In 1067, the King of Castile completed his recovery of the Bureba, Pancorbo, and the Oca mountains and even briefly invaded the Rioja. At the same time, Sancho IV of Navarre reacted to the restlessness of a pent-in Navarrese nobility whose territorial ambitions were blocked by their king's alliance with Zaragoza in the east, and by Castile's re-assertion in the west, with increasingly arbitrary vigour.⁷

⁴ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 383, 393, & 396.

⁵ Gonzalo Martínez Díez, 'El monasterio de San Millán y sus monasterios filiales: Documentación emilianense y diplomas apócrifos', *Brocar* 21 (1997), pp.46-7.

⁶ Agustín Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Cartulario de Albelda*, Zaragoza, 1981, 53; Eliseo Sainz Ripa (ed.), *Colección diplomática de las colegiadas de Albelda y Logroño*, vol.I (924-1399), Logroño, 1981, 7.

⁷ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.62-3; Luis Javier Fortín Pérez de Ciriza & Carmen Jusú Simonena, *Historia de Navarra I: Antigüedad y Alta Edad Media*, Pamplona, 1993, pp.104-5;

During this period, Sancho IV dismantled Calahorra's hegemony over the riojan church in a way that was entirely typical of his wary treatment of the great magnates of his kingdom, by separating the Bishop of Calahorra from the Abbacy of San Millán de la Cogolla. The possibility that Munio's failure to assume the Abbacy of San Millán reflected a desire to implement within the see contemporary ecclesiastical reforms that stressed the need to clarify the division between the secular and monastic churches must be ruled out due to the bishop's maintenance of the monastery of San Martín de Albelda as his main episcopal centre (which will be discussed shortly) during the first phase of his episcopate. The enormous discrepancy between Sancho IV's patronage of the two, now clearly separate, ecclesiastical institutions, and his support of the action taken by the monks of San Millán at the ecclesiastical councils of Nájera and Llantada between 1065 and 1067 to secure their independence from episcopal taxation, further supports the hypothesis that he built up San Millán during this period as a powerful counterweight to the Bishop of Calahorra's power in the region.⁸

The extent to which Sancho IV sidelined the Bishopric of Calahorra after 1065 becomes even more apparent if we compare the prominence to which the diocese had risen as a direct result of the role it had played in the consolidation of Navarre's Castilian borders between 1046 and 1065, with the absence of any evidence that Calahorra was involved in the defence of those same borders after 1065. Once again, Calahorra's loss was San Millán's gain, as Sancho IV's massive and sustained patronage of San Millán de la Cogolla after 1065 reflected the Navarrese king's

⁸ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 361.

promotion of this eminently powerful monastery as the principal ecclesiastical bastion of his frontier with Castile.⁹

What limited practical significance the Bishopric of Calahorra did retain with respect to the Navarrese Crown was associated with its administration of the dominions of the monastery of San Martín de Albelda, from whence it continued to participate in Sancho IV's socio-economic reorganization of the Central Rioja. Each one of the four aforementioned pieces of Navarrese royal patronage to come Calahorra's way between 1066 and 1076 was granted to the see through the monastery of Albelda. What is more, three of the five remaining documents that link Sancho IV directly to his riojan diocese concern Albelda's lordship.¹⁰ Of these nine documents, six record Sancho IV's direction of the monastery of San Martín's development of the economic, jurisdictional, and ecclesiastical infrastructure of the Iregua river valley in which it was situated.

On April 2, 1067, Munio and the congregation of Albelda exchanged some property with the nearby monastery of San Prudencio de Monte Laturce and its powerful patron, Jimeno Fortún, the Lord of Cameros, on Sancho IV's orders. As a result of this transaction, Albelda gave up some possessions between the Jubera and Cidacos rivers in the Lower Rioja in return for churches and territorial holdings in the Iregua valley.¹¹ On August 21, 1072, Sancho IV confirmed to Albelda the donation that Iñigo Aznar, Lord of Calahorra and Viguera, had made to San Martín of the monastery of Santos Cosme and Damián, near Viguera some 10km upstream of

⁹ Martínez Díez, *San Millán*, pp.46-7.

¹⁰ Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce, ss.X-XV*, Logroño, 1992, 10; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 58; Sainz Ripa (ed.), *Albelda y Logroño*, vol.I, 9; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 20; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 362. The latter two documents record an exchange between the king and Santa María la Real de Nájera, and Munio's donation of a church in Alava to San Millán de la Cogolla respectively.

¹¹ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 10.

Albelda on the Iregua river, which had initially been bestowed on the nobleman '*ut perficias in eo domos sicuti servis Dei pertinent*'.¹² The king's desire that Albelda provide this area with an infrastructural kick-start is underlined by his transfer of jurisdiction and property in the area to the rural church in two separate donations two years later, in 1074.¹³ It is also worth noting that both of the exchanges of property that Sancho IV made directly with Albelda resulted in San Martín's acquisition of lordship in the Iregua valley in exchange for more distant riojan holdings.¹⁴

This collection of charters establishes Albelda's contribution to the socio-economic development of the Iregua valley, in collaboration with the regional high nobility and under the close supervision of the King of Navarre, as the Bishopric of Calahorra's most important function with respect to the Navarrese Crown during the last 10 years of Sancho IV's reign. It also reveals Albelda to have been Munio's principal episcopal base, as these documents contain by far the greatest part of his recorded activity as bishop, and establish a clear link between his hands-on management of Albelda's ecclesiastic and secular lordship and his episcopal authority. Munio's adoption of Albelda as the effective centre of his diocesan government is also reflected in the dating-clause of a charter issued by Sancho IV of Navarre in 1073, which contains the sources' first specific reference to the Bishopric, rather than the Bishop, of Calahorra: '*Episcopo domno Monio in episcopatu Albailde*'.¹⁵

Like that of Gómez before him, the location of Munio's episcopal seat was primarily dictated by the interests of the Navarrese Crown. A discussion of the

¹² Sainz Ripa (ed.), *Albelda y Logroño*, vol.I, 7; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 58; Sainz Ripa (ed.), *Albelda y Logroño*, vol.I, 9.

¹⁵ Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol.II, 27.

reasons why the alternative diocesan centres of San Millán de la Cogolla, the Cathedral of Calahorra, and Santa María la Real de Nájera, were not fostered by Munio during the first phase of his episcopate will emphasize this fact yet further.

It has already been suggested that the removal of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla from the power of the Bishop of Calahorra in late 1065, and its subsequent promotion as the principal ecclesiastical guardian of Navarre's southern frontier were initiatives motivated by Sancho IV's desire to diminish the Bishop of Calahorra's regional dominance, and his promotion of San Millán as the primary ecclesiastical bastion on his border with Castile. These royal initiatives represented the final nail in the coffin of the traditional association of the power of the Bishop of Calahorra with the institutions and lordship of San Millán de la Cogolla.

The Cathedral of Calahorra also failed to develop into an effective diocesan centre between 1065 and 1076, but for very different reasons, that were rooted in the enduring political and economic marginality of the city in which it was located (above, pp.26-30). Sancho IV and Munio seem to have paid equally little attention to the City of Calahorra: while there is no evidence that it received any patronage from the former, the latter is only to be spotted in his cathedral city in one surviving document, which does not record his transaction of any episcopal business, but rather his confirmation of a layman's donation to San Millán de la Cogolla.¹⁶ The sources' only reference to Calahorra's cathedral during this period is similarly incidental, as it occurs when Santa María is mentioned in a royal charter as the neighbour of yet another piece of property donated by Sancho IV to the monastery of San Millán.¹⁷ The sources contain no evidence whatsoever of the emergence of the Cathedral of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁷ Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 357.

Calahorra during this period as either an episcopal seat, or the home of any developing diocesan institutions.

This was not the case with Santa María la Real de Nájera, with which the only surviving references to the development of a specifically secular diocesan organization between 1065 and 1076 are associated. The presence of secular clergy in Santa María la Real during this period is indicated by the appearance of '*Fortunio, presbiter domus Sanctae Mariae*', the scribe who recorded a donation to the najeran church in 1066.¹⁸ It is also illustrated by a royal charter recording a transaction effected in 1075 between Sancho IV and Santa María de Nájera '*cum consilio domni Galindonis, prepositi, et voluntate clericorum Sancte Marie et episcopi Munionis*', which explicitly establishes Munio's episcopal authority over Santa María la Real.¹⁹ Its reference to Don Galindo, the *prepositus* to whom the management of Nájera's material assets would have been delegated, is also extremely significant, as it reflects a level of sophistication in terms of the development of a secular diocesan organization that is not to be glimpsed anywhere else in Munio's bishopric during this first phase of his episcopate.²⁰ Finally, the papal legate Hugh of Silva Candida's choice of Nájera as the venue for the legatine council that he summoned there sometime between 1065 and 1067 reflects a widespread perception of Nájera as the Rioja's most important secular diocesan centre, and its physical and organizational infrastructures as those best prepared to meet the demands associated with hosting a legatine church council.²¹

¹⁸ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 17.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁰ Rodríguez de Lama has identified '*prepositus*', '*sacrista*', '*sacricustos*' and '*operator*', as interchangeable contemporary titles used to signify those in charge of the financial management and safekeeping on a given church's property and any building works. Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol. I, p.68.

²¹ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 361.

Santa María la Real de Nájera therefore resembled a late eleventh-century developing Iberian cathedral in significant ways. Despite this, however, there is little evidence that Nájera was either promoted by Sancho IV, or adopted by Munio, as an episcopal seat. Santa María la Real received negligible royal patronage between 1065 and 1076: the only donation received by the najeran church from Sancho IV during this period in fact represented Sancho IV's compensation of Santa María for the usurpation of a piece of its land by a local nobleman.²² In the absence of any royal interest in promoting Santa María la Real's development as a diocesan centre, Munio seems also to have been hesitant in his approach to the najeran church. The sources thus only place him in Nájera on three occasions, twice in the context of the Navarrese royal court, and once in the context of Hugh of Silva Candida's legatine council.²³ There is no evidence that he himself was ever either resident in Nájera, or that he encouraged its development as the seat of his diocesan government.

Santa María de Nájera clearly represented the Bishopric of Calahorra's most convincing embryonic secular diocesan centre during this period, and, even in the context of Castile's gradual recovery of the old-Castilian territories of the Diocese of Valpuesta in the 1060's, still administered an enormous ecclesiastical and territorial lordship. However, Sancho IV's neglect of his father's foundation and Munio's royally-informed preference for the monastery of Albelda as his main residence and power-base determined Nájera's failure to realize its developmental potential during Munio's episcopate. Perhaps the best indication of Santa María la Real's stagnation during this period is provided by a marked decline in the numbers of contemporary

²² Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 20.

²³ *Ibid.*; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 361 & 383.

documents preserved in its cartulary, which contains nine such charters from the period 1052–1065, but only two from the period 1066–1076.²⁴

By failing to adopt Nájera as a central base from which to develop a secular diocesan infrastructure, and associating his episcopal authority instead with the monastery of Albelda, Munio swam directly against the current of change that was sweeping the mainstay of the Iberian secular church towards the establishment of increasingly coherent cathedral institutions and its disentanglement from the monastic church.²⁵ He did so in response to the dictates of the King of Navarre, who focussed the little attention that he gave to the Bishop of Calahorra during this period on his role in the socio-economic revitalization of the Iregua valley in his capacity as Lord of Albelda, while at the same time passively discouraging the bishop's association with either of his two potential secular diocesan centres.

Munio and the Mozarabic Rite

One last aspect of Munio's episcopate before June 1076 that deserves discussion concerns his reputation as one of the principal clerical champions of the Iberian Mozarabic Rite, which was replaced by the Roman liturgy during the 1070's and 1080's as a result of pressure exerted from Rome by a Reforming Papacy that was both increasingly dominant and increasingly intolerant of liturgical or doctrinal diversity within the Western Church.²⁶

²⁴ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol II, 9-20.

²⁵ Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1978, p.25.

²⁶ Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal, du VI au XII siècle*, Lisbon, 1947, pp.391-405; Joseph O'Callaghan, 'The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfons VI of Leon-Castile', in Bernard Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, St-Denis, and St. Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in Leon-Castile in 1080*, New York, 1985, pp.101-13.

The first triumphant episode in Munio's purported struggle against the Roman reforms was originally reported in a collection of peninsular conciliar acta compiled between 1070 and 1080 in San Millán de la Cogolla. This late eleventh-century monastic text relates the story of how Bishops Munio of Calahorra, Jimeno of Oca, and Fortún of Alava presented themselves in Rome in 1065 in a preoccupied response to Hugh of Silva Candida's attempts to introduce the Roman Rite to the Iberian Peninsula during his legatine mission of 1065–1068. They came armed with a Rule from the monastery of Albelda, a prayer book and an antiphony from the pamplonan monastery of Irache, and a missal from the monastery of Santa Gema, near the Navarrese town of Estella, determined to have them subjected to papal scrutiny. According to this source, the four Mozarabic religious texts were personally examined by Pope Alexander II (1061–1073) for nineteen days, before being completely cleared of any traces of unorthodoxy, in what represented an enormous (moral, if not enduring) victory for the defenders of the Iberian rite.²⁷

This version of events has been enthusiastically endorsed by generations of subsequent historians of the Iberian Church who have rejoiced in its portrayal of the gloriously justified resistance of what has all too often been labelled the 'national' Spanish Church in the face of the external threat posed by Rome's reformers.²⁸ However, it has been pointed out by the French historian, Pierre David, that this story is not corroborated by any other evidence, either Roman, or Iberian, and that the date it suggests for the bishops' visit to Rome is problematic, as the Bishopric of Oca was

²⁷ David, *Études*, pp. 391-2.

²⁸ Sainz Ripa accepts the veracity of this account, and states that in doing so he is following the example of the historians who have shaped Spanish ecclesiastical historiography since the eighteenth century: Tejada y Ramiro, Moret, and Flórez. Eliseo Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1994, vol.I, p.254. David also mentions the general endorsement given to this story throughout the (traditionally conservative and nationalist) historiography of the Spanish Church. David, *Études*, p.392.

not revived before 1067 at the earliest. Furthermore, David argues that the idea that Alexander II might have endorsed the orthodoxy of Mozarabic religious texts in the last years of his pontificate, during which it was his stated opinion that the Iberian Rite was irregular, aberrant, and heretic, verges on the absurd. In fact, it is David's opinion that this story of Iberian moral fortitude was the creation of a riojan monk whose intention was to strengthen resistance to the introduction of the Roman Rite by spreading misinformation. In support of this assertion, he cites a letter sent by Gregory VII to Bishop Jimeno of Burgos in 1076, about the time that this story was recorded, in which the pope denounced similar attempts to misrepresent Rome: '*Quod autem filii mortis dicunt se a nobis litteras accepisse sciatis per omnia falsum esse*'.²⁹ It is abundantly clear that, despite the energetic protestations to the contrary made in the last history to be written about the Bishopric of Calahorra to cover the eleventh century, Munio cannot be credited with the feat of 'national' religious resistance with which he has traditionally been associated.³⁰

The second widely recounted episode in the story of Munio's struggle against the Roman Rite relates how the defiant riojan prelate was finally brought to his knees by a hefty dose of Roman persuasion. The story goes that Munio, Bishop of Calahorra, was deposed and excommunicated by the papal legate Gerald, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, during his Iberian mission of 1073/4, purportedly on the grounds of simony, but with the actual intention of punishing him for his anti-Roman stance. It concludes with his absolution and re-instatement by Pope Gregory VII after a visit to

²⁹ David, *Études*, pp.392-5.

³⁰ Sainz Ripa rejects David's arguments as unfounded, and defends the veracity of this story on the grounds that it contains too many accurate details to be a fabrication. Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p 254. The accurate details he refers to surely do not include the correct dating of episcopates: it has already been noted that the Bishopric of Oca was not restored before 1067 at the earliest. What is more, Bishop Fortún of Alava first appears on the documentary record in 1070: Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 377.

the Papal Curia during which he vowed to drop his resistance to the Roman Rite.³¹ This account is derived from the traditional interpretation within Spanish ecclesiastical historiography of two bulls issued in 1074 by Pope Gregory VII.³² The first, dated March 20, and addressed to the Kings of Castile and Navarre, contains a papal ratification of the Cardinal-Bishop Gerald's excommunication and deposition of Bishop Munio.³³ The second, dated May 9, is addressed simply to the King of Castile, and contains a report of Munio's subsequent appeal to the Papal Courts.³⁴

This account is problematic on many counts, the most obvious of which concerns its timing. The first of the two bulls from which it is derived was issued just after the close of the Lenten Synod of 1074 (9-15 March 1074).³⁵ The second, dated May 9, states explicitly that Bishop Munio was present both at that synod, and at the papal hearing of his case, which must have taken place sometime between March 20, the date of the Pope's ratification of Munio's excommunication, and May 9, the date on which his absolution is reported. His stay in Rome therefore presumably extended at least into the beginning of April, if not May. This evidence sits rather awkwardly with that of a charter dated April 12, 1074, which records a donation made to San Millán de la Cogolla by a Navarrese nobleman and confirmed by a choice selection of the Navarrese and Riojan nobility, including Bishop Munio.³⁶

Further suspicions as to the solidity of the traditional interpretation of these bulls are raised by their identification of Munio as an old-Castilian bishop whose

³¹ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.255.

³² Ibid. Sainz Ripa supports his interpretation of these two documents by citing: Juan Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de Cánones y de todos los concilios de la Iglesia Española*, Madrid, 1851, pp.140-208; Ubieto Arteta, 'La introducción del rito romano en Aragón y Navarra', *Hispania Sacra* I (1948), pp.299-324; and J.F. Rivera Recio, 'Relaciones de la sede apostólica con los distintos reinos hispanos', in Ricardo García Villoslada (ed.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, Madrid, 1982, vol.II, pp.259-75.

³³ Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo (ed.), *La documentación Pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965-1216)*, Rome, 1055, 8.

³⁴ Mansilla Reoyo (ed.), *La documentación Pontificia*, 10.

³⁵ David, *Études*, p.397.

³⁶ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 415.

episcopal authority had been based in Sasamón, a settlement situated some 30km west of Burgos. Although it might be tempting to argue that this episode in fact provides valuable evidence of the continuation of the Bishopric of Calahorra's administration of the old Castilian Diocese of Valpuesta after its political re-assimilation by Castile, which was completed in 1067, there are many reasons for discarding this hypothesis, most obviously because there are no Iberian sources that link the Bishop or Bishopric of Calahorra to their erstwhile old Castilian territories in any way during Munio's episcopate. Secondly, the existence of two contemporary, and neighbouring, bishops called Munio during this period is succinctly demonstrated by a document written in 1067 by the monks of San Millán de la Cogolla in which the attendance of both '*Munionem Calagurritanum pontificem*' and '*Munionem Vetule Castelle presulem*' at the 1067 Legatine Council of Llantanda is recorded.³⁷

Indeed, a close examination of Gregory VII's two bulls of 1074 reveals that the main problem that had confronted Bishop Munio, '*qui super Symeoneam venerabilem fratrem nostrum Ocensem episcopatum ordinatus erat*', with the papal see had been his refusal to accept the forced assimilation of his bishopric (of Oca) by Bishop Jimeno's Diocese of Burgos, and not his resistance to abolition of the Mozarabic Rite at all. Similarly, his absolution by the pope came '*post reditam rationem earum rerum quibus eum appellavimus, sicut dignam erat*', and not, as traditional Spanish ecclesiastical historiography would have it, as a result of his promise to adopt the introduction of the Roman Rite. Indeed, when Gregory VII referred to Munio's vow to adopt that rite at the end of his missive to Alfonso VI of May 9, 1074, he revealed that this had been made together with other Iberian bishops at the Lenten synod that preceded the pope's ratification of his excommunication:

³⁷ Ibid., 361.

'Romanum ordinem in divinis officiis, sicut ceteri Hyspani episcopi, qui synodo interfuerunt, se celebratum et, ut melius poterit, observaturum promisit'.³⁸ In this context, it seems rather far-fetched to assert that his absolution had been a direct result of this promise.

The Bishop Munio who went to Rome in 1074 was not the Bishop of Calahorra, but the dispossessed and disgruntled Bishop of Oca. He had fallen foul of the ecclesiastical establishment not because of his resistance to the abolition of the Mozarabic Rite, but because of his refusal to accept the assimilation of his diocese by that of Burgos. He was subsequently restored to the pope's favour, but not his bishopric, because he relinquished his claims over the Bishopric of Oca, and not because of a collective promise he had taken together with numerous other Iberian bishops to support the introduction to the peninsula of the Roman Rite.

There is thus not a single element of the two stories upon which Munio's traditional reputation as an arch-defender of the Mozarabic Rite that stands up to scrutiny. Even in this respect, our account of Munio's episcopate before the summer of 1076 has to be toned down to reflect a rather muted period in Calahorra's history. This final phase of the see's Navarrese period, which entirely lacked the splendour of Gómez's high-profile episcopal reign, reflects the decline suffered by a borderland bishopric when the secular frontiers it had been designed to consolidate began to disintegrate.

³⁸ Mansilla Reoyo (ed.), *La documentación Pontificia*, 8 & 10.

Regime Change

When Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile seized control of the Rioja after the assassination of his cousin, Sancho IV, on June 4, 1076, he did so in one rapid and seemingly effortless sweep. By the end of July, he had secured the entire region without having to take a single town or castle by force. Before retreating from the area in late July or early August 1076, the Leonese king confirmed Nájera's municipal charter, in what constituted a highly conspicuous proclamation of his desire that his takeover of the Rioja should bear the hallmark of continuity, and not rupture. The rapid political submission of the remains of the Navarrese royal family, and Alfonso VI's retention of much of the riojan aristocracy in the very same tenancies they had held under Sancho IV of Navarre bear witness to this continuity. Indeed, it has even been suggested that the smoothness with which the Rioja was transferred into Alfonso VI's power and the complicity of the riojan nobility in Sancho IV's murder are both indicative of the active role assumed by the region's aristocracy in facilitating the assimilation of their territories by Leon-Castile.³⁹

In this context, it is very interesting to note that the Bishopric of Calahorra was the only element of the riojan socio-political infrastructure not to survive the change in political regime intact. While the rest of riojan society flourished under the favourable influence of the Leonese king, who appreciated and further promoted the region's importance both as a highly developed and fertile agricultural area, and an invaluable commercial corridor through which the *Camino de Santiago* channeled a

³⁹ José Angel García de Cortázar, 'La organización social del espacio riojano', *Actas de la Reunión Científica "El Fuero de Logroño y su época"*, Logroño, 26, 27 y 28 de Abril de 1995, Ayuntamiento de Logroño, Logroño, 1996, p.201; José María Mínguez, *Alfonso VI: Poder, expansión y reorganización interior*, Hondarribia, 2000, pp.61-4; Luciano Serrano (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla*, Madrid, 1930, 226.

rapidly expanding volume of human traffic and trade, the Bishopric of Calahorra withered in silence.⁴⁰ In contrast to his former prominence as a witness to Navarrese royal documents, Munio only confirmed one of Alfonso VI's charters.⁴¹ There is furthermore no evidence that the Bishop of Calahorra or any of the institutions with which his see was associated received any royal patronage from the Leonese king between 1076 and 1080.

Indeed, the silence that surrounds the Diocese of Calahorra during this period extends well beyond the royal charters of Leon-Castile: the monastery of Albelda disappears entirely from the documentary record between 1076 and 1082, and there is likewise no evidence relating to the maintenance or development of any other diocesan structures pertaining to the bishopric during these years. The Bishop of Calahorra himself also faded into the background after June 1076, and is only to be glimpsed in the sources four times between that date and the end of his episcopate in 1080.⁴²

Calahorra's eclipse in the wake of the assimilation of the Rioja by Leon-Castile was determined by two different aspects of its condition as a frontier diocese. On the one hand, the contrast between Alfonso VI's benevolent attitude towards the riojan nobility and towns, and the cold shoulder he showed the Bishopric of Calahorra reflects an important way in which the see was differentiated from other elements of the frontier society to which it belonged. This lay in the nature of the bishopric's identification with the secular power to which it had until so recently been subject, which was both highly politicized and heavily institutionalized. Unlike the region's

⁴⁰ García de Cortazar, *Organización social riojana*, pp.199-207.

⁴¹ Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de Valvanera*, ss.XI-XIII, Zaragoza, 1985, 84.

⁴² García Turza (ed.), *Valvanera*, 84; Serrano (ed.), *San Millán*, 227 & 236; Q.Aldea, T. Marín, & J. Vives, *Diccionario de la Historia Ecclesiástica de España*, Madrid, 1972, vol.I, p.542.

municipal authorities, which lacked the political relevance characteristic of the Leonese-Castilian towns south of the River Duero, and its aristocracy, whose loyalties to the murdered King of Navarre, although intensely political, had been based on bonds of fealty that were both personal and reversible, the Bishopric of Calahorra, as the institutional representative of the Navarrese Crown's dominion over the riojan church, was tied to the old regime with bonds that were intrinsically structural and symbolic, and therefore eminently durable.⁴³ In the context of Alfonso VI's seizure of the Rioja, it was the solidity and totality of Calahorra's identification with the Crown of Navarre that made dismantling its authority a pre-requisite to the successful 'castilianization' of the region.

The second aspect of Calahorra's frontier condition to affect its position after June 1076 has already been identified. This concerned the institutional weakness of the see, which had been prevented from laying down the (relatively permanent) foundations of an independent organizational base as a direct result of the intensity of its identification with the Crown of Navarre, which had in turn been determined by the role allocated to the Bishopric of Calahorra in the politics of Navarre's southern and western frontiers. Without an independent administrative leg to stand on, the riojan see seems to have suffered a near-total collapse when confronted by a hostile royal authority.

The level of Leonese-Castilian hostility that Calahorra faced during the second phase of Munio's episcopate is best illustrated by a single act of royal aggression. An alfonsine charter dated September 3, 1079, records the King of Leon-Castile's

⁴³ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.64-84.

donation of Santa María la Real de Nájera, the magnificent pantheon of the Navarrese monarchy, to the great Burgundian Abbey of Cluny, together with all its associated ecclesiastical and territorial lordship. With this act, Alfonso VI obliterated the symbolic association between Calahorra and the Crown of Navarre that had been so securely anchored on the bishopric's control of Nájera's royal foundation, and deprived the frontier see of its single most significant collection of diocesan possessions, administrative rights, and jurisdiction. He also deftly nipped in the bud the development of the embryonic secular diocesan administration that had begun to take shape in Nájera.

The circumstances that allowed Alfonso VI to deal such a great blow to Calahorra are highly significant, as they provide yet another reflection of some of the weaknesses implicit in the see's frontier condition. Thus when Alfonso VI donated Santa María la Real to Cluny, he emphasized his right to do so in his capacity as the legitimate heir to this royal foundation: '*Concedo atque offero vobis unum monasterium meum proprium quod abstraxi ex parte meum realengum et successi de abiorum meum*'.⁴⁴ It is most unlikely that the king would have felt as free to wipe clean Calahorra's developmental slate if the bishopric's nascent administrative institutions had been cocooned in a legitimate cathedral instead of Nájera's royal foundation. Alfonso VI's obliteration of Calahorra's most promising secular diocesan centre thus reflects one more way in which the see's inability to survive the castilianization of the Rioja after 1076 intact was determined by the frontier-related vulnerability and poverty that had underlain the Cathedral of Calahorra's failure to develop as a diocesan centre during the first three decades of its re-founded existence.

⁴⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 36.

There is some uncertainty as to the exact timing of Alfonso's donation of Santa María la Real to Cluny. The charter recording its official transfer in the presence of an enormous aristocratic retinue that included three members of the Navarrese royal family and two of Alfonso VI's sisters is dated September 3, 1079.⁴⁵ However, it is generally asserted by historians of the region that this charter represented the bombastic confirmation of a *fait accompli* which had probably taken place very soon after Alfonso VI's seizure of the Rioja in June 1076.⁴⁶ However, the *terminus post quem* for the effective transfer of Santa María la Real to Cluny must be revised upwards slightly in the light of a donation made to that church on May 14, 1077, by the Navarrese *Infanta* Doña Mayor. This is made out to '*clericis domus Sancte Marie Nagarensis, presidente preposito Galindone*', who was presumably the same '*prepositus Galindo*' who had been involved in negotiations with Sancho IV on behalf of Santa María la Real in 1075, and therefore explicitly demonstrates the continued existence, at least until mid-May 1077, of secular clergy in the royal foundation.⁴⁷

An informed guess as to the date of this undocumented *de facto* transfer can be made on the basis of a brief examination into the wider context that informed Alfonso VI's donation of Santa María la Real to Cluny. For apart from being motivated by a desire to weaken the Bishopric of Calahorra, this royal act also formed an integral part of the Leonese king's policy with regard to both Cluny and Rome.

In the context of the aggressively reformist pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-1085), whose ambitions to assert Rome's temporal superiority over the secular rulers

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.I, p. 91, who cites: Antonio Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica*, León, 1973, p.942; Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.263.

⁴⁷ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 20-1.

of Western Christendom repeatedly found expression in his outright territorial claim to the entire Iberian Peninsula, Alfonso VI was keenly aware of the need to secure the support of a powerful ally in the defence of his own sovereign independence.⁴⁸ One of Gregory VII's first actions as Pope was to revive preparations for a papally-directed campaign of Iberian reconquest that had been put on ice towards the end of the pontificate of his predecessor, Alexander II. This campaign, which was organized north of the Pyrenees and did not envisage the participation of any of Iberia's Christian rulers, was to be fought on the assumption, which was stated by Gregory VII for the first time in 1073, that the territory of the 'Kingdom of Spain' legally belonged to the see of St. Peter.⁴⁹ Gregory VII's Iberian proto-Crusade was an unmitigated disaster, but the Pope continued to press his territorial and jurisdictional claims to the peninsula in increasingly insistent terms. In 1077 Gregory VII re-iterated his demands in a letter addressed to the 'kings, counts, and other princes of Spain' in such a forceful way that seemed to leave few options save submission or open confrontation.⁵⁰

The Abbey of Cluny was one of the principal standard-bearers of the eleventh-century ecclesiastical reform movement and an indispensable source of material and political support for the reforming Papacy.⁵¹ On the other hand, this period also saw growing competition between Cluny and Rome for influence in the Iberian Peninsula. Its established and expanding penetration of the Iberian Peninsula also meant that it was the main channel through which the influence of that reform movement could

⁴⁸ Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford, 1989, pp.109-121 & 126-33, Ian Stuart Robinson, *The Papacy, 1072- 1198: Continuity and Innovation*, Cambridge, 1990, pp.295-309.

⁴⁹ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.215-6, cites: J.P. Migne, *Patrología latina*, re-published Paris, 1958-74, vol.CXLVIII, col. 290.

⁵⁰ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 215-6, cites: Migne, *Patrología latina*, vol. CXLVIII, col. 483.

⁵¹ Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, pp.64-8, Robinson, *Papacy*, pp.209-43.

reach Leon-Castile. It was in order to secure the services of such an influential ally in the face of Gregory VII's challenges to his sovereignty that Alfonso VI transferred a series of important monasteries to Cluny during this period. San Isidoro de Dueñas, San Salvador de León, Santiago de Astudillo, Santiago & San Juan de Cerrato, and San Pedro de Campo were thus all gifted to the Burgundian abbey by the King of Leon-Castile between 1073 and 1077. The wealth and influence that Cluny acquired in this way seems to have been sufficient to mobilize the abbey in Alfonso VI's defence, and it is likely that Cluny was instrumental to the failure of Gregory VII's Iberian (re)conquest campaign.⁵²

In the context of the openly confrontational stance adopted by the Pope in 1077, Alfonso VI's need of Cluny's support became markedly more urgent. It is in this context that his decision, recorded on July 10, 1077, shortly after the papal gauntlet had been laid down in a bull dated June 28, to renew and double the annual cense that his father, Fernando I of Leon-Castile, had paid to the abbey. The 2,000 annual pounds of gold that Alfonso VI pledged to St. Hugh in 1077 represented an income that was greater than the sum of Cluny's existing revenues, and immediately converted the Leonese king into the Burgundian abbey's single most important benefactor.⁵³ When, in an overt rejection of Gregory VII's claims, Alfonso VI began to style himself 'Emperor of Spain' in the autumn of 1077, the Abbot of Cluny registered his implicit support of his generous Iberian benefactor by endorsing the Leonese king's imperial pretensions in the dating-clauses of his own charters.⁵⁴

In the light of these developments, it seems logical to suggest that Alfonso VI's transferal of Santa María la Real to Cluny took place before July 1077, and

⁵² Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 218-21.

⁵³ Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1978, p.8.

⁵⁴ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.217-9.

therefore represented one of the series of monastic donations with which the King of Leon-Castile secured Cluny's loyalty before the Pope's challenge, issued in late June 1077, increased Alfonso VI's dependence on Cluny's support and prompted him to replace this steady flow of monasteries with an annual money stipend that far surpassed his former donations in material value, and would presumably have rendered the king's donation of yet another church entirely superfluous.

If we accept the beginning of July 1077 as the *terminus ante quem* for Santa María la Real's transferal to Cluny, we are left with a window of some six weeks between mid May and late June 1077, i.e. at the end of the first year of Alfonso VI's occupation of the Rioja, within which it must have occurred. The speed with which Alfonso VI moved to withdraw the najeran church from Calahorra's possession reveals his haste to dismantle the authority of what had until so recently been so solidly identified as an emphatically Navarrese frontier institution. A mid May to late June 1077 date for Santa María la Real's transfer would also go a long way towards explaining the precise chronology of the see's eclipse after June 1076 and before the end of Munio's episcopate in 1080. Only two of the five instances in which the existence of the clergy or institutions of the Bishopric of Calahorra are referred to during this period are dated after the summer of 1077.⁵⁵ Both concern the activity of its bishop in 1080, once within his own diocese when he consecrated the altar of a monastery belonging to San Millán de la Cogolla, and once when he attended the council held by Alfonso VI in Burgos in 1080.⁵⁶ After July 1077, and before Munio's tentative introduction onto the Castilian political scene in 1080, the record concerning

⁵⁵ García Turza (ed.), *Valvanera*, 84; Serrano (ed.), *San Millán*, 227 & 236; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 21; Aldea, Marín, & Vives, *Diccionario*, vol.I, p.542.

⁵⁶ Serrano (ed.), *San Millán*, 236; Aldea, Marín, & Vives, *Diccionario*, vol.I, p.542.

the Bishopric of Calahorra is totally silent. If Alfonso VI dealt his greatest blow to the frontier diocese in the early summer of 1077, it certainly left its mark.

2.2 SCHISM AND ROYAL APPOINTEES: BISHOPS SANCHO (1081-1087), PEDRO (1081-1085), SIEGFRIED (1088), AND PEDRO (1089-1108).

After Munio's death, the Bishopric of Calahorra was plunged into the depths of a leadership crisis that lasted the entire decade of the 1080's. There were three Bishops of Calahorra during this decade, two whose episcopates were largely simultaneous, and a third who never made it past the status of bishop-elect. The effects of this extended period of diocesan insecurity on the see's development are broadcast by the resounding silence of the sources regarding Calahorra's institutions and human infrastructure during this period: beyond a single document that links one of these bishops with the Monastery of Albelda, there is no contemporary evidence whatsoever of the diocese that Sancho, Pedro, and Siegfried each claimed to govern.¹ The evident involvement of the King of Leon-Castile, Alfonso VI, in the creation and extension of this calahorran leadership crisis once again reflects the dangers inherent in the see's frontier condition.

Sancho was the most prominent of these three Bishops of Calahorra, and the first to appear in the sources. He makes his first documentary appearance in a charter dated April 18, 1081, and his last in a document dated July 21, 1087. In total, the sources contain eight references to his episcopate.² However, his demotion to the

¹ Agustín Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Cartulario de Albelda*, Zaragoza, 1981, 61. Although Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce ss. X-XV*, Logroño, 1992, 16, does contain a reference to an Archdeacon of Calahorra called Pedro Salamón who served under Bishop Pedro, it survives in a very late copy and has only tentatively been dated to 1086 by its editor. In the light of the existence of an Archdeacon of Calahorra called Pedro under the next Bishop of Calahorra of the same name (1089-1108) (see below, pp.93-4), it seems most likely that this document was in fact drawn up between 1089 and the death of Sancho Ramírez of Aragon, who also features in its dating clause, in 1094.

² Margarita Cantera Montenegro (ed.), 'Santa María la Real de Nájera, siglos XI-XIV', (unpublished Phd thesis) Complutense University Madrid, 1987, vol.II (Appendix of primary sources), 23 & 25; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 61; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 15; María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla, 1076-1200*, Zaragoza, 1989, 142 & 151-3.

status of Bishop-elect in a charter dated June 23, 1082, and his subsequent disappearance from view until 1086, provide the first indications of the leadership contest that overshadowed his episcopate for almost its entire duration.³ The immediate cause of his problems is easily identified: on July 25, 1081, just three months after his own first documentary appearance, Pedro, his rival for the leadership of Calahorra, makes his debut in the sources.⁴ Pedro maintained a significantly lower documentary profile than Sancho, but the date of the only other surviving charter to refer to his episcopate, issued on December 18, 1085, reveals that this calahorran anti-bishop remained active for at least four and a half years.⁵

Sancho's eclipse and his subsequent re-emergence in the sources after Pedro's disappearance raises the question of whether there might not in fact have been two Bishops Sancho in the Diocese of Calahorra during the 1080's, one who was removed and replaced by Pedro between July 1081 and June 1082, and the other who was appointed after Pedro's death in 1086. Although there is no hard evidence for rejecting such a nominal coincidence, Sancho's documented ability to remain active in his seat at least one year after the creation of this double election indicates that he was certainly not prepared to step down quietly. The probable success with which he resisted Pedro's challenge is also reflected by Calahorra's Cathedral necrology, one section of which contains a list of four consecutive Bishops of Calahorra in which the order of succession of Munio (1065-1080), Pedro (1089-1108), and Sancho de Grañón (1109-1116), is accurately listed, and which only lists one Bishop of

³ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 61; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 42.

⁴ Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol.II, 38.

⁵ Francisco Javier Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo, catálogo documental*, Madrid, 1985, 2. Although this document is dated 1086, it survives in a much-manipulated copy, and Mínguez has convincingly suggested that it was more probably issued in 1085: José María Mínguez, *Alfonso VI: Poder, expansión y reorganización interior*, Hondarribia, 2000, p.116.

Calahorra between Munio and Pedro, whom it identifies as 'Sansón'.⁶ The redaction of this necrology was begun in Calahorra's scriptorium during the mid-1120's, within living memory of the double election of the 1080's. This fact, and the relative accuracy with which the succession of the remaining Bishops of Calahorra from the period 1065-1116 are listed in this extract (even if the reported date of their death is in two cases out by one year), supports the conclusion that there was only one Bishop Sancho of Calahorra during the 1080's. Furthermore, the omission from this necrology of any mention of either Sancho's rival, Pedro, or his ephemeral successor, Siegfried, indicates that of these three Bishops of Calahorra, Sancho was clearly the one who gained the widest recognition within his own see.

Indeed, Sancho had strong connections within the Rioja, which are most clearly reflected in his identification as both Prior of Albelda and Bishop-elect in a document dated June 23, 1082.⁷ He also enjoyed a close association with the fratricidal Navarrese *Infante* Ramiro, who had governed the city of Calahorra under García III and Sancho IV, and who had retained much of his influence in the Lower Rioja after its transfer to Leon-Castile in 1076.⁸ The importance of this connection can be inferred from the context of Sancho's three active appearances in the sources before 1086, all of which occur in charters issued by Ramiro.⁹ What is more, the only piece of patronage to come Calahorra's way during the 1080's was a donation made by the Navarrese *Infante* to Sancho in his capacity as Lord of Albelda.¹⁰ Significantly, Sancho was only ever identified with Calahorra or Albelda, both of which were

⁶ Angel Carmelo Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), 'Crónica-Obituario de Calahorra', *Berceo* 97 (1979), p. 97.

⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 34. Despite this evidence, however, it seems unlikely that Sancho had occupied the position of Prior of Albelda before becoming bishop, as earlier documents bear no trace of a prior called Sancho in the monastery. It is more likely that his instalment in Albelda was a direct result of his appointment as Bishop of Calahorra.

⁸ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, p.124.

⁹ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 23 & 25; Ubierto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 61.

¹⁰ Ubierto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 61.

located in the eastern part of his diocese where Ramiro's power was concentrated, during the early years of his episcopate.¹¹ Even if Ramiro had not been instrumental in Sancho's election as bishop, he certainly represented his principal source of political support after the event.

Pedro, on the other hand, is nowhere connected to the institutions of his see or the politics of the Rioja in the sources. Instead, the record of his existence has only survived because of his confirmation of two of the charters of Alfonso VI, both of which were issued in the context of large curial gatherings. The second of these, which records Pedro's presence at the Leonese king's endowment of the Cathedral of Toledo, reveals just how curial a bishop he was, and how far his episcopal focus lay from the riojan territory of his see.¹²

It seems clear that Pedro was a royal Leonese appointee, who was imposed on the Bishopric of Calahorra either at the same time or shortly after the appearance of another candidate who was locally elected and connected. Alfonso VI's attempt to install in Calahorra a 'puppet-bishop' who had no regional support-base and who was kept on a tight leash at the royal court responded to the king's evident desire to keep the bishops and institutions of the frontier see weak. He clearly still perceived the historically Navarrese Calahorra to be a potentially loose cannon on his north-eastern border with Aragon-Pamplona, and moved accordingly to head off any attempts at its post-1076 recovery. His initiative certainly had serious implications for the see, as the authority of the Bishops of Calahorra was undermined to such an extent that they disappear altogether from the documentary record between June 1082 and 1086, and the institutional development of their see was entirely arrested.

¹¹ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 23 & 25; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 61.

¹² Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de Valvanera*, ss. XI-XIII, Zaragoza, 1985, 146; Hernández (ed.), *Toledo*, 2.

However, it is also important to note that if Alfonso VI had intended to remove Sancho in 1081, he was not entirely successful, as the latter managed to hang on as Bishop of Calahorra until after Pedro's death, and, after resurfacing in 1086, went on to confirm two of the King of Leon-Castile's diplomas, as well as another charter issued at his court, during the last two years of his episcopate.¹³ Sancho's endurance went through three successive phases, all of which were principally determined by the changing political landscape of his riojan see.

The first lasted some two years, from his first appearance as Bishop of Calahorra until the death of his powerful riojan patron, the *Infante* Ramiro on January 6, 1083, during a disastrous Leonese-Castilian expedition against Zaragoza.¹⁴ During these years, the relative security of Sancho's position rested on the implications of Alfonso VI's policy of ensuring the political stability of the Rioja through the appeasement of the autochthonous aristocracy: as long as the bishop enjoyed Ramiro's support, his existence alongside the royal appointee to the Bishopric of Calahorra was openly tolerated by the King of Leon-Castile. This is illustrated by the king's inclusion among the witnesses of the two charters of Ramiro that were also confirmed by Sancho between 1081 and 1083.¹⁵ Likewise, the co-incidence between the date of Ramiro's demise and Sancho's disappearance from the record reflects how sharply the bishop's position deteriorated in the absence of his influential patron.

In the light of the evident strength of his support-base in the Lower Rioja, it seems most likely that Sancho's survival during the silent second phase of his episcopate should be attributed to his ability to run to ground in the easternmost parts of his see and, once there, unobtrusively consolidate his local position. This ability

¹³ Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 142 & 152-3.

¹⁴ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, p.124.

¹⁵ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 23 & 25.

was surely dependant on his existing regional connections, but was also largely determined by the marked shift of Alfonso VI's strategic attention away from his eastern borders, and towards the south after the disastrous failure of his attempt on Zaragoza in January 1083, and in the context of his projected conquest of Toledo.¹⁶ The Lower Rioja, east of the Iregua valley, was never able to compete with the highly developed and well-connected Upper Rioja in terms of social, economic, or cultural significance during this period. Between January 1083 and the spring of 1086, when Zaragoza was once again placed within the sights of the King of Leon-Castile in the wake of his triumphant entry into Toledo in May 1085, the king's eastern riojan border with Zaragoza was also pushed to the periphery of his strategic vision. It was in this context that Sancho was able to entrench himself quietly, and above all unmolested, in his frontier refuge. The very marginality of Calahorra's eastern borderlands that had hitherto represented such a severe impediment to the see's acquisition of stable institutions now offered its bishop a safe haven beyond the gaze of a hostile king.

The final phase of Sancho's episcopate post-dates Pedro's disappearance from the record in late 1085, and is characterized by Sancho's emergence from his lower riojan hideout and his acceptance into the Leonese-Castilian royal court during the last two years of his life. This development is perhaps also best understood in its wider Leonese-Castilian political context which, after the conquest of Toledo in May 1085 and the arrival in the peninsula of a new and extremely serious military threat in the form of the North African Almoravids in 1086, was dominated by Alfonso VI's urgent need to defend a massively extended and dangerously exposed frontier with

¹⁶ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.124-5.

Muslim Iberia.¹⁷ In this context, and after the death of Pedro, his own calahorran appointee, the King of Leon-Castile seems to have been rather less inclined to enforce Sancho's deposition, and thereby risk alienating his supporters on his first line of defence against Zaragoza, than he had been four years previously, when Zaragoza had represented a sitting target debilitated by internecine power struggles rather than a potential focus for an Almoravid attack.¹⁸ This new situation, which marked the end of Sancho's dependence on a specifically lower riojan support-base, was reflected by his association with the upper riojan section of his diocese through his adoption of the title 'Bishop of Nájera' after 1086.¹⁹

Siegfried's was by far the briefest of Calahorra's three episcopates of the 1080's. He only appears twice in the sources, both times in the late spring of 1088. What is more, his identification as bishop-elect on both occasions indicates that he was in all probability never consecrated.²⁰ Like Pedro before him, he was an emphatically curial bishop: his existence is only ever recorded in the context of Alfonso VI's court, and at a great distance from the Bishopric of Calahorra. His first recorded act, which was to confirm the king's endowment of the monastery of San Servando in Toledo, simply reflects his integration into an enormously peripatetic court.²¹ His second, on the other hand, may reveal the principal function of his ephemeral episcopate.

Siegfried's second and final recorded act as Bishop-elect of Calahorra was to attend the Council of Husillos, convened in late April or early May 1088 by Alfonso VI under the 'legatine' auspices of Cardinal Richard (whose mandate as Papal Legate

¹⁷ Ibid., pp.107-12 & 125-38;

¹⁸ Ibid., pp.121-9.

¹⁹ Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 142 & 151-2.

²⁰ Luciano Serrano, *El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva, ss.V-XIII*, Madrid, 1936, vol.III (Documentos), 31; Hernández (ed.), *Toledo*, 4.

²¹ Hernández (ed.), *Toledo*, 4.

had in fact expired by the spring of 1088, which led to Pope Urban II's pointed refusal to accept the legitimacy of some of the declarations made at Husillos).²² The principal, and highly political, function of this council was to secure the deposition of the Archbishop of Santiago, Diego Peláez, in response to his archiepiscopal agitations on behalf of Alfonso VI's dispossessed and incarcerated brother, García, who claimed the Kingdom of Galicia. Ensuring the outcome of Husillos was crucially important to the King of Leon-Castile, and this probably explains its attendance by no less than four bishops-elect, who were in all likelihood royal appointees who owed their election primarily to a (justified) royal expectation that they would sanction Alfonso VI's uncanonical deposition of Diego Peláez. Siegfried, whose foreign name indicates that he was probably not of riojan, or even Castilian, origin, was one of those appointees. His episcopate left no mark on the Diocese of Calahorra

The first two decades of Calahorra's post re-foundation existence had triumphantly proclaimed the glorious heights of wealth and power to which the bishop of a highly politicized frontier diocese could aspire. The story of the see's demise after 1076 reflects the other side of the coin, by illustrating the devastating effects that too close, and above all too enduring, an identification with one frontier power could have when it was suddenly replaced by another in one of those dramatic changes in fortune that were all too common a fact of life on the political frontiers of medieval Christian Iberia.

When the Bishopric of Calahorra was incorporated into Leon-Castile following Alfonso VI seizure of the Rioja in 1076, what followed was the eclipse of what had until recently been Navarre's flagship diocese. The King of Leon-Castile

²² Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1978, pp.183-4.

dealt ruthlessly with his new frontier diocese in response to its intense and enduring Navarrese identification. He silenced those of its bishops who had any real connection with the territory or society of their riojan see, replacing them with puppet-bishops whose appointment served political purposes that were wholly unrelated to their nominal bishopric, with which they had no real contact. By withdrawing Santa María la Real de Nájera from the control of Calahorra's bishops, he also dealt the see's embryonic institutions a blow so powerful and enduring that it would be referred to some 68 years later by the Papal Legate Cardinal Hyacinth as '*Quod factum tam enorme ita universis Hispanorum finibus insonuit, quod fama hec nulla poterat temporum vetustate deleri*'.²³ The devastating effects of his political aggression towards the Bishopric of Calahorra are broadcast by the impenetrable silence in which the record concerning the see's institutional development in the aftermath of Leon-Castile's assimilation of the Rioja is shrouded.

However, the refuge Sancho found in Calahorra's eastern borderlands from Alfonso VI's hostility reveals the existence of one area in which the see's diocesan flame could be kept quietly burning without attracting the dominant and interventionist attention of a powerful royal authority. In doing so, it provides the first indication of the central role that the city of Calahorra's status as a neglected backwater on a marginal frontier was to play in the largely independent development of its Cathedral during decades to come.

²³ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 179.

Calahorra Tamed

Under Pedro (1089-1108), the Bishopric of Calahorra emerged from more than a decade of royal battering a tame Castilian see. Although there is no hard evidence that Pedro was appointed by Alfonso VI, both the vigour with which the King of Leon-Castile generally dominated the Leonese-Castilian episcopate during the last three decades of his reign, and Pedro's own attendance of the highly political, carefully packed, and essentially royal Council of Husillos in the company of the clearly alfonsine Bishop-elect of Calahorra just one year before himself becoming bishop, indicate that this was very likely the case.²⁴

He was certainly a highly curial prelate: of eleven surviving contemporary documents that record Pedro's episcopal activity, six are royal diplomas which he confirmed along with other members of the Leonese-Castilian court.²⁵ Three of these, which record his attendance at the royal curia in Leon, Almazán, and Sahagún, in the spring or summer months of 1091, 1098, and 1100 respectively, demonstrate his incorporation into the highly peripatetic court of a king whose interests lay far more squarely in the Leonese core of his empire and the extension of its southern frontiers, than in his north-eastern riojan dominions.²⁶ Another, issued by Alfonso VI in 1089 in Montearagón '*quando exivit cum exercitibus ad pugnam a Iuceph caldei, qui venerat ultra maris cum exercitibus suis ad depopulandam terram christianorum*', reveals the

²⁴ Serrano, *Burgos*, vol.III, 63; Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, p.226.

²⁵ Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, Eduardo de Hinojosa (ed.), *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y Castilla, ss.X-XIII*, Madrid, 1919, 25; Juan del Alamo (ed.), *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Salvador de Oña (822-1214)*, Madrid, 1950, vol.I, 99 & 116; Serrano, *Burgos*, vol.III, 53.

²⁶ Hinojosa, *Instituciones*, 25; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 269; Serrano, *Burgos*, vol.III, 53; José Angel García de Cortázar, 'La organización social del espacio riojano', in: *Actas de la Reunión Científica "El Fuero de Logroño y su época"*, Logroño, 26, 27 y 28 de Abril de 1995, Ayuntamiento de Logroño, Logroño, 1996, p.191.

bishop's participation in the military campaign that lifted the Almoravid Emir Yusuf ben Tasufin's siege of Aledo in that year.²⁷

Through his sustained commitment to Alfonso VI's political and military enterprises, Pedro secured his own status as a curial magnate. At the same time, his diocese was able to reap some benefits from its obedient integration into the Church of Leon-Castile.

The first concerned Calahorra's participation in the development of the riojan stage of the *Camino de Santiago*. This pilgrimage route, which started bringing pilgrims to the shrine of St. James in the Galician town of Compostela in the ninth century, grew during the eleventh to represent the most important transport, trade and communications network linking the length of northern Iberia with trans-Pyrenean Europe.²⁸ It was first diverted through the Rioja, and the royal Navarrese town of Nájera, by Sancho III of Navarre (1000-1035) around the year 1010, and represented one of the most important motors powering the rapid economic growth and diversification experienced by the Upper Rioja during the eleventh century.²⁹ Through his energetic promotion of the roads and urban infrastructure that constituted the *Camino* in its Leonese and Castilian stages, Alfonso VI was able to extend the scope of his royal authority in a northern Iberian seigniorial landscape that was otherwise characterized by a proliferation of large, territorial, and hereditary (or ecclesiastic) lordships that had been carved out of a steadily dwindling royal demesne.³⁰ The extension of this policy to the riojan section of the *Camino de Santiago* after the

²⁷ Ledesma Rubio (ed), *San Millán*, 187; Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, p.149.

²⁸ Yves Bottineau, *El Camino de Santiago*, tr. Valiente, A., Barcelona, 1965; José María Lacarra, Juan Uría Riu, & Luis Vázquez de Parga, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols., re-published Pamplona, 1992.

²⁹ Ignacio Granado Hijelmo & María Concepción Fernández de la Pradilla, *La Rioja y el Camino de Santiago: Estudio histórico y jurídico*, Santiago de Compostela, 1997, pp.43-6; García de Cortázar, *Organización social riojana*, pp.192-3, B. González Sologasitua, 'Influencia económica de las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela', *Economía Española* XIII (1934), pp.77-93.

³⁰ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.197-209.

Rioja's annexation by Leon-Castile in 1076 is illustrated by Alfonso VI's confirmation in 1076 of Nájera's charter, in which its privileged status as a *Camino* town and its direct subordination to the king were enshrined, and his extension of another such charter to the newly-established *camino* town of Logroño in or shortly before 1095.³¹

It also found expression in the king's promotion of Santo Domingo de la Calzada as an additional stage-post to break up the long journey between Nájera and Burgos, and it was in this initiative that the Bishop of Calahorra was also invited to participate. This *camino* town, which grew up around the bridge that Santo Domingo himself constructed over the river Oja sometime during the second half of the eleventh century, was founded on land provided by the King of Leon-Castile, and was subsequently transferred wholesale into the lordship of the Bishop of Calahorra, who also consecrated its church in 1106.³²

The king's involvement in Santo Domingo's development, and its subsequent transferral into the Bishopric of Calahorra's possession are clearly established in a judgement formulated some 20 years later (i.e. well within living memory) by Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile regarding a dispute between the Bishoprics of Calahorra and Burgos over what had by then become an extremely important and lucrative pilgrimage town:

'Sciendum est quod Alphonsus rex...in tempore Garsie Burgensis episcopi dedit sancto Dominico et libere concessit illum locum in quo sanctus Dominicus fecit

³¹ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.203-5; Ignacio Ruíz de la Peña Solar, 'La formación de la red urbana en el tramo riojano del Camino de Santiago', *Actas de la Reunión Científica "El Fuero de Logroño y su época"*, Logroño, 26, 27 & 28 de Abril de 1995, Ayuntamiento de Logroño, Logroño, 1996, pp.211-3.

³² Eduardo Azofra Agustín, 'Desarrollo urbano de Santo Domingo de la Calzada en los tiempos medievales: Nuevas aportaciones históricas', *III Semana de Estudios Medievales: Nájera, del 3 al 7 de Agosto de 1992*, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño, 1993, p.245.

ecclesiam sancte Marie et populatur tota villa. Ipse vere sanctus Dominicus rogavit domnum Petrum, Calegurritanum episcopum, ut consecraret illam ecclesiam sancte Marie, et ut esset dominus et dispositor in omnibus negotiis eiusdem ecclesie et totius ville'.

The preamble to this royal judgement goes on to relate that Pedro contributed significantly to Santo Domingo's endowment.³³

The development of this new riojan *camino* town was clearly a combined effort in which Domingo, the riojan nobleman and future saint, collaborated with the King of Leon-Castile and the Bishop of Calahorra, and which Alfonso VI was clearly content to eventually delegate entirely to the Bishop of Calahorra. If successful, as Santo Domingo's was, participation in such a development brought with it enormous economic and social benefits. These are amply reflected in the energy with which Burgos and Calahorra would later dispute Santo Domingo's ownership, and the meteoric rise of the ever-expanding pilgrimage-funnel itself within the Bishopric of Calahorra, which was so spectacular that in 1224 Pope Honorius III gave his permission for the translation of the see's cathedral to Santo Domingo de la Calzada.³⁴

The Diocese of Calahorra also benefited from its loyalty to Alfonso VI in a territorial sense. Sometime after the death in 1087 of Fortún, the last Bishop of Alava, and before the year 1090, when Pedro was cited as 'Bishop in Nájera and Alava' in the dating clause of one of the Bishop of Pamplona's charters, the Diocese of Calahorra was (at least nominally) extended to cover the Basque regions of Alava and Vizcaya, which had for the last for the last two centuries constituted the Bishopric of

³³ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 114.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 114 & 127; Pablo Díaz Bodegas, *La Diócesis de Calahorra y La Calzada en el siglo XIII (La sede, sus obispos e instituciones)*, Logroño, 1995, p.176.

Alava.³⁵ The Diocese of Alava had emerged during the ninth century as a base for the displaced Bishops of Calahorra, most of whose diocese was in Muslim hands well into the eleventh. By incorporating it into that of (re)conquered and re-founded Calahorra, Alfonso VI thus redrew the ecclesiastical map of north-eastern Castile according to what was at the time accepted Visigothic tradition.³⁶ This fusion does not seem to have been problematic, and received papal approval in 1109 when Pope Paschal II confirmed the election of Pedro's successor as Bishop of Calahorra to a diocese that comprised '*Alavam, Biscaiam, Nazaram et utrumque Camberium*'.³⁷

By 'restoring' the Bishopric of Calahorra to its supposed Visigothic dimensions, Alfonso VI enlisted Pedro in the ecclesiastical 'castilianization' of the socially and politically isolated Basque regions of Alava and Vizcaya, whose effective assimilation by the Crown of Leon-Castile was severely hampered by their domination by a highly independent regional nobility.³⁸ Thanks to its employment in the extension of Alfonso VI's royal authority, the Diocese of Calahorra expanded dramatically as the see more than doubled in size, and was suddenly elongated northwards over a vast expanse of mountainous terrain that extended all the way to the Cantabrian coast (see map 2).³⁹

³⁵ José Gofí Gaztambide (ed.), *Colección diplomática de la Catedral de Pamplona I (829-1243)*, Pamplona, 1997, 47.

³⁶ Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'Episcopologio de Alava (ss. IX - XI)', *Hispania Sacra* VI, 1953, pp.37-57; Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, *Geografía eclesiástica de España: Estudio histórico-geográfico de las diócesis*, Rome, 1994, vol.II, pp.192-195. Such tenth- and eleventh-century ecclesiastical 'restorations' were based on the 'Division of Wamba' a forgery that was at the time accepted as a genuine Visigothic document that described the geography of the Visigothic secular church. Luis Vázquez de Parga, *La Hitación de Wamba*, Madrid, 1943; Ricardo García Villoslada (ed.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, Madrid, 1979, vol.II, ch.7: 'Movimiento de reorganización eclesiástica', pp.300-35.

³⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 48.

³⁸ José María Lacarra, 'La cristianización del País Vasco', *Vasconia Medieval: Historia y Filología: Conferencias pronunciadas los días 10 y 11 de Enero de 1956*, San Sebastián, 1957, pp.59-63; José Angel García de Cortázar et al., *Introducción a la Historia Medieval de Alava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya en sus textos*, San Sebastián, 1979, pp.12-7.

³⁹ Mansilla Reoyo, *Geografía eclesiástica*, vol.II, p.195; Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford, 1989, pp.219-226; Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp.150-4.

The Bishopric of Calahorra thus grew in terms of both economic power and territorial extension under the influence of the King of Leon-Castile. What is more, the appearance of archdeacons in the diocese during Pedro's episcopate seems to indicate that the climate created by its unproblematic Castilian affiliation between 1089 and 1108 also favoured its internal institutional development. Thus Archdeacon Sancho de Grañón (who would go on to become the next Bishop of Calahorra) and Archdeacon Raimundo both confirmed a document issued by their bishop on November 22, 1095.⁴⁰ Their colleague, Pedro Salomón, Archdeacon of Calahorra, appears in three documents dated 1089-1094, 1095, and 1102, and his death on March 28, 1108, is recorded in his cathedral's necrology.⁴¹ By 1095 at the latest, there were three archdeacons serving in the Bishopric of Calahorra.

Archdeacons, who emerged in the late eleventh century Western Church to occupy the rank immediately below that of bishop within the diocesan hierarchy, in theory, and increasingly also in practise, derived their authority from the delegated administration of archdeaconries, the territorial ecclesiastical subdivisions into which the bishoprics of Western Christendom were increasingly comprehensively divided during the twelfth century.⁴² Their appearance in Calahorra during Pedro's episcopate is highly significant as it marked a fundamental step towards the creation in the see of the human infrastructure that would underpin its development as an emphatically hierarchical and territorial administrative institution, in line with the evolution of the Western Church as a whole.

⁴⁰ Luciano Serrano (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla*, Madrid, 1930, 283.

⁴¹ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 16 & 18; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 42; Docs. 63, 75, 80, Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Crónica-obituario*, p.95.

⁴² Mansilla Reoyo, *Iglesia Castellano-Leonesa*, pp.204-5. Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford, 1989, pp.220-3; Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp.25-6 & 150-8.

It is clear that both the Bishop and the Bishopric of Calahorra benefited significantly from their uncompromised Leonese-Castilian affiliation during Pedro's episcopate. However, a closer examination of these gains reveals the serious limitations to which they were subject, and indicates an underlying desire on the part of Alfonso VI to discourage the development in the Diocese of Calahorra of strong secular ecclesiastical institutions.

The king's endorsement of Pedro's participation in Santo Domingo's development must therefore be considered in the light of his parallel exclusion from the other, more important riojan *camino* centres of Nájera and Logroño. While the latter was officially founded towards the end of the eleventh century as a chartered royal town under the authority of the Crown of Leon-Castile, the former was an existing royal town and former diocesan centre from which the Bishop of Calahorra's continued exclusion is reflected by the total absence of evidence linking the administration or institutions of his see to Nájera in any way during his episcopate. The importance of both to the development of the Rioja's pilgrimage economy and society around the turn of the twelfth century put the significance of the newly established burgh of Santo Domingo, in which the first significant signs of urban life would not appear until the 1120's, entirely in the shade.⁴³ Considered in this context, it becomes clear that Alfonso VI's endorsement of Santo Domingo's transferral into Calahorra's lordship in fact represented meagre, and passive, royal compensation for the see's exclusion from his most important riojan *camino* developments. The slice of the Rioja's pilgrimage pie that the King of Leon-Castile allowed Calahorra was

⁴³ Ruíz de la Peña Solar, *Red urbana*, pp.217-220; Azofra Agustín, *Desarrollo urbano*, p.245; Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.197-209.

certainly not significant enough to dent his own dominance of the riojan leg of the *Camino de Santiago*.

Although Calahorra's incorporation of the suppressed Diocese of Alava was in theory extremely significant, the sources reveal that the theory and practice of Calahorra's assimilation of Alava were two very different matters. Beyond the dating clause of 1090 in which he is described as 'Bishop in Nájera and Alava', Pedro is only connected to his see's new Basque provinces once in the sources. This occurs in a document issued by the bishop on November 22, 1095, which records in fascinating detail his consecration of the church of San Pedro de Llodio, and the agreement he subsequently reached with the regional nobility regarding the administration of the church in the northern alavan Ayala valley in which it was situated. Through this agreement, made '*cum potestatibus et militibus...de Ayala*', Pedro defined the monopoly that ten churches were to hold (or already held) over the administration of ecclesiastical taxation in the valley. He also exempted those ten churches from payment of episcopal first-fruits and tithes in return for an annual payment of '*tribus solidis de munisma cencus [sic] qui in terra currerit*'. To seal this agreement, which effectively represented Pedro's abdication of his claims to control the administration of the church in Ayala, the bishop received six horses and ten cows with a combined value of 4200 *solidi* from five members of the ayalan nobility, who were presumably the beneficiaries of this deal (the enormity of these gifts is put into perspective by a comparison with the Archdeacon Bernardo Pedro's purchase in the same year of some houses in Calahorra for 16 *solidi*).⁴⁴

The striking evidence of Pedro's own charter, combined with the almost totally impenetrable silence that was to surround the subject of Calahorra's

⁴⁴ Serrano (ed.), *San Millán*, 283; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 42.

administration of Alava and Vizcaya for more than 40 years after its nominal assimilation of the Bishopric of Alava around 1090, reflects the extreme difficulties that successive Bishops of Calahorra faced when trying to impose their distant ecclesiastical authority on a church that remained resolutely in the hands of a deeply entrenched and highly independent regional nobility.⁴⁵ The calahorran territorial expansion that Alfonso VI had engineered may have looked good on parchment, but was in reality effectively nonexistent.

One diocesan location in which Pedro's episcopal authority was certainly fully recognized was the central riojan monastery of Albelda, where he maintained the episcopal seat established by his predecessors. Two surviving documents, dated 1097 and 1102, record the bishop's management of Albelda's territorial affairs on behalf of its congregation, thereby revealing both his physical presence in Albelda, and his continued lordship over the monastery.⁴⁶ When introducing the inventory of albeldan property that he formulated sometime between 1094 and 1108, Miro, Albelda's prior, explicitly stated his position in the monastery to be '*sub manu domini Petri Episcopi*'.⁴⁷ Indeed, in the absence of any evidence linking Pedro's episcopal administration to any other calahorran locations, it seems most likely that Albelda provided him with his principal riojan residence and his main diocesan centre.

However, even the power Pedro projected over his see from his albeldan base was extremely limited. Of the three documents that reflect his lordship of Albelda, one records an exchange made by the monastery with the nearby foundation of San

⁴⁵ Apart from one further document recording the problems encountered by Pedro's successor, Sancho de Grañón, when attempting to bring the alavan church under his jurisdiction, there are no records of Calahorra's bishops' involvement with the church in Alava before Sancho de Funes' establishment of an Archdeaconry of Alava in 1135 (see below, pp.107-12 & 176-80)

⁴⁶ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 17 & 18.

⁴⁷ Eliseo Sainz Ripa (ed.), *Colección diplomática de las colegiatas de Albelda y Logroño*, vol.I: 924-1399, Logroño, 1981, vol.I, 10.

Prudencio de Monte Laturce on the express orders of Alfonso VI, and the second a donation of albedan property to San Prudencio in response to a request made by Iñigo Jiménez, Lord of Cameros and Monte Laturce's founder.⁴⁸ These documents do not reflect the expansion of Albelda's territorial base, its promotion as an instrument of royal government, or the development from its centre of a secular ecclesiastical administration. Instead, they record the monastery's obedient service of the interests of a king and his powerful riojan vassal in promoting the development of a monastery that competed directly with Albelda for territorial control in the Iregua, Leza, and Jubera valleys.⁴⁹

Even the importance of the appearance of archdeacons in Calahorra under Pedro was limited in a fundamental way: for ecclesiastical dignitaries whose developmental significance lay primarily in their supervision of a specifically territorial administration, Calahorra's archdeacons were for the most part conspicuously un-territorial. The archdeacons Sancho de Grañón and Raimundo are thus never nominally associated with any specific archdeaconry in the sources. What is more, these simply record their confirmation of Pedro's agreement with the nobility of Ayala, thereby reflecting their function as members of the bishop's retinue rather than territorial ecclesiastical administrators.⁵⁰

Pedro Salomón was an entirely different matter. He not only left a greater mark on the see's historical record than his two archidiaconal colleagues, but was also the only one of Calahorra's archdeacons to be associated with a territorial archdeaconry during this period. He is identified as the Archdeacon of Calahorra twice in the sources, which also record his purchase of some houses in the city of

⁴⁸ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 17.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.17-19.

⁵⁰ Serrano (ed.), *San Millán*, 283.

Calahorra on behalf of the cathedral in 1095, and his confirmation of the bishop's donation in 1102 of two churches in the Arnedo valley, located some 15km southwest of the cathedral city, to the monastery of San Prudencio de Monte Laturce.⁵¹

Pedro Salomón, who was also the first archdeacon to be registered in Calahorra's necrology, clearly emerged as a dominant figure in the administration of the Cathedral of Calahorra during this period. However, what is most interesting about this development is that it seems to have unfolded in effective independence from his bishop. Thus while Bishop Pedro himself is nowhere linked to his cathedral or even his cathedral city in any way in the sources, Archdeacon Pedro was independently active in building up the cathedral's urban property base. Furthermore, by confirming the gift to Monte Laturce that his bishop made together with Albelda's monks in 1102, the Archdeacon of Calahorra represented the interests of his cathedral in the context of a central and lower riojan ecclesiastical administration that had hitherto been entirely dominated by that monastery, in what constitutes the first documented step towards the cathedral's domination of the secular church in that region.⁵²

The Bishopric of Calahorra's only significant development with respect to the establishment of a territorial and secular ecclesiastical administration during Pedro's episcopate thus unravelled largely independently of the bishop himself. This is not so surprising in the light of this bishop's subservience to a dominant king who obstructed the establishing of a strong secular church in Calahorra by encouraging the Bishop of Calahorra's prolonged attendance at the royal court; excluding the see from the most important areas of riojan socio-economic development; and pursuing a policy of royal

⁵¹ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 16 & 18; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 42.

⁵² García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 18.

patronage of the riojan church that favoured the region's monasteries to the total exclusion of its diocesan church.⁵³ Alfonso VI was clearly not about to allow the development in the Bishopric of Calahorra of the kind of episcopal dominance of the *Camino de Santiago* that formed the highly lucrative basis of an ecclesiastical quasi-principality under the authority of the Archbishops of Santiago de Compostela at the western extreme of his realms.⁵⁴ Neither was he inclined to install Pedro in a powerful and politically, economically, and militarily central cathedral as he did with the southern bishops who represented such an important force in the Christian re-organization of the majority of his newly resurrected extremaduran sees.⁵⁵

His success in keeping Calahorra weak during this period is reflected in the generally muted tone of Pedro's episcopate. This is well illustrated by a comparison between the 11 active documentary appearances that Pedro made during the 20 years that he 'ruled' the Bishopric of Calahorra with the 41 active documentary appearances that Munio made during the first 11 years of his, earlier, episcopate.⁵⁶ It also determined the bishop's inability to either establish a prominent episcopal centre or exert any sort of meaningful diocesan authority during this period. Indeed, Pedro's lack of power as bishop is perhaps best reflected by the fact that only three surviving

⁵³ Alfonso VI's patronage of the riojan church as a whole was rather limited during this period, but what little royal patronage the region's ecclesiastical institutions received went to its monasteries, and not the Bishopric of Calahorra. Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 187 & 269; Del Alamo (ed.), *Oña*, vol.I, 99; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 17.

⁵⁴ Richard Fletcher, *St. James' Catapult: the life and times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, Oxford, 1984.

⁵⁵ Pascual Martínez Sopena, "Fundavi bonam villam": La urbanización de Castilla y León en tiempos de Alfonso VI', *Actas de la Reunión Científica "El Fuero de Logroño y su época"*, Logroño 26, 27 y 28 de Abril de 1995, Ayuntamiento de Logroño, Logroño, 1996, pp.177-8.

⁵⁶ Pedro: Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 187 & 269; Hinojosa (ed.), *Instituciones*, 25; Del Alamo (ed.), *Oña*, vol.I, 99 & 116; Serrano (ed.), *San Millán*, 281, 283, & 294; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 17 & 18; Serrano (ed.), *Burgos*, vol.III, 53; Munio: Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Albelda*, 52-3 & 58; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 10 & 12; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 26; Sainz Ripa (ed.), *Albelda y Logroño*, vol.I, 9; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 20; Serrano (ed.), *San Millán*, 228, Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *San Millán*, 343-5, 357, 360-2, 368, 377, 382-4, 393, 396-9, 401, 403, 407, 408, 415, 418, 420-5, 428, 432, & 438. By 'active documentary appearance' I refer to all those occasions on which the bishops' physical presence at the occasion recorded by a document is demonstrable.

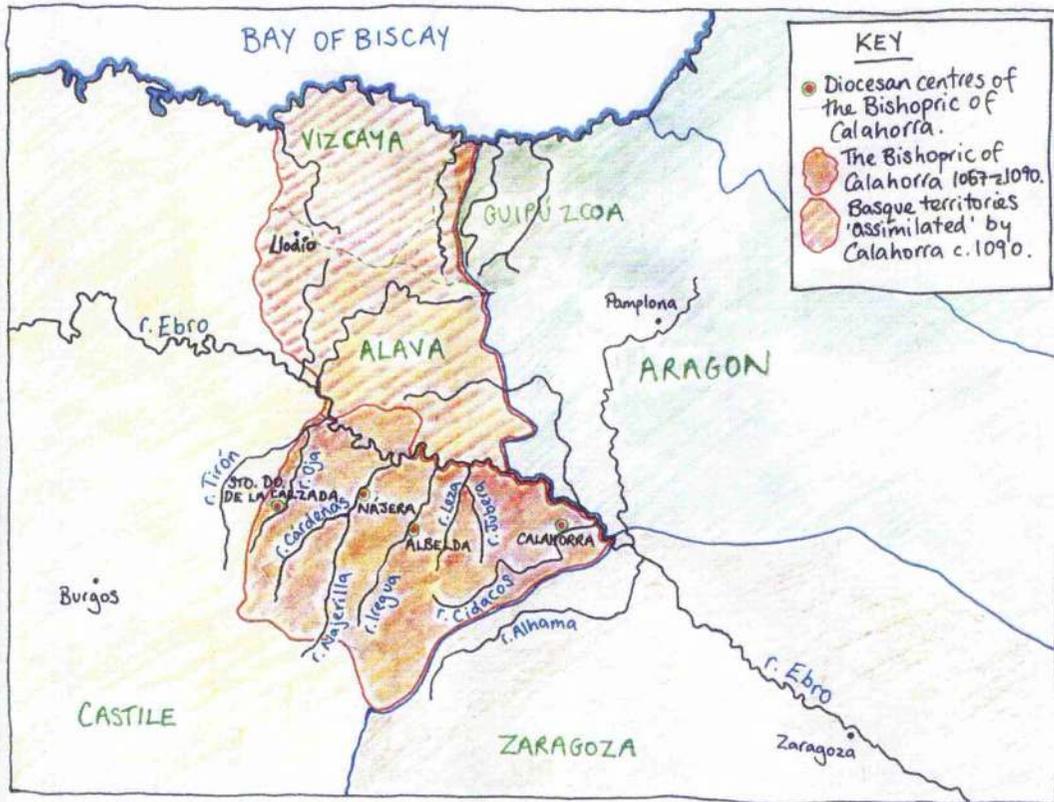
contemporary documents associate him with the administration of the church within his see, and of those three, one records his renunciation of the administration of the church in Ayala, another a property exchange made on Alfonso VI's orders, and the third a gift made to a riojan monastery behind which the pressure of a dominant regional aristocrat can be clearly perceived.⁵⁷

In this context it is entirely fitting that what little institutional development Calahorra did experience during the period 1089-1109 took place on Castile's north-eastern frontier with Zaragoza, the strategic marginalization of which was exaggerated during Pedro's episcopate as a result of the successive Almoravid offensives that were unleashed during this period against Leon-Castile's southern dominions. Indeed, Alfonso VI's only attempt during this period on Zaragoza, which did not fall to the Almoravids until 1110, and which continued to deliver protection money to Leon-Castile until 1102, was diverted by the arrival in the peninsula in the spring of 1097 of yet another north-African army headed for Toledo.⁵⁸ The Lower Rioja, in which Calahorra's cathedral was situated, also lay well beyond the scope of Alfonso VI's policy regarding the region's socio-economic development, as it was located far from the riojan section of the *Camino de Santiago*. Once again, we can see how the position of the city of Calahorra on the politically marginal north-eastern periphery of the vast and southwards-facing kingdom of a dominant monarch such as Alfonso VI allowed it to become a refuge for the representatives of Calahorra's secular church and, in this case, for the development of an embryonic secular ecclesiastical administration. Under Pedro, the King of Leon-Castile controlled the

⁵⁷ Serrano (ed.), *San Millán*, 283; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 17 & 18.

⁵⁸ Mínguez, *Alfonso VI*, pp.149-76.

Bishop of Calahorra. Its cathedral, however, unobtrusively laid its institutional foundations safely hidden in the blind spot of his political vision.



Map 2: The Incorporation of Alava and Vizcaya into the Diocese of Calahorra.

PART THREE

INDEPENDENCE ON THE PERIPHERY: CALAHORRA'S AUTONOMOUS DEVELOPMENT UNDER BISHOPS SANCHO DE GRAÑÓN AND SANCHO DE FUNES, 1109-1146

3.1 SANCHO DE GRAÑÓN (1109-1116)

Bishop Pedro's death on November 1, 1108, is recorded in the necrology of the Cathedral of Calahorra.¹ Sancho de Grañón was elected sometime between that date and November 3, 1109, when he was consecrated in Rome by Pope Paschal II.² His episcopate, which lasted until own death in August 1116, coincided with the most serious political crisis to affect Christian Iberia during the first half of the twelfth century. This was sparked by the death at the Battle of Uclés on June 24, 1108, of the *Infante* Sancho, the only male heir of the ageing and ailing Alfonso VI, which left the king's eldest legitimate daughter, Urraca, first in line to the Throne of Leon-Castile.³ Her qualifications for succession were far from ideal: she was not only female and single, and therefore a powerful magnet for the fiercely competitive attentions of the Leonese-Castilian nobility, but also had a legitimate son from her previous marriage to Count Raymond of Burgundy (d.1107), around whom opposition to her own position could crystallize. In June 1109, in an attempt to both neutralize the very great dangers inherent in Urraca's imminent succession, and enlist the aid of a strong ruler

¹ Angel Carmelo Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), 'Crónica-obituario de Calahorra', *Berceo* 97 (1979), pp.97 & 105.

² Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol.II, 48.

³ José María Mínguez, *Alfonso VI: Poder, expansión y reorganización interior*, Hondarribia, 2000, pp.174-6.

in the defense of his southern frontiers in the context of an increasingly intimidating Almoravid peninsular presence, the moribund Alfonso VI officially proclaimed Urraca his heir and arranged for her marriage to Alfonso I 'the battler' of Aragon.⁴

In the event, neither of these measures proved sufficient to avert the violent anarchy that engulfed the Kingdom of Leon-Castile between 1110 and 1117. The marriage of Urraca and Alfonso I of Aragon took place in the autumn of 1109. A few months later, a noble revolt broke out in Galicia in the name of the queen's son, Alfonso Raimúndez, whose chances of succeeding to the Leonese-Castilian throne had been seriously undermined by the union. The mechanism of joint sovereignty upon which the marriage of Urraca and Alfonso I was based also broke down repeatedly, and by the late summer of 1111 the empire of Alfonso VI's creation had been entirely submerged in a violent mesh of overlapping conflicts from which barely an element within Leonese-Castilian society was excluded: while the queen alternated between armed opposition to Alfonso I in association with her son's supporters, and reconciliations with her husband that involved her in the suppression of the Galician revolt, the bulk of the Leonese-Castilian episcopate, led by the Archbishop of Toledo, mounted a fierce ecclesiastical attack on Alfonso I's position by securing papal condemnations of his consanguineous marriage to Urraca; Diego Gelmírez, the Bishop of Santiago de Compostela, entered the fray in defense of his own enormous seigniorial interests in the face of an antagonistic Galician aristocracy, sometimes in alliance with Urraca and the Archbishop of Toledo, and at others in open opposition to them; at the same time, Count Henry of Burgundy and his wife Teresa, Urraca's half sister, entrenched their position in an increasingly independent County of

⁴ Ibid., pp.173-6; José María Ramos y Loscertales, 'La sucesión del Rey Alfonso VI', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* XIII (1936-41), pp.76-91; Reyna Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales y estancamiento económico en la España medieval*, Barcelona, 1973, pp.29-31; Simon Barton, *The aristocracy in twelfth-century León and Castile*, Cambridge, 1997, pp.8-12.

Portugal; finally, the towns along the pilgrimage route from Burgos to Santiago took advantage of the conflict in order to rise up in Alfonso I's name against the onerous lordship of the great, and for the most part ecclesiastical, magnates to whom they were subject.⁵

These multiple conflicts cooled significantly after the summer of 1117, when Urraca agreed a truce with her estranged husband that recognized his possession of the Rioja, Burgos, Castrojeriz, and Carrión de los Condes; ceded control over the southern Extremadura region, including its capital, Toledo, to her son, Alfonso Raimúndez; and installed the Archbishop of Santiago as Lord of the now *Infante*-free region of Galicia.⁶

In the light of the extreme political insecurity that affected Leon-Castile for the entire duration of Sancho de Grañón's episcopate, it is hardly surprising that it has left only the faintest of marks on the documentary record. Only ten surviving documents testify to his existence as Bishop of Calahorra. Of those, only six record active documentary appearances (by which I refer to those occasions on which the bishop's physical presence is recorded by a document), and only two record the existence of secular church institutions and a human administrative infrastructure in the bishopric.⁷

⁵ Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales*, pp.21-34; Barton, *Aristocracy*, pp.14-15. José María Jover Zamora (ed.), *Historia de España, fundada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1969-1991, vol.IX: Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, 'La Reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política (1035-1217)', pp.170-9.

⁶ Barton, *Aristocracy*, p.15; Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales*, pp.34-5; Manuel Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VI (1126-1157)*, Burgos, 2003, pp.41-8.

⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, 48-9 & 51-2; Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de Valvanera, ss.XI-XIII*, Zaragoza, 1985, 208; Cristina Monterde Albiac (ed.), *Diplomario de la Reina Urraca de Castilla y León (1109-1126)*, Zaragoza, 1996, 12-3; José Angel Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona (1104-1134)*, San Sebastián, 1990, 59; José María Lacarra (ed.), *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro*, vol.I, Zaragoza, 1982, 49; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Crónica-obituario*, pp.91-107.

However, meagre as they are, the sources do illustrate a few very significant aspects of Calahorra's development under Sancho de Grañón's leadership. Perhaps most importantly, they reflect the agility with which the bishop transferred his political affiliations in line with a dramatic transformation in his geo-political environment. In 1111, Alfonso I's already explosively antagonistic relationship with his Leonese-Castilian queen degenerated sharply after her attendance of the coronation and anointment in Galicia of her son, Alfonso Raimúndez, in what constituted an ostentatious public recognition of his claims to succeed to the Throne of Leon-Castile. The King of Aragon reacted by seizing control of the Rioja, as well as a stretch of territory extending deep into Old Castile including Burgos, Pancorbo, Oca, and Belorado, territories which he continued to dominate throughout this period of hostilities.⁸ Within two years of Alfonso VI's death in July 1109, the Rioja and its neighbouring Castilian territories had been comprehensively transferred from the power of his Leonese-Castilian heiress into that of her estranged husband, the King of Aragon (see map 3).

Sancho de Grañón confirmed four royal diplomas as Bishop of Calahorra, two issued by Urraca, and the other two by Alfonso I.⁹ In the light of the chronology of both the state of the royal marriage, and Alfonso I's occupation of the Rioja, it is interesting to note that both of the Urracan charters that Sancho de Grañón witnessed were issued in the late summer of 1110, when the queen came to the region during a brief period of reconciliation with her husband.¹⁰ Both of the royal diplomas that the Bishop of Calahorra confirmed after 1111 were issued by the King of Aragon when

⁸ Barton, *Aristocracy*, p.14; Josefina Andrio Gonzalo & Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Historia medieval de Miranda de Ebro*, Miranda de Ebro, 1991, p.62.

⁹ Monterde Albiac (ed.), *Urraca*, 12-3; Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 59; García Turza (ed.), *Valvanera*, 208.

¹⁰ Monterde Albiac (ed.), *Urraca*, 12-3; Ramos y Loscertales, *La sucesión*, pp.64-5; Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, p.173.

he passed through the Rioja in the company of large noble retinues.¹¹ Sancho de Grañón was thus evidently able to disassociate himself entirely from Urraca once Alfonso I's dominance in the Rioja had been established, and enter unproblematically into the court circle of the Aragonese king, in whose dating-clauses he also features after 1111.¹² It is also worth noting that the bishop clearly did not have a particularly strong connection to either Urraca or Alfonso: his confirmations of their charters are few in number, and limited to occasions when their royal retinues passed through his own diocese. He was neither a permanent, nor an itinerant, member of their courts.

Sancho de Grañón's association with Alfonso I is especially relevant in the light of the general tendency of the predominantly Francophile and cluniac Leonese-Castilian episcopate, under the forceful leadership of Bernard of Sédirac, the Archbishop of Toledo, to express their loyalty to Urraca and their support of the claims of her son, who was also the nephew of the Abbot of Cluny, through virulent canonical opposition to her marriage to Alfonso I. In 1113, the vociferous calls of the 'Toledo-camp' within the episcopate of Leon-Castile for papal condemnation of the consanguineous marriage of Urraca and Alfonso was answered with Paschal II's command that the pair separate on pain of excommunication.¹³ In retaliation to this frontal attack, the Aragonese king expelled the Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishops of Burgos and León from their sees, and imprisoned the Bishops of Palencia and Osma.¹⁴

That the Bishop of Calahorra does not feature in this list of abused prelates, despite the position of his see well within Alfonso I's punitive sights, provides a likely indication that he had not been implicated in the clerical denouncement of the

¹¹ Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 59; García Turza (ed.), *Valvanera*, 208.

¹² Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 49; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 52.

¹³ Manuel Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII (1126-1157)*, Burgos, 2003, pp.10-1, 22-3,

¹⁴ Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales*, pp.32-3.

royal match, and did not form part, even at this early stage, of Urraca's extensive support-base within the Church of Leon-Castile. By 1110, Sancho de Grañón seems already to have been acutely aware of the likely implications of the rapidly degenerating political situation within Leon-Castile for the Rioja, and was clearly able to act accordingly.

The evident agility with which Sancho maneuvered his see into a position of alignment with a newly dominant secular authority in the Rioja stands in stark contrast to the debilitating inflexibility that had prevented previous Bishops of Calahorra from doing precisely the same thing. The see's newfound political light-footedness owed much to the weakness of its association with the Crown of Leon-Castile between 1076 and 1109: unlike the calahorran prelates of the late eleventh century, Sancho de Grañón was not burdened with an unshakable identification with a displaced riojan power when Alfonso I took control of the region in 1111, and his integration into the Aragonese king's political circles was therefore a smooth one. The bishop's room for political maneuver was also extended by the insecurity of Alfonso I's own authority in the Rioja which, although continuous, was constantly threatened throughout this period.¹⁵ In this, the position of Sancho de Grañón also differed enormously from that of his predecessors, who had been subjugated to the authority of a hostile king whose dominance over the Rioja had been unquestionably firm.

The assertion of Calahorra's self-determination during this period did not stop, or indeed start, with the issue of its secular political affiliation, but also affected its position with respect to the Iberian Church as a whole. The bull, dated November 3, 1109, in which Pope Paschal II recorded Sancho de Grañón's consecration at Rome, thus assumes great significance in the light of the authority granted in 1088 by Pope

¹⁵ Ladero Quesada, *La reconquista*, pp.173-207.

Urban II to the Archbishop of Toledo over all those (non-exempted) Iberian bishoprics whose metropolitan sees remained under Muslim control, as this was the case with the Archbishopric of Tarragona, to which Calahorra was in theory subject.¹⁶ Considering the Bishop of Calahorra's evident disassociation by 1110 from the 'Toledo-camp' within the Leonese-Castilian episcopate, it seems eminently likely that Sancho's consecration at Rome was motivated by a desire to take advantage of Bernard of Toledo's absorption in the tense internal politics of Leon-Castile in the months following the death of Alfonso VI in order to assert his see's independence from the otherwise overbearing authority of the archbishop and peninsular primate. In doing so, he was breaking away from a toledan authority with which his predecessors in the Bishopric of Calahorra had been unequivocally associated in the witness-lists of Alfonso VI's diplomas.¹⁷

The distance that Sancho de Grañón was able to place between his see and the axis of power represented by the collaboration of the Archbishopric of Toledo and the Crown of Leon-Castile becomes yet more remarkable when compared to the situation in Burgos. The position of the Bishopric of Burgos with respect to Urraca and her archbishop was in theory stronger than Calahorra's: not only had the territory of this see, like that of Calahorra, fallen within the King of Aragon's orbit by 1110, but its administrative independence from Toledo had also been enshrined in its exemption

¹⁶ Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126*, Princeton, 1982, p.227. There had been an attempt in the late eleventh century to restore Tarragona, but the city and its hinterland were not definitively conquered by Barcelona before 1118. Both processes are described in: Lawrence McCrank, 'Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971-1177', (unpublished PhD thesis), University of Virginia, 1974, pp.166-239 & 290-339.

¹⁷ María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla, 1076-1200*, Zaragoza, 1989, 142, 152, & 269; Luciano Serrano, *El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla Primitiva, del siglo V al XIII*, Madrid, 1936, vol.III (documentos), 31 & 53; Juan del Alamo (ed.), *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Salvador de Oña (822-1214)*, Madrid, 1950, vol.I, 116; Francisco Javier Hernández (ed.), *Los cartularios de Toledo, catálogo documental*, Madrid, 1985, 2.

from all but papal authority by Urban II in 1096.¹⁸ However, the inclusion of Bishop García Aznarez of Burgos among the group of Leonese-Castilian prelates on whom Alfonso I unleashed his anger in 1110 implicates him in the toledan assault on the Aragonese king's marriage, despite Alfonso I's physical dominance of his cathedral city. What is more, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Queen of Leon-Castile once again demonstrated the extent of their control over the Bishopric of Burgos in 1114, when they successfully installed their own candidate in the vacancy created by Bishop García's death, in the face of the concerted opposition of Alfonso I, Rome, and Burgos' own diocesan clergy.¹⁹

That Calahorra succeeded in disentangling itself from Toledo's web of influence where the exempt, but *par excellence* Castilian, see of Burgos failed, highlights the importance of the weakness of Calahorra's identification with the Crown of Leon-Castile under Alfonso VI in facilitating the rapid and effective neutralization of that bond once it was clear that the Rioja would fall under Alfonso I's authority. Burgos, whose unchallenged position as the political centre of Old Castile had been actively endorsed by Alfonso VI, clearly found it much more difficult to detach itself from its association with the Church and Crown of Leon-Castile than Calahorra, recently the subject of prolonged Leonese-Castilian abuse.

Laconic as they are, the sources do contain evidence of the internal workings of the Bishopric of Calahorra in two different areas during the episcopate of Sancho de Grañón. Both reflect the extension of the see's administrative capacity in apparently total independence of any secular or archiepiscopal authority. The first is

¹⁸ Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford, 1993, p.213.

¹⁹ Alfonso I appointed his brother, Ramiro, to the see in 1114, but despite his dominance of Burgos' territory and the condemnation of Urraca's candidate that he secured from Pope Paschal II, he did not succeed either in effectively installing Ramiro as bishop, or in preventing the successful establishment in Burgos of his Leonese-Castilian episcopal rival. Reilly, *Urraca*, pp.232-3; Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales*, pp.32-3.

illustrated by the circumstances of Sancho de Grañón's election, which, as has already been mentioned, received papal confirmation. Taken together, the bishop's patronymic, which is derived from a settlement on the western fringes of the Upper Rioja, his previous position as archdeacon in the Diocese of Calahorra under Bishop Pedro, and Paschal II's reference to his election having taken place in '*eadem Calagurritana urbe*', provide a strong indication that he was a local episcopal candidate who had been elected by calahorran diocesan clerics from within their own ranks.²⁰ He certainly does not seem to have fitted the characteristically French and cluniac profile of the Archbishop of Toledo's episcopal appointees.²¹ It seems, therefore, that by 1109, there was a chapter in place in the Cathedral of Calahorra with the capacity to successfully impose its own episcopal candidate. Sancho de Grañón's election also serves to highlight a fundamental difference between himself and his immediate episcopal predecessor. While there is no evidence that Pedro, a royal appointee of Alfonso VI, was in any way associated with the institutions that seem to have been developing entirely independently of his leadership in the Cathedral of Calahorra, Sancho de Grañón owed his very election to the independence of those institutions, the defence of which evidently constituted a central theme of his episcopate: while Pedro had clearly been a king's man, there is no doubt that Sancho de Grañón's loyalties and interests lay predominantly within his see.

The other area of calahorran diocesan activity under Sancho de Grañón recorded in the sources concerned the intractable alavan church, which, as we have seen, had been nominally incorporated into the Bishopric of Calahorra around the year 1090 (above, pp.87-8). Bishop Sancho's first action with respect to the church in

²⁰ Luciano Serrano (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla*, Madrid, 1930, 283; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 48.

²¹ Reilly, *Urraca*, pp.226-7.

Alava was to secure from Paschal II the first papal confirmation of the territorial extension of his see. On the occasion of his consecration in 1109, the pope thus defined the Diocese of Calahorra as 'Alava, Vizcaya, Nájera, and both Cameros', in what constitutes the first papal recognition of Calahorra's assimilation of the former Bishopric of Alava.²²

If the testimony of one tardy, incomplete, and certainly extravagantly embellished copy of what the editor of Calahorra's diocesan archive considers to be a 'late report of an event that probably did take place', is to be believed, Sancho de Grañón did not stop there, as this document records an eventful series of episcopal attempts to bring the alavan church under calahorran control.²³ Although the detailed and dramatic evidence of this highly entertaining document must clearly be treated with extreme caution, once the heavy gloss of ecclesiastical propaganda that seems to have been liberally applied to its narrative skeleton by its later copyist has been removed, it describes a situation that fits well with both earlier and later reports on the state of the church in Alava. It may therefore serve as the basis for the most tentative of conclusions.

This '*carta de conventione*', which records a series of agreements made by Bishop Sancho with the inhabitants of Alava, opens with a dire condemnation of the simoniac state of the lay-controlled church that Sancho de Grañón found when he first entered that region, and continues with a highly emotive account of how the bishop, in a desperate bid to save the souls of the alavans, excommunicated the entire province, upon which its inhabitants acknowledged their fault and repented before him: the penitent alavan nobles swore not to usurp the bishop's tenants, and to leave the tithes

²² Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 48.

²³ *Ibid.*, 49, and footnote 1 to cited document.

and benefices of the alavan church alone; the priests swore to give up holding multiple or usurped benefices, and to deliver to the bishop his fair share of the tithe; and the peasants swore to faithfully deliver their tithes and first-fruits to the church. However, on realizing how much they had been asked to give up, the potentates asked the bishop if they might at least retain their ecclesiastical estates. In his desire to fulfill their wishes, Sancho met again with the alavan nobles and made some territorial concessions to them. However, as soon as the bishop's back was turned, the alavans broke this pact, and Sancho, angered and sorrowed by their impiety, met with them once again in Estibaliz on January 7th, where they again repented and submitted to his authority. At this final meeting, the alavan magnates agreed to bring the church in Alava into line with canon law, and then proceeded to define the lines along which the proceeds of ecclesiastical justice in Alava should be divided between themselves and the bishop.²⁴

The extraordinary contrast between the facts that this document narrates and the gloss in which it smothers them seems to reflect a highly ambitious attempt on the part of its copyist to transform what is essentially a record of Sancho de Grañón's extremely limited authority over a solidly lay-controlled alavan church into a triumphant tale of the bishop's moral and practical victory over alavan society in its rotten entirety. This account is thus not only imbued with the highest of moral tones, used to contrast the bishop's rectitude and piety with the degenerate state of the province of Alava (*'et multa alia mala erant in Alava, que enumerare longum esset'*, *'...[the Bishop of Calahorra] condolens peccatis et damnationi illius gentis, condescendens, et volens salvare animas alavensium ab errore illo quo predicti tenebantur...'*, *'...episcopus...de impietate et nequitia eorum iratus, et dolens; et*

²⁴ Ibid., 49.

Deum incessabiliter orans et precans...’, to quote but a few phrases), but also presents each meeting between Sancho de Grañón and his wayward alavan flock as an unmitigated episcopal triumph (*‘...Alavenses culpam suam recognoverunt...et numquam talia ulterius mala facturos sub iuramento confirmaverunt.’*, and again, *‘...iterum alavenses culpam suam recognoverunt; et sacramentum quod fregerunt, se perpetuo tenere promisserunt.’*).²⁵

However, a closer look at the episodes that make up the narrative basis of this ‘charter of agreement’ reveal a series of increasingly large episcopal concessions, made by the Bishop of Calahorra in the face of the closed ranks of an overbearing regional nobility that was clearly in no hurry to give up its control over the alavan church. The bishop thus opened this process of negotiation with a forceful demand that the church in Alava be delivered into his power in its entirety, which is reflected in the series of (evidently insincere) promises that he extracted from the inhabitants of Alava in return for lifting their excommunication on his second visit to the region. These amounted to a renunciation on the part of the alavan nobility of control over ecclesiastical lordship, appointments, and taxation throughout the province. However, the regional nobility lost no time in challenging this position with the demand that at least the territorial possessions of the alavan church remain under their control, to which Bishop Sancho conceded *‘quantum episcopo et rusticis placeret’*, an evasive formula behind which an extensive concession might be hidden. Moreover, even if the Bishop of Calahorra had ceded significant ground on that, his third meeting with the alavans, they had clearly not been satisfied, and their fourth discussion, at which the bishop assumed a more passive role, simply confirming what they decreed among themselves (*‘...et insuper inter se [the alavans], episcopo audiente et confirmante,*

²⁵ Ibid., 49.

constituerunt...'), resulted in an agreement that essentially enshrined the continued control of the church in Alava by the regional lay nobility. At this final meeting, the alavan potentates thus assumed responsibility, to the implicit exclusion of the Bishop of Calahorra, for countering simony and plurality of benefices in the alavan church, and for ensuring the satisfactory moral calibre and material provision of its priesthood. The only concession they did make in the Bishop of Calahorra's favour in this final agreement concerned the administration of ecclesiastical justice and certain seigniorial dues, but even in this area, a 50% share in the fines payable for sacrilege and clerical fornication was reserved for the lord of the manor to which their perpetrators belonged, as were half of the cows rendered annually by the alavan peasantry in tribute to their lords.²⁶

Despite the ambitious efforts of its author to create the opposite impression, this document effectively records the process whereby a succession of frustrated episcopal attempts to bring Alava within Calahorra's diocesan administration resulted in Sancho de Grañón's official recognition of the regional nobility's effective control over the alavan church. In the light of what we have seen of the dominance of the church in the valley of Ayala by the nobility there during the episcopate of Bishop Pedro (above, pp.91-2), and of the difficulties encountered by later Bishops of Calahorra who attempted to impose their episcopal authority on the alavan church as a whole (below, pp.176-9; 196-203; 209-13; & 229-31), the underlying portrait that this document paints of the alavan church c.1109 seems convincing.

If the basic series of events that are recorded in this document did take place during the episcopate of Sancho de Grañón, they would be significant on various counts. Most obviously, they would provide a compelling illustration of the extreme

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

limitations to which the Bishop of Calahorra's authority over the alavan church was subject some 20 years after the nominal assimilation of the Diocese of Alava by that of Calahorra. However, they would also reflect the energy and constancy with which Sancho de Grañón dedicated himself to the extension of his diocesan administration, once again in apparent independence from superior secular or ecclesiastical authorities. Finally, their inclusion of an agreement that envisaged the bishop's assumption of a significant proportion of the administration of alavan ecclesiastical justice would provide evidence of episcopal administrative gains in Alava that, although minor, represented the establishment of an unprecedented calahorran diocesan foothold in that region.

At first sight, the sparse documentary record of the episcopate of Sancho de Grañón seems to reflect the disastrous effects on the political and institutional fortunes of the Bishopric of Calahorra of the Leonese-Castilian civil war with which it so comprehensively overlapped. However, a closer examination of the sources reveals that, few and varied as they are, they unanimously point towards Calahorra's confident assertion during this period of an entirely unprecedented degree of diocesan independence from both secular rulers and archiepiscopal authority, secured through Sancho de Grañón's energetic and dedicated collaboration with the independently developing diocesan administrative institutions to which he owed his own election. The context that permitted this development was, once again, determined by the frequent transformations in the see's geo-political context that were inherent in its location on one of the most volatile political frontiers in medieval Iberia. Sancho de Grañón was thus able to take advantage of the weakness of his see's Leonese-Castilian affiliation, itself the fruit of a previous conquest of the Rioja, to assert the independence of his see from the Church and Crown of Leon-Castile in the context of

Alfonso I of Aragon's dominance of the region after 1110. As a result of the insecurity of Alfonso I's own hold on the Rioja, he was at the same time able to limit his association with the King of Aragon. In the absence of a strong royal authority in the region, and with the active, extra-peninsular, backing of the pope, Sancho de Grañón led the Bishopric of Calahorra down a path of political and administrative autonomy that the see would follow until the re-establishment of Leonese-Castilian dominance over the Rioja under Alfonso VII in 1134. Along the way, the frontier diocese threw itself headlong into the confident development of independent diocesan institutions.

3.2 SANCHO DE FUNES (1118–1146)

Sancho de Grañón died on August 1, 1116, and was succeeded as Bishop of Calahorra by Sancho de Funes.¹ The conspicuous absence of the latter from the witness lists and dating-clauses of royal donations made to the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera in January and February 1117, in which all the other important ecclesiastics of the region in some way featured, either as signatories or in the dating clause, indicates that his election had not yet taken place by that time.² His first documentary appearance occurs in the dating clause to a charter issued by the Bishop of Huesca in December 1118, and by February 1119, he was actively legislating on the financial organization of his chapter in his capacity as Bishop of Calahorra.³ He is the first Bishop of Calahorra since Gómez about whom we have a welcome wealth of information. While this is certainly due both to the great length of his 29-year episcopate, which lasted until his death on November 10, 1146, and to the bishop's own great dedication to the task of recording diocesan business, it also provides a valuable first indication that the episcopate of Sancho de Grañón witnessed the first phase of confident calahorran diocesan development for more than half a century.⁴

Under Sancho de Funes, the Bishopric of Calahorra expanded its territorial reach and extended its institutional and administrative structures with a dynamism which, although it had been foreshadowed by the see's development under Sancho de

¹ Angel Carmelo Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), 'Crónica-obituario de Calahorra', *Berceo* 97 (1979), p.101.

² Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol. II, 53-4.

³ Eliseo Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1994, vol. I, p.302, cites: Angel Canellas López, 'Notas diplomáticas sobre la iglesia de San Martín de Perrarrúa', *Hispania Sacra*, III (1950), pp.393-7; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol. II, 56.

⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Crónica-obituario*, p.105.

Grañón, was utterly unprecedented in both scope and depth. Funes' episcopate coincided with the Aragonese conquest of a large swathe of land that was generally accepted to have constituted the southern and eastern reaches of the Visigothic diocese of which his see was the recognized continuation, and which had hitherto formed part of the Muslim Kingdom of Zaragoza.⁵ The integration of these territories into the Kingdom of Aragon automatically resulted in a significant eastwards extension of Calahorra's diocese. Connected to this development was the triumphant rise of the city of Calahorra, which saw Christian Iberia's frontier with Islam removed from its doorstep for the first time since its re-foundation as a result of Aragon's expansion, and emerged during this period as the exclusive and definitive administrative centre of the bishopric. Although the sources hint strongly at the existence of very close ties between Sancho de Grañón and his cathedral in Calahorra (above, pp.106-7), it was during Sancho de Funes' episcopate that the Bishop of Calahorra's unquestioning adoption of the cathedral city as his episcopal seat emerged explicitly onto the documentary record. A line was thus firmly drawn under the practical and symbolic uncertainties that had dogged the hitherto centre-less diocese since its re-foundation in the mid-eleventh century.

The bishop's secure installation in Calahorra was accompanied by huge developments in the institutional infrastructure, both physical and human, of the episcopal city. The massive extension of the cathedral's buildings and property base during this period was matched by the rapid development of the internal hierarchies, structures, and legislation that defined its administrative capacity. Funes' episcopate also witnessed significant developments in terms of the territorial definition and

⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 48. In his 1109 bull confirming the geographical limits of the Diocese of Calahorra, Pope Paschal II specifically referred to territories belonging to the see which were still under Muslim occupation, which can only have been a reference to the extreme southern and eastern reaches of the Rioja.

administration of the see, which involved the establishment of increasingly coherent territorial archdeaconries.

Calahorra and Royal Authority, 1118-1146

Sancho de Funes held the Bishopric of Calahorra during a period in which two strong kings, Alfonso I 'the Battler' of Aragon (1104-1134), and Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile (1126-1157), extended their respective realms in every possible direction. On the one hand, this expansionary energy was directed towards the (re)conquest of Muslim-held territory beyond the southern limits of Christian Iberia. On the other, it found expression in competition over the Rioja and parts of Old Castile, through which ran a shifting boundary between the power of the two kingdoms. The implications for the Bishopric of Calahorra of the aggressive assertion of Leon-Castile and Aragon in both of these directions were as great as they were varied.

The Expansion of Aragon into the Lower Ebro Valley

The expansion of Aragon into the Ebro valley between 1118 and the death of its author, Alfonso I, in 1134, had immediate and obvious implications for the Bishopric of Calahorra. The conquest of the city of Zaragoza in December 1118 represented a fundamental milestone in the Christian (re)conquest of Muslim Iberia. With Zaragoza, the King of Aragon gained control of the single most important strategic and economic component of the entire Muslim Ebro valley. Within a year and a half, he had completed his conquest of the area, having taken Tudela and

Tarazona in 1119, and Calatayud in the spring of 1120. By the end of the year 1120, the frontiers of the Kingdom of Aragon had been pushed southwards as far as Monreal del Campo, Belchite, Morella, and Mequinenza.⁶ As a result, Calahorra was able to extend its own diocesan limits far enough to the east and south to incorporate the Alhama river valley at the eastern extreme of the Lower Rioja, beyond which its borders with the resurrected sees of Tarazona (1119) and Osma (1101), and the extension of its existing border with Pamplona, gradually began to take shape (see map 3).⁷

With this spectacular sweep of conquests, Alfonso I assumed control of a region of enormous size as well as strategic and economic importance. Its successful maintenance by Aragon depended on its rapid and effective refortification, Christian socio-political re-organization, and the simultaneous maintenance of its existing and extremely valuable agricultural economy. The consolidation of his conquest of the middle Ebro through the establishment there of the administrative structures of the secular church and forms of Aragonese royal government and lordship, combined with the installation of Christian settlers, dominated Alfonso I's agenda for much of the 1120's. In the 1130's, the King of Aragon pushed on towards his projected conquest of Muslim Valencia, attacking Tortosa in 1132, Lleida in 1133, and Fraga in 1134. This second great Aragonese military offensive was effectively blocked by Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona, who supported Muslim resistance in the

⁶ Thomas Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History*, Oxford, 1986 p.16; Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII: 1126-1157*, Philadelphia, 1998, pp.10-1.

⁷ Jesús Mestre Campi & Flocel Sabaté, *Atlas de la 'Reconquista': La frontera peninsular entre los siglos VIII y XV*, Barcelona, 1998, p.53.

region in defence of his own expansionist ambitions, and cut short by the death in September 1134 of Alfonso I as a result of an injury sustained at the siege of Fraga.⁸

As one of its most natural beneficiaries, the Bishopric of Calahorra was obviously implicated in Aragon's *Reconquista*. However, an examination of both its contributions to, and gains from, the Aragonese expansion reveal these to have been significantly limited. Its only recorded contribution was military in nature, and is reflected by Sancho de Funes' assistance at Alfonso I's last siege. In 1134, Sancho de Funes was summoned to the siege of Fraga along with the Bishops of Lescar, Roda, and Huesca.⁹ His confirmation of two donations made in 1134 by the King of Aragon '*in illo asitio super Fraga*', one on February 25th, and the other on May 27th, reveals that he heeded the royal summons.¹⁰ That there is no evidence to place him anywhere but Fraga between the dates of these two royal diplomas indicates that his assistance at the siege was probably constant throughout at least March, April, and May 1134.

Evidence of the Bishopric of Calahorra's expansion into the middle Ebro in the wake of its conquest by Alfonso I's is equally sparse, and is limited to just three documents. The first, dated in May 1123, provides a revealing record of Alfonso I's establishment of secular church structures within the new south-eastern extension of Sancho's diocese, and the Bishop of Calahorra's effective exclusion from that process. It contains a royal license granted to Atón Galíndez for the construction and administration of a parish church on his own land in Cervera, at the newly (re)conquered southern tip of the Alhama river valley. The parish was to be subject to

⁸ Bisson, *Short History*, pp.15-18; Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, Philadelphia, 1998, pp.40-41.

⁹ José María Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador*, Zaragoza, 1978, p.129.

¹⁰ José María Lacarra (ed.), *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro*, vol.I, Zaragoza, 1982, 232-3.

the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calahorra, but its administration was to be held as an hereditary possession by the recipient's family.¹¹

Despite Alfonso I's claim to be acting '*mandato domni Sancii episcopi Naiarensis et de suo capitulo*' in this matter, this document effectively records the king's alienation to a lay family of hereditary rights over the administration of a parish that clearly lay within Calahorra's newly extended diocese. Atón Galíndez's status is not described in this grant, but the existence of one Blasco Galíndez and one Iñigo Galíndez as Alfonso I's tenants in the Navarrese strongholds of Estella in 1111, and Sangüesa between 1113 and 1124, respectively, points to the likelihood that he was in fact a member of a noble family that enjoyed a prominent position at Alfonso I's court.¹² In 1123, the King of Aragon thus bypassed the Bishopric of Calahorra as an agent in the establishment of the secular church in the upper Alhama valley in favour of a probable Aragonese nobleman. Although Sancho de Funes did benefit from this transaction, his gains were limited to the extension of his episcopal jurisdiction over a parish that he had every canonical right to administer in its entirety.¹³

There is also some evidence that Calahorra attempted during this period to establish a foothold in Tudela, an important settlement situated some 40km downstream of Calahorra on the River Ebro, which was to flourish during the twelfth century as an important centre of cultural and intellectual exchange. In 1119, Alfonso I donated the administration and possessions of the church in Tudela to the Bishop of

¹¹ Ibid., 92.

¹² José Angel Lema Pueyo, 'Las tenencias navarras de Alfonso I "El Batallador"', *Príncipe de Viana* Anejo 8 (1988), pp.65 & 67.

¹³ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 48. In his confirmation of Sancho de Grañón's election in 1109, Paschal II had specified the Bishop of Calahorra's right to administer the church in those areas of his see that remained in Muslim hands. Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050-1250*, Oxford, 1989, pp.219-24.

Pamplona in return for services rendered at the sieges of Zaragoza, Tudela, and Tarazona.¹⁴ By doing so, he effectively removed Tudela from Calahorra's expansionary sights and defined the eastern limits of the see's possible extension. Despite this, it seems that the Bishop and clergy of Calahorra were keen to establish their presence in that town during the 1120's. Sancho de Funes' purchase on behalf of his cathedral chapter on February 28, 1126, of two shops situated beneath an existing episcopal residence in Tudela indicates that by that date, Calahorra already enjoyed a certain diocesan interest in the town that the bishop was eager to extend.¹⁵ In March 1129, the bishop added a tower and an orchard to his holdings in the Tudela area.¹⁶ Tudela's affluence and cultural reputation clearly rendered it extremely attractive to the region's ecclesiastics, and it is possible that the efforts of the Bishop and canons of Calahorra to establish a diocesan presence there during the 1120's may have responded to a desire to challenge its incorporation into the Diocese of Pamplona.

The Bishopric of Calahorra's involvement in the Aragonese re-structuring of the middle Ebro during the 1120's was evidently minimal. Although Alfonso I's campaigns of 1118-1120 resulted in the theoretical expansion of the Diocese of Calahorra to cover the whole of the Alhama valley, the king determined the see's effective exclusion from the only parish in that area about whose establishment or reorganization during this period we have any record. Likewise, the see's tentative expansion into Tudela was pursued in direct opposition to Alfonso I's pro-pamplonan policy, and certainly did not enjoy royal backing. Any gains the Bishopric of

¹⁴ Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 93.

¹⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 85. Although Rodríguez de Lama assumes that this document refers to the purchase of shops beneath an episcopal residence in Calahorra, it was drawn up according to tudelan laws, witnessed by inhabitants of Tudela, and makes no reference whatsoever to Calahorra. In conjunction with Sancho de Funes' subsequent purchase in 1129 of more property in the Tudela area (see next footnote), it therefore seems more likely that this charter in fact refers to a residence that the bishop had established in Tudela.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 95.

Calahorra made from Aragon's (re)conquest of the middle Ebro were thus either incidental, or indeed in direct opposition to, Alfonso I's policies regarding the area's Christian re-organization. Unlike the Bishopric of Pamplona, which was rewarded for military service rendered during Alfonso I's first wave of southward expansion with the administrative control of Tudela, or that of Tarazona, re-founded in 1119 by the Aragonese king as the primary agent in the ecclesiastical reorganization of its diocesan territory, Calahorra was visibly neglected by Alfonso I when he came to sharing out the ecclesiastical spoils of his conquests.¹⁷

A possible explanation for this is provided by the scant and tardy nature of Sancho de Funes' military contributions to Aragon's southward expansions. Although Calahorra clearly did contribute to Alfonso I's offensive against Valencia in the 1130's, there is no evidence of the see's involvement in the campaigns of 1118-1120 that resulted in the Aragonese conquest of Zaragoza and its own theoretical territorial expansion. It seems that by not assisting in the military conquest of the Alhama valley, the Bishopric of Calahorra had forfeited the right to participate in the region's subsequent Christianization.

The theoretical extension of the Diocese of Calahorra into the Alhama valley after its conquest by Aragon seems at first sight to have represented one of the most significant aspects of its development under Sancho de Funes. However, in the absence of any meaningful collaboration between the see and the King of Aragon in the military conquest and subsequent socio-economic re-organization of the region, Calahorra's theoretical enlargement did not find expression in any significant administrative or seigniorial diocesan gains. What is in fact best reflected by this episode in Calahorra's diocesan history is the distance that characterized the

¹⁷ Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 93 & 122.

relationship between the Crown of Aragon and the diocese under Sancho de Funes during the first ten years of his episcopate, the implications of which will be discussed in greater detail below.

Competition Between Aragon and Castile

The period 1118–1146 also witnessed intense competition on the border between the power of Alfonso I of Aragon and that of his stepson, Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile. Although the Rioja remained under the authority of the King of Aragon until his death in 1134, it formed neither a secure nor a central part of the Battler's dominions. In 1117, Alfonso I had concluded the first of a series of three-year truces with his estranged wife, Queen Urraca of Leon-Castile, which left him free to turn his back on his western border and commit his abundant expansionary energy wholeheartedly to the conquest, and subsequent assimilation, of the Kingdom of Zaragoza. Between 1118 and Urraca's death in March 1126, the Rioja, and the Aragonese-controlled buffer-zone in Old Castile which lay beyond it, were not only peripheral to the interests of the Crown of Aragon, but also beyond the reach of an insecure royal authority in Leon-Castile that still had a long way to go to recover from the debilitating effects of the succession crisis and civil war that had followed the death of Alfonso VI. During these years, royal authority in the Rioja was most conspicuous for its weakness.¹⁸

After Urraca's death in March 1126, her son and successor, Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile, took advantage of Alfonso I's preoccupation with the Aragonese

¹⁸ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.9-14; Manuel Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII (1126-1157)*, Burgos, 2003, pp.15-40; José María Jover Zamora (ed.), *Historia de España fundada por Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1975-1991, vol.IX: Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, 'La Reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política (1035-1217)' pp.190-200.

Reconquista, as well as the campaigns in Gascony in which Aragon became embroiled in the early 1130's, in order to reassert the authority of his crown on his eastern frontier.¹⁹ By the spring of 1127 he had retaken the eastern Castilian strongholds of Burgos, Carrión de los Condes, and Villafranca de Oca, and assumed a strong position from which to threaten Alfonso I's hold over the Rioja. Between 1127 and his death in 1134, the King of Aragon was repeatedly required to defend his gradually receding western borders in the face a concerted series of Leonese-Castilian attempts on the Rioja in 1127, 1128, 1129, 1131, and 1132.²⁰

On the death in 1134 of the childless Alfonso I of Aragon, the glue that had hitherto bound together the separate historical components of his kingdom dissolved. While its Aragonese core was settled on his brother, Ramiro II, Navarre re-asserted its independence from Aragon under the leadership of García Ramírez, a great-great-grandson of Sancho III in the illegitimate line. Alfonso VII took advantage of Aragon's collapse to march down the Ebro valley, taking the Rioja, and asserting his authority over Zaragoza. Within a year, Lope Díaz de Haro and Count Ladrón, Lords of the Basque regions of Vizcaya and Alava respectively, had also done homage to the King of Leon-Castile. After its re-incorporation into Leon-Castile, the Rioja was politically 're-centralized' as it took on a new significance as the regional base from which Alfonso VII projected and maintained an increasingly tight dominance over his northern and eastern neighbours.²¹

The changing balance of power in the area during this period was faithfully mirrored by adjustments to the Bishop of Calahorra's political stance, a process that is

¹⁹ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.35.

²⁰ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.21-43; Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII*, pp.69-81 & 119-21. Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, pp.207-10.

²¹ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.43-8; Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, pp.409-17 & 608-17.

most succinctly illustrated by Sancho de Funes' confirmations of the two kings' diplomas.

The distance that the Bishop of Calahorra generally maintained from the Crown of Aragon is most clearly revealed by the fact that he confirmed only seven of Alfonso I's surviving charters between 1118 and 1134.²² The uneven temporal distribution of those royal diplomas hints at the existence of adjustments to that distance which reflected different phases in riojan politics. Between 1118 and March 1126, while a relatively non-interventionist status quo regarding the Rioja was maintained by Alfonso I and Urraca, the bishop witnessed only three of the Battler's diplomas.²³ Considering that this same period saw Calahorra's non-participation in Aragon's (re)conquest of the Kingdom of Zaragoza, and its subsequent exclusion from the Christianization of the Alhama valley, it seems that Funes may have consciously sacrificed the opportunity to productively co-operate in Aragon's expansion in favour of asserting (or maintaining) the political independence of his see while the one royal authority that had the potential to curb it was otherwise occupied.

Between 1126 and 1131, there is no evidence whatsoever of the bishop's attendance on Alfonso I. The coincidence between this gap and the aggressive flexing of Leonese-Castilian muscle on the Rioja's western borders following Alfonso VII's accession is significant, as it indicates that Sancho de Funes took advantage of this overt challenge to Alfonso I's position in the region in order to further increase his own independence from Aragon.

However, the cluster of four royal Aragonese diplomas that Funes confirmed between December 1131 and May 1134, three of which indicate his incorporation into

²² Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 92, 121, 232-3, & 228; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 349; Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 245.

²³ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 92 & 121; María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla, 1076-1200*, Zaragoza, 1989, 349.

an Aragonese besieging army (one at Besians, in Gascony, in 1131, and the other two at Fraga in 1134), signals a significant change in the bishop's stance. This coincided with a period during which the Leonese-Castilian threat to Alfonso I's hold on the Rioja increased significantly following Alfonso VII's effective neutralization by 1131 of the potent noble opposition that had seriously undermined his authority during the tumultuous first five years of his reign.²⁴ When the Rioja's re-annexation by an internally united and clearly ascendant Leon-Castile began to look distinctly probable, Sancho de Funes suddenly revived his limping association with the King of Aragon, confirming his diplomas at the entirely unprecedented rate of four in just two-and-a-half years.²⁵ It seems that the bishop preferred the distant rule of the Aragonese *reconquistador* to the imposition of an increasingly forceful Leonese-Castilian royal authority with strong interests, which had already begun to find expression in the early 1130's, in extending its power over the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula.²⁶

The pattern of Sancho de Funes' confirmation of royal diplomas changed dramatically after Alfonso VII's assimilation of the Rioja and the imposition of his authority over the Ebro valley up to Zaragoza on the death of Alfonso I in September 1134. He had already started confirming Alfonso VII's charters by May 5th, 1135, before attending the king's triumphant imperial coronation in León at the end of that same month.²⁷ From then until his own death in 1146, his presence within the orbit of Alfonso VII's court was unwavering. He witnessed 26 royal charters in that time, with

²⁴ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.27-34; Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII*, pp.106-8.

²⁵ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 228 & 232-3; Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 245.

²⁶ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.36-52; Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, pp.407-12.

²⁷ Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 364-6; Agustín Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *Cartularios I, II y III de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, Zaragoza, 1978, 10; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.49-50; Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII*, pp.160-3.

1132, 1142, and 1143 being the only three years for which no examples of his attendance at the court of Alfonso VII survive.²⁸

The contrast between the bishop's suddenly intense association with the Crown of Leon-Castile and his previous distance from that of Aragon responded to an equally great contrast in the ways in which Alfonso I and Alfonso VII ruled the Rioja. This disparity is well reflected by Funes' confirmations of the two kings' diplomas, which show that what limited service the bishop did render Alfonso I generally took place well beyond the limits of his diocese, and in the context of the king's military campaigns.²⁹ Even the one royal diploma that reveals Funes' attendance on the King of Aragon within the Rioja was issued in the context of Alfonso I's siege of the rebellious Diego López de Haro in 1125.³⁰ In the context of his highly militarized and hugely expansive reign, Alfonso I seems to have left his riojan bishop largely to his own devices provided he make certain contributions to the Aragonese war effort.

By contrast, the great bulk of the numerous charters of Alfonso VII witnessed by Sancho de Funes reveal the bishop's presence at curial gatherings that took place either in the Rioja or the surrounding regions of Burgos, Soria, and Zaragoza, and record the active assertion of Leonese-Castilian royal authority in the region.³¹ That Alfonso VII intervened far more actively than Alfonso I in the governance of the

²⁸ Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 364-6, 369-71, 374, & 377; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 109-10, 115-6, 128, & 137; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *Santo Domingo*, 10 & 12; Del Alamo (ed.), *Oña*, vol.I, 173, 177, & 195; Margarita Cantera Montenegro, 'Santa María la Real de Nájera: Siglos XI-XIV', (Unpublished PhD thesis), Complutense University Madrid, 1987, vol.II (appendix of primary sources), 45 & 48; Francisco Javier Garía Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de Valvanera, ss. XI-XIII*, Zaragoza, 1985, 218; Cristina Monterde Albiac (ed.), *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Fitero (1140-1210)*, Zaragoza, 1978, 1 & 7; Francisco Javier Garía Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce, ss.X-XV*, Logroño, 1992, 23.

²⁹ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 92 & 232-3; Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 245.

³⁰ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 121.

³¹ Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 364-6. These documents record Funes' presence at the king's coronation in León. García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 23 is a later notice of a document that would place Sancho de Funes in Avila in mid-April, 1144. I am suspicious of this document, as the Bishop of Calahorra was in Rome in late March 1144, and would have been hard pressed to reach Avila by mid-April.

Rioja reflects the new significance that the region had taken on as the base from which the King of Leon-Castile consolidated his hegemony after 1134 over the Christian rulers of northern Iberia. This dominance depended on the subjugation of García Ramírez of Navarre, Count Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona, Ramiro II of Aragon, and the Basque Counts Lope Díaz de Haro and Ladrón, all but one of whom held territories that bordered on the Rioja.³² The forceful entrance of such an intense royal presence into the Rioja had enormous implications for the Bishop of Calahorra, whose rapid and comprehensive re-integration into Leonese-Castilian court circles was dictated by a strong king whose Iberian imperialist aspirations demanded absolute control over the territory of Funes' diocese.

Sancho de Funes' confirmations of the diplomas of Alfonso I of Aragon and Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile reveal that he was clearly capable of altering his political stance in function of the changing balance of power in the Rioja. They also indicate that he did so with a far greater degree of independence under Alfonso I than under Alfonso VII, and that he asserted the independence of his see in direct proportion to the weakness of the royal authority with which he was confronted. A discussion of the development during this period of the Cathedral of Calahorra will establish a strong link between the changing pace of the see's institutional development and the growth and subsequent dilution of its political independence.

³² Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.48-51; Recuro Astray, *Alfonso VII*, pp.144-60. The Count of Barcelona was the only one of these rulers not to share a border with the Rioja in 1135.

The Development of the Cathedral of Calahorra

The development of the Cathedral of Calahorra under Sancho de Funes was truly spectacular, and found expression in both the astoundingly rapid rise of the human infrastructure represented by its chapter and a massive expansion of the buildings and property base that constituted its physical manifestation.

As far as the human face of his chapter is concerned, the first thing to note about the episcopate of Sancho de Funes is that it saw the first appearance in significant and sustained numbers of individual named members of Calahorra's chapter in the surviving documentary record. Before 1116, only three named clerics (excluding bishops, and archdeacons who will be discussed separately) relating to the entire diocese of Calahorra feature in our sources.³³ Only one of them was linked to the city or cathedral of Calahorra itself, and the last of them made his appearance in 1075. By contrast, in 1119, soon after Sancho de Funes had become bishop, no less than seven named clerics unambiguously identified as members of the chapter of Calahorra made it into the documentary record.³⁴ Members of Calahorra's chapter appear in surviving documents from 15 of Sancho's 30 years as bishop. Their fairly even temporal distribution indicates that these canons' presence and activity in the Cathedral of Calahorra were consistently significant throughout this period. The number of calahorran clerics who either witnessed or are mentioned in these documents peaks at 11 for 1125, and an average of just under 5.5 members of the chapter are mentioned in each year for which documents relating to the chapter survive (see table 1).

³³ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 18 & 20.

³⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 55.

This newly visible chapter was also a rapidly developing one: between 1116 and 1146, it was transformed from what seems to have been a group of clerics whose members were rarely differentiated from one another in terms of either rank or function into a rigidly institutionalized body characterized by both an increasingly clearly defined internal hierarchy and the delegation of specific functions.

The earliest evidence we have of this developing internal structure is contained in a charter dated February 16, 1119, which records the delegation of the financial management of the Cathedral of Calahorra to a treasurer (here called '*custos ecclesie*') who was to be appointed from within the chapter.³⁵ Although the intended incumbent of this office is not named in this document, its creation and the definition of its functions are set out in unambiguous terms: '*...sub manu unius nostri consortii clerici, custos ecclesie, obseruandum tradimus, ut, ubi opus fuerit, fideliter dispensetur et sic per omnia fiat*'. This document registers the creation of the very first recorded calahorran capitular office.

No office-holders belonging to Calahorra's chapter are identified by name in the sources before 1124, so it is impossible to tell how quickly the position of treasurer was actually filled, although it seems logical that this should have happened on, or shortly after, its creation. On February 4, 1124, however, Sancho de Funes issued another charter of immense significance for the chapter's internal development. This document was not only witnessed by '*Girardo sacricustode*', Calahorra's first named treasurer, but it also records the creation of an even more important capitular

³⁵ Ibid., 56. Calahorra's treasurers were subsequently identified with the following interchangeable labels: '*procurator fabricae ecclesie*' (Ibid., 87), '*operator*' (Ibid., 75), '*preposito fabricae*' (Ibid., 90), and '*sacricustode*' (Ibid., 70) during Funes' episcopate. I have assumed that these titles all refer to the same office as various of these labels were associated with a single individual (see table), and because they all convey the idea of either guardianship of objects of value, or management of the cathedral's material affairs. There does not seem to have been any separation under Funes between the cathedral's treasurers and their building-developers.

office, and its assumption by a named calahorran cleric. The position of Prior of Calahorra was thus brought into existence by the Bishop of Calahorra through this piece of episcopal legislation, which delegated the ecclesiastical administration of the city of Calahorra to Juan, a named member of its cathedral chapter. The foundations for the independent internal government of Calahorra's chapter were thus established less than ten years into Sancho de Funes' episcopate.

One year later, in 1125, another new calahorran office was mentioned in a dedicatory poem that prefaced a lectionary that had been copied in the cathedral's scriptorium. The poem differentiated '*Blasco sacrista*' from '*Frater Girardus... Qui tenet ecclesie fabricam*', whom it therefore identified as an additional administrator of the cathedral's material affairs.³⁶ From then until the end of Sancho's episcopate in 1147, Calahorra's priors and the cathedral's two treasurers maintained a consistent documentary presence that reflects both the stability and the relevance of their respective offices. The fact that the nomenclature relating to the two treasurers was so loosely defined throughout this period (the superior of the two being variously referred to in the documents as '*custos ecclesie*', '*sacricustode*', '*operator*', '*procurator fabricie ecclesie*', '*preposito fabricie*', and his subordinate being identified either as '*sacrista*' or '*subsacrista*') reflects the novelty of these posts within Calahorra's chapter.³⁷

The creation of these posts was also integral to the emergence of the internal hierarchy that determined the organization of the chapter of Calahorra. We have already seen how the office of prior was created to occupy the highest level within that structure. The fact that the other two offices we have examined also occupied

³⁶ Ibid., 74.

³⁷ See footnote 35.

fixed places at the upper reaches of that hierarchy is clearly indicated by the frequency with which they confirmed cathedral documents, which is markedly greater than that of other named non-office-holders within the chapter (see table 1), and their appearance either before or to the exclusion of other chapter members in witness-lists and dating-clauses of this period.³⁸ The differentiation in rank between the two treasurers is also made clear, both by the fact that one office pre-dated the other, and, more pointedly, by the subordination implicit in the name '*subsacrista*' that was generally applied to the newer post. The development of an embryonic ascending career-path within the chapter during this period is hinted at by the promotion of Velasco, who was '*subsacrista*' at least from 1125 until 1134, to the superior office of '*sacricustode*' sometime before 1139 (see table 1).

The appearance of the other two function-specific positions to be instituted in Calahorra's chapter under Sancho de Funes came somewhat later. '*Magister Dominicus*', is first mentioned in 1132, and his appearance, along with that of two '*pueris clericis*' who witnessed another document of that same year, is highly significant in that it indicates the existence by then of the necessary infrastructure in Calahorra for the formal education of future calahorran clerics, as well as offering a revealing glance at the oblates who represented the lowest layers of the chapter's internal hierarchy.³⁹

The first chaplain to be associated with the chapter of Calahorra was '*Petrus Carbonelli, capellano*', who features in a dating clause of 1134.⁴⁰ He was followed by '*Iohannes Fortunius, capellanus*', who witnessed two documents in 1144 and 1145.⁴¹ It is interesting that although Pedro Carbon was still present in the chapter at least

³⁸ For example, *Ibid.*, 87, 90, 105, 134, & 136; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 53.

³⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 100 & 102.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 136; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 53.

until 1145, he was not identified as chaplain again after 1134, and that at no point did these two holders of the office overlap in their tenure of it (see table 1). This suggests that there was only one position of chaplain associated with Calahorra's chapter during this period and moreover that its occupant could be withdrawn and replaced by another member of the chapter. In the dating clause in which this office is first mentioned, the chaplain is listed fourth after the prior and the cathedral's two treasurers.⁴² Similarly, when Juan Fortún confirmed as chaplain in 1144 and 1145, he did so after the prior on the first occasion, and after the bishop, the prior, and the treasurer on the second, and was followed on both occasions by other non-office-holding members of the chapter.⁴³ Sometime in the early 1130's, therefore, the chaplain seems to have been instituted as the fourth rung, in descending order, on the ladder that was taking shape within Calahorra's chapter.

The increasingly formalized hierarchical delegation of authority and responsibility within Calahorra's cathedral administration under Sancho de Funes is thus illustrated by the appearance in its chapter of the offices of treasurer (1119), prior (1124), sub-treasurer (1125), master (1132), and chaplain (1134).

Another aspect of the development of the Cathedral of Calahorra during this period concerned the organization and formalization of the chapter's existence, structure, financial provision, and administration through the internal generation of capitular legislation. No less than five documents recording such regulation have survived from the period of Sancho de Funes' episcopate. The first is dated February 16, 1119, and records the aforementioned creation of the post of treasurer, as well as containing the cathedral's first surviving budget. This differentiates between property

⁴² Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 105.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 136; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 53.

held in common by the bishop and his canons, and that over which they enjoyed individual possession ('...*tam de terris quam de vineis vel ortis, tam proprie quam communis, quod ego [the bishop] habeo vel illis [the canons] possident...*'), thereby revealing the institutionalized existence of assets held communally by the bishop and chapter that were specifically earmarked for the upkeep of its canons. It further records the establishment of regulations enshrining the joint responsibility of the bishop and his chapter for their cathedral's maintenance:

*'accepimus...ut ex nostrorum laborum fructuum...damus omnem decimam partem ad illuminationem altaris, uel quod ibi necesse fuerint, tam in libris, quam uestimentis. Et de denariis, quos ad ecclesiam uenerint, omnem quartam partem similiter addimus...'*⁴⁴

It is worth noting not only the timing of this legislation, which came very early in Sancho de Funes' episcopate, but also the precision with which it specifies not only the origin and quantity of this cathedral budget, but also how it was to be administered and who by.

The next chapter statute after that of February 4, 1124 (through which the position of Prior of Calahorra was created) to have survived from the period 1116-1146 was drawn up in or soon after 1125. It stipulates the annual distribution of the fruits of some of the chapter's common property, including oil produced by the cathedral's olive groves, wine produced from cathedral vineyards, and sheep from the cathedral herd, among its canons on the eve of the feast of the Last Supper.⁴⁵ It thus

⁴⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 56.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

provides further evidence of the existence of commonly held and managed calahorran cathedral property, and of the development of regulations governing its enjoyment by the canons.

Another document issued either in or just after 1125 records the confirmation and extension of the cathedral's budget. Its enlargement was to be funded by the bishop's transfer to the cathedral of his episcopal third-share of the tithe of all the villages in the Arnedo valley, at the northern end of which Calahorra itself was situated. Such an increase indicates that the financial demands of the cathedral were increasing in line with the growing sophistication of its chapter, and that these demands in their turn had the capacity to prompt the formulation of new capitular legislation.⁴⁶

After a silence of almost 20 years, on January 6, 1144, Sancho de Funes issued the last chapter statute to have survived from his episcopate, which stipulated his donation to the cathedral treasury of his episcopal third-share of the tithe of the village of Préjano, in the Arnedo valley some 20km south-west of Calahorra, in anticipation of his imminent departure for Rome.⁴⁷

More light is shed on the development of Calahorra's capitular institutions during this period by a cathedral inventory of donations. Its precise date of compilation is unknown, but lies somewhere between 1125 and 1146. Its significance lies in its introduction, which simply reads: *'Hae sunt hereditates que pertinent ad segrestaniam'*.⁴⁸ The use of the word 'treasury' (*'segrestaniam'*) instead of the more general *'ecclesiam'*, *'capitulum'*, or any labels attached to a person or persons within the chapter is significant as it indicates that sometime between 1125 and 1144, this

⁴⁶ Ibid., 80.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 134.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 81.

capitular institution had developed the necessary degree of coherence to be specifically referred to with its own label, and did not depend on association with the treasurer who provided its human face.

The scriptorium was another calahorran capitular institution that, if not founded, was greatly expanded under Sancho de Funes. It has already been noted that his episcopate coincided precisely with the period during which the activity of Calahorra's chapter was first recorded in substantial detail and volume in documents that were subsequently preserved in an organized cathedral archive. It also witnessed the production at Calahorra of a bible, a short chronicle, and a lectionary commonly referred to as '*El Libro de las Homilias*'.⁴⁹ A poetic dedication composed on the completion of the latter in 1125 makes specific reference to the existence of the scriptorium in which it was copied, thanking those who donated funds and materials, and naming no less than nine scribes who worked on the book.⁵⁰ The poem's complementary prose dedication also records the establishment of a capitular necrology: '*Statuimus etiam et firmamus ut quando aliquis consociorum nostrorum obierit, nomen illius in hoc eodem libro statim scribatur et aniversaria dies illius omnibus annis peragatur*'.⁵¹ This obituary, which has survived, records the deaths of prominent calahorran clergymen, and those of its patrons who had made large enough donations to secure their annual commemoration in the cathedral, as well as marking some of the major historical events that affected the see.⁵² Apart from dictating a significant part of the cathedral's liturgical year, this document represented its first self-written history, and therefore reflects the solidity that the corporate identity of the chapter of Calahorra had achieved by the mid-1120's.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 74-5 & 77; Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p. 312.

⁵⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 74.

⁵¹ Ibid., 75.

⁵² Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Crónica-obituario*.

The development of Calahorra's scriptorium is significant in many ways. Most obviously, it reflects the chapter's increasing sophistication and level of education, and the cathedral's growing importance as an ecclesiastical and cultural centre. It also illustrates the chapter's drive to organize and institutionalize its existence by enshrining its activity in the (relative) permanence of the written word. The establishment of Calahorra's scriptorium thus developed alongside the chapter's increasingly systematic maintenance of a legal and administrative record concerning both its internal government and its material possessions.

The evidence for the existence of a cathedral school at Calahorra is slight compared to that relating to its scriptorium, and centres on a donation made to the cathedral on February 12, 1132, by 'Magister Dominicus'.⁵³ It is supported by a document issued on November 27 of the same year which refers explicitly to two boys whose education would have been in his hands, and implies the existence of others: '*...et de pueris clericis Ioannes nepos Iuliani presbiteri: Francellus nepos Domini*'.⁵⁴ If, as these references seem to indicate, the Cathedral of Calahorra had its own clerical school by 1132, this would further highlight its increasing cultural, educational, and religious significance. As before, it would also reflect the chapter's increasing organizational coherence, and the increased stability and independence it stood to gain at a corporate level by ensuring its self-perpetuation through the 'in-house' education of future generations of calahorran canons.

⁵³ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 100.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

The Extension of the Cathedral's Property Base

The chapter's internal evolution under Sancho de Funes was mirrored by the development and expansion of the Cathedral of Calahorra in a more physical sense. Not only did the period 1118-1146 witness a large-scale extension of the chapter's property-holdings, but there is also evidence to suggest that the cathedral itself, as well as the bishop's palace, underwent substantial refurbishment and enlargement under Sancho de Funes.

The sources relating to the episcopate of Sancho de Funes include no less than 24 charters detailing acquisitions made by the Cathedral of Calahorra. Between them, they record 27 donations, 6 purchases, and 7 exchanges.⁵⁵ Four of these documents are inventories of cathedral property that are clearly incomplete and must therefore originally have registered further acquisitions of which we are now ignorant.⁵⁶

The significance of these charters is immediately obvious if we consider that our sources only contain one record of property acquired by the Cathedral of Calahorra before 1119.⁵⁷ It becomes even clearer when we consider the substantial size of most of the donations they contain: while the smallest concerned only part of a vineyard, this was clearly an exception, as most comprised either whole houses within the city itself, or undivided agricultural units such as fields or vineyards.⁵⁸ Some were significantly larger and represented agricultural estates which might contain many different types of land, accommodation for their labour force, and an administrative centre from which they could be managed. Thus on March 29, 1122, Dominica

⁵⁵Donations: *Ibid.*, 55, 63, 72, 81-3, 90, 99-100, 102, 121, 128, 136, & 139. Purchases: *Ibid.*, 83, 85, 87, 96, & 126. Exchanges: *Ibid.*, 83, 105, 122-3, 130-1, & 133; Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 300.

⁵⁶Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 81-2, 83, & 99.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 42.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 136.

donated to the cathedral ‘...*omni hereditate mea, tam uineis quam terris et hortis et domos...*’, and Domingo Mozgot earmarked certain ‘...*terris, uineis, ortis, molinis, domis, cultis et incultis...*’ for incorporation into Santa María de Calahorra’s holdings on the death of his siblings, with whom he shared their ownership.⁵⁹ Another large donation was made to the cathedral on November 27, 1132, when Pedro Ibáñez gave ‘...*sex agros, et quinque uineas cum domo...*’.⁶⁰ On September 8, 1127, Pedro, Archdeacon of Calahorra, drew up a will in which he bequeathed to the cathedral a manor that he had himself received from the king.⁶¹ The royal origins of this property, and the exalted position of its donor, are both indicative of the importance of this donation.

The donations received by the Cathedral of Calahorra between 1116 and 1146 clearly indicate that its holdings increased substantially during this period. An examination of the purchases and exchanges made by Sancho de Funes and his chapter shows that the chapter’s spending capacity increased in line with the donations it received. No purchases made on behalf of the cathedral were recorded before 1126, by which time Calahorra had received at least three donations. Furthermore, that first recorded purchase was made by the bishop, probably out of independent episcopal funds, and not by the chapter itself.⁶² In June 1126, however, members of Calahorra’s chapter spent 22 *solidi* on a piece of land, and in 1129 (probably – the dating of this document is not entirely certain), they bought another

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 63 & 72.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 85.

property for 20 *solidi*.⁶³ Between 1126 and 1146, they acquired a total of seven urban and four rural properties through purchase.⁶⁴

By August 1134 at the latest, when the chapter gave two vineyards to Sancho Fortuniones and his grandson Fortún in return for a threshing floor near the bishop's palace, the cathedral had built up a reserve of holdings that was both large and varied enough for it to start organizing its possessions through exchanges.⁶⁵ From that time until the end of Sancho de Funes' episcopate, the Cathedral of Calahorra was involved in six more exchanges, through which it acquired six urban and two rural properties.⁶⁶

Far from simply representing the random expansion of cathedral property, Calahorra's acquisitions through purchase or exchange illustrate the chapter's active engagement in the organization and consolidation of its holdings. On June 23, 1126, for example, the Prior, Archdeacon, and Treasurer of Calahorra bought an orchard on behalf of Santa María de Calahorra that shared two boundaries with other plots that already belonged to the cathedral, thus consolidating its hold on a concentrated block of land.⁶⁷ An exchange effected between the Bishop and chapter of Calahorra and the Monastery of Quel in August 1142 is also interesting in this respect. It shows Calahorra's clerics ridding themselves of a property whose administration must have been problematic as it was situated in Tarazona, some 100km to the cathedral's southeast, and beyond Calahorra's diocesan limits, in exchange for two vineyards in the village of Quel, which lay only 20km outside the cathedral city.⁶⁸ Two charters of purchase included in an inventory drawn up sometime between 1125 and 1148 also record the chapter's acquisition of vineyards in Arnedillo, which, like Quel, lay

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 87 & 96.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 82-3, 85, 87, 96, & 126;

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 83, 122-3, 130-1, & 133; Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 300.

⁶⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 87.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 131.

alongside the Cidacos river at whose confluence with the Ebro Calahorra itself was situated.⁶⁹

The purchases and exchanges made by the chapter during this period also highlight another significant aspect of the chapter's organization of its property holdings. No less than five out of the chapter's seven exchanges resulted in the cathedral's acquisition of property within the city of Calahorra in exchange for rural property situated outside its walls, while one more involved the exchange of one calahorran urban property for another.⁷⁰ Its purchases likewise led to the cathedral's acquisition of at least seven holdings within Calahorra, and only four agricultural properties outside the city.⁷¹ The chapter therefore clearly pursued a conscious policy of concentrating its holdings within the city of Calahorra itself, and displayed a marked preference for urban property and the urban economy over rural possessions.

More specifically still, the cathedral's acquisitions within the city of Calahorra were predominantly directed towards the development of property that was explicitly ecclesiastical in nature, and which represented the functions and authority of the cathedral and chapter in an emphatically physical way. Calahorra's clergy acquired at least six pieces of property that were either adjacent or close to the cathedral through purchase or exchange during this period. These included one cultivated plot and some other plots of land that were identified as being '*circa ecclesiam beate Marie*', as well as one house, '*iuxta ecclesiam Sancte Marie*', on the '*via que vadit ad ecclesiam*'.⁷² On another occasion, the chapter exchanged some land for one plot '*quod est iuxta Sanctam Maria Calagorritane ecclesie in currali canonicorum*'.⁷³ Finally, in their

⁶⁹ Ibid., 83g & i.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 83, 105, 122-3, 130, & 133; Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 300.

⁷¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 82-3, 85, 87, 96, & 126.

⁷² Ibid., 83, 96, & 130.

⁷³ Ibid., 133.

most explicit bid to extend and improve the cathedral and its approaches, Calahorra's clerics even went so far as to petition Alfonso I of Aragon, who responded sometime between 1132 and 1134 by granting them a license to demolish his royal oven, which was situated in front of the cathedral's main entrance, '*propter fumum qui inde exit cotidie et adversatur ministeriis ecclesiasticis*' and keep for their own use the ground it stood on, on condition that they first build him a replacement oven in an alternative calahorran location of their choice.⁷⁴

This obvious drive to extend the cathedral's grounds and to improve the building itself was matched by efforts to extend the bishop's residence in the city. The chapter purchased a shop situated beneath the bishop's residence in Calahorra sometime between 1125 and 1146.⁷⁵ The canons also acquired one threshing floor, some houses, and a cultivated plot next to the bishop's palace between 1134 and 1140.⁷⁶ As these acquisitions were all made either by or explicitly on behalf of Calahorra's chapter, we can safely assume that the extension of the episcopal palace that they imply was not simply the private business of Sancho de Funes, but that his residence in the city also functioned as some kind of capitular headquarters.

It is worth noting that Santa María de Calahorra also received one piece of land next to the cathedral, one house '*ad amplificationem cimiterii*', and one piece of land '*ad opus albergarie seu confratrie*' through donation during this period.⁷⁷ Even through the chapter certainly did not have the same control over donations as it did over purchases and exchanges, donations of this sort might well have been made in response to the cathedral's appeals, and thereby also reflect the chapter's policy regarding the direction in which its property base developed.

⁷⁴ Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 300.

⁷⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, 82.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 105 & 126.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 82, 102, & 139.

The timing of these various expansionary projects is highly significant, as all of the acquisitions mentioned above, excepting only some of those whose dating is uncertain (of which there are in any case only three), were made after 1129, which, according to the dating clause of a charter issued in May of that year, witnessed '*illud maximum diluvium quod subruit uel euertit domos episcopo seu clericorum plurimorum que laicorum, angulum etiam ecclesia a fundamento suffodit*'.⁷⁸ It is interesting to see not only that the Cathedral of Calahorra was able to respond to a disaster of this sort with a pro-active approach to its own physical regeneration and re-affirmation, but also that, rather than concentrating on simply rebuilding what had been lost, Calahorra's clergy used this opportunity to actually expand and improve the buildings and spaces that represented the physical face of their institution. These were clearly boom years for the Cathedral of Calahorra.

The Bishop's Role in the Development of the Cathedral

Having looked at the astoundingly broad and deep development of the Cathedral and chapter of Calahorra during the episcopate of Sancho de Funes, it is worth considering where the impetus for such acceleration in the chapter's organization and consolidation came from. Clearly, Alfonso I of Aragón's conquest of the Ebro Valley up to Zaragoza in the late 1110's and the resulting security and convenience of Calahorra's location, both as a diocesan headquarters and as a junction on the re-opened route of pilgrimage and trade that led up the Ebro valley from the port of Tarragona on the Catalan east coast, set the scene for the city's

⁷⁸ Ibid., 97.

revival.⁷⁹ However, in a more direct sense, royal politics had very little to do with the cathedral's development: only three surviving documents link either Alfonso I or Alfonso VII to the cathedral's early twelfth-century expansion, despite the fact that royal documents tend to have a higher survival rate than those of cathedrals with fledgling scriptoria. Although one of these does record a substantial royal donation, it was not made before 1145, by which time the developments we have been discussing had long passed their peak (below, pp.160-5).⁸⁰ The other two, the first issued sometime between 1132 and 1134, and the second in 1140, are also rather too late to be relevant to any discussion of impetus, and while the former records an exchange that was most probably prompted by the canons of Calahorra themselves, the latter simply contains a royal confirmation of the original royal endowment of the Cathedral of Calahorra one century earlier.⁸¹

On the other hand, the role played by the bishop in his cathedral's development was of unparalleled importance. Sancho de Funes had an overwhelmingly positive relationship with his chapter and was clearly actively engaged in its promotion between the late 1110's and 1134. His commitment to this process naturally depended on his physical presence in Calahorra, and it is therefore highly relevant that he was the first post-re-foundation Bishop of Calahorra to establish his residence in his cathedral city on a firm footing. Three documents from this period make reference to three different types of property, one '*palacio*', some '*domos episcopi*', and a '*molino episcopi*', which the bishop owned either in or just outside the city, and which unambiguously reflect his adoption of Calahorra as the location of both his official episcopal residence, and the extension of his private

⁷⁹ Bisson, *Short History*, pp.40-1.

⁸⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 139.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 128; Lema Pueyo (ed.), *Alfonso I*, 300.

seigniorial interests.⁸² There is no evidence that he held any similarly concentrated packages of property outside of Calahorra, or that he established any alternative episcopal residence in any other location within his diocese. His enduring presence in his cathedral city during this period is also indicated by his involvement in the drafting or confirmation of eight charters issued in Calahorra between 1119 and 1134.⁸³ For the purpose of comparison it is worth noting that no other member of Calahorra's chapter, not even its most prominent prior, Juan Quiram, made as many documentary appearances in Calahorra during the same period. The relatively even spread of the dates of composition of these charters further illustrate the consistency of the bishop's activity in his cathedral (see fig.1).

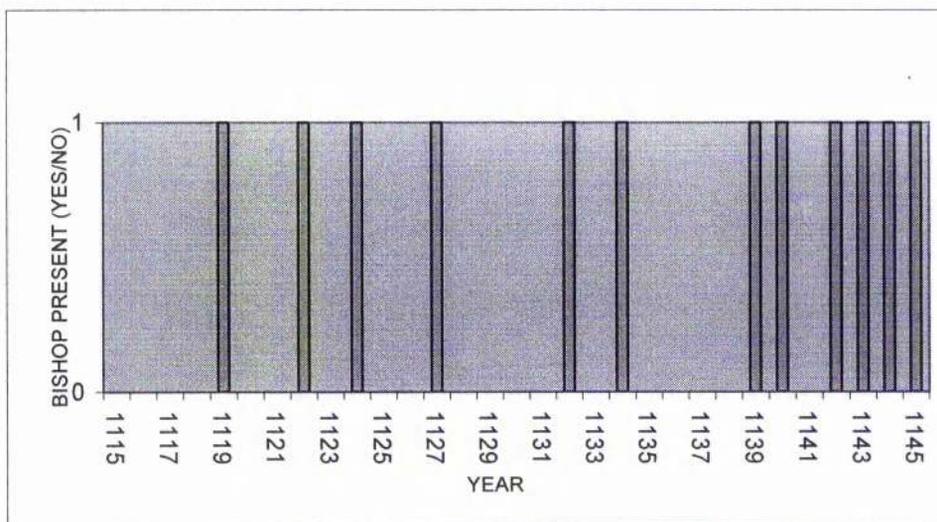


Figure 1: The bishop's presence in Calahorra, as recorded in surviving contemporary documentation.

⁸² Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 97, 105, & 102.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 56, 63, 70, 79-80, 88, 102, & 105.

Sancho de Funes also seems to have enjoyed unbroken harmony in his relationship with his chapter. There is no evidence that his extensive capitular legislation, which represented the legal backbone of the cathedral's development during this period, ever constituted, or was perceived to constitute, a threat to the canons' own interests. Indeed, no tensions or divisions whatsoever between the bishop and the canons are reflected by the sources, and Sancho's frequent use of phrases such as '*cum consensu clericorum meorum*' or '*una cum clericis meis*' to introduce episcopal decisions creates the impression that his government of Calahorra's cathedral was guided by principles of consultation and co-operation.⁸⁴ This impression is borne out by his extensive and effective delegation of responsibility and authority within the chapter through the creation of capitular offices, discussed above.

It is also illustrated in a charter recording the bishop's agreement with Dominga, the '*devota*' who requested to be maintained at the chapter's expense in return for delivering her person and worldly possessions to the cathedral. Sancho de Funes included a clause in this agreement that explicitly linked its validity to the continued acquiescence of a unanimous chapter: '*Si autem, quod absit, aliquis clericus ueniens eam noluerit retinere, sicut supra dictum est, illa uiuat in sua hereditate in omni uita sua*'.⁸⁵ Finally, the atmosphere of co-operation that surrounded his management of cathedral property is illustrated by the fact that every one of the one purchase and five exchanges of cathedral property at which he was present were made together with Calahorra's chapter.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ For example, *Ibid.*, 56 & 80; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 370.

⁸⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 63.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 105, 122-3, 126, & 130-1.

Sancho de Funes also contributed to his cathedral's development in a financial sense. We have already seen that the bishop agreed, together with the chapter, to donate one-tenth of the income generated by property that he held within Calahorra's municipal district to the maintenance of the cathedral in 1119.⁸⁷ It has also been established that he did indeed have property in the area of Calahorra from which such incomes might derive. Beyond this, he made an important contribution from his episcopal share of diocesan tithes to the task of copying the *Libro de las Homilias*, which was compiled between 1121 and 1125. This piece of episcopal funding receives high praise in the lectionary's poetic dedication: '*Dux enim cleri, Meruit famosus haberi, Factis perspicuis, moribus ingenuis, Largus et ipse satis, dedit ex rebus decimatis Magnificum precium Codicis ad studium*'.⁸⁸

Sancho de Funes expressed his concern for the material provision of his canons when regulating the distribution of the fruits of some of their common property in, or just after, 1125 when he stated that his intention was to 'extend the hand of mercy to the clergy in order to somewhat relieve their wants...in order that those clerics might always perform the divine office devoutly and readily'.⁸⁹ In another display of episcopal concern for the material welfare of his canons, the bishop pledged his episcopal third-share of the tithes collected from the whole of the Arnedo valley to the chapter shortly after 1125.⁹⁰

Perhaps the single most important contribution made by Sancho de Funes to raising the profile of his cathedral was to arrange for the translation of the relics of Calahorra's patron saints, Emeterio and Celedonio (according to legend these were

⁸⁷ Ibid., 56.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 74.

⁸⁹ '*...manum misericordie extendere curavi atque eius indigentie aliquatenus subuenire*' '*ut hisdem clerus erga diuinum officium deuotior ac promptior semper existens*': Ibid., 79.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 80.

two third-century Roman soldiers who were martyred on the calahorran bank of the Cidacos river), from the church of San Salvador, the city's old Visigothic cathedral, to Santa María de Calahorra, its eleventh-century replacement, in November 1132.⁹¹ This event is recorded in the cathedral's necrology, which lists for November 8, 1132: '*Translatio Sanctorum corporum Emeterii et Celedonii et dedicatio altaris eorum ab archiepiscopo Ausciensi et episcopo Oxomensis, presente et elaborante episcopo nostro Sancio, cuius industria factum est*'.⁹² It is also recorded in the dating clause of a charter issued in late November 1132, which further refers to the establishment of an annual feast to commemorate the translation that the bishop had achieved through his 'insistent and strenuous efforts'.⁹³

This triumphant event, presided over by no less a figure than the Archbishop of Auch, established the Cathedral of Calahorra's credentials as an important devotional centre on the route, which had been re-opened in the 1120's after the Christian conquest of the Ebro valley, that brought pilgrim traffic from Tarragona on Iberia's east coast, through Zaragoza, Tudela, and Calahorra, before joining the 'French' branch of the *Camino de Santiago* in the central riojan town of Logroño.⁹⁴ When Alfonso VII's son, the *Infante* Sancho, donated some property to Calahorra in 1145, stipulating that it was to be used for the shelter of pilgrims, he provided an indication that thirteen years after its bishop had revamped the reputation of Calahorra's martyrs, if not before, the cathedral city had succeeded in carving out a niche for itself on the northern Iberian devotional map.

The bishop clearly played a fundamental role in the meteoric rise of the Cathedral of Calahorra. He provided his chapter with dedicated, co-operative, and

⁹¹ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes Episcopales*, vol.I, p.321.

⁹² Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Crónica-obituario*, p.105.

⁹³ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 102.

⁹⁴ Bisson, *Short History*, pp.40-1.

enthusiastic leadership, as well as material support. He dictated a legislative programme which endowed his cathedral with the tools of self-government, and greatly enhanced its organizational coherence, and placed his cathedral on the Iberian devotional map.

The Contribution of the Canons to the Development of the Cathedral

Eleven names were recorded in what was declared to be a complete roll-call of the chapter on completion of the *Libro de las Homilias* in 1125.⁹⁵ There is no evidence that the number of canons supported by the Cathedral of Calahorra changed between that date and 1146, and I shall therefore assume that the chapter remained at roughly this size throughout this period. As we shall see, the dozen-or-so clerics who constituted Calahorra's chapter during the episcopate of Sancho de Funes were clearly local to Calahorra or its close environs, and also seem to have been important members of their local community. There is evidence that many of them were significant local landowners, enjoyed elevated social status, and were firmly bound to the city of Calahorra through family ties.

We have already seen how the chapter agreed with the bishop to donate income both from property held communally and from individual private holdings to the cathedral's administration in 1119.⁹⁶ Eight surviving documents include specific references to one or more such privately owned properties belonging to individuals whose appearance on capitular witness-lists and/or enjoyment of capitular offices reveal them to have been canons of Calahorra (see table 1). These were: Juan Quiram,

⁹⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 74-5.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

'Master Domingo', 'Domingo presbyter' (these two Domingos may have been the same person), 'canon Julian', Pedro Marco, 'Velasco canon of Calahorra' and 'Abbot Juan'.⁹⁷ These documents reveal that the two (or one) Domingo/s, and 'Abbot Juan' donated vineyards and fields, and Julian a farm, all in the vicinity of Calahorra, to their cathedral.⁹⁸ More significantly, they also show that Juan Quiram had the spending capacity to purchase a property in Calahorra's suburbs worth 320 *solidi* (at a time when a house in the city could be bought for 20 *solidi*), and that Pedro Marco counted a mill and an orchard, both within Calahorra's city limits, among his possessions.⁹⁹ Two more documents identify Pedro Marco as the greatest material contributor to the hugely expensive task of copying the *Libro de las Homilias*.¹⁰⁰ These were clearly members of a local landowning class whose possessions bound them closely to Calahorra and its surroundings.

The social status of some members of Calahorra's chapter is indicated by their identification in the sources with the title '*don*', or '*dominus*'. '*Domnus Garsia Presbitero*', '*Don Dominico missacantano*', '*Prior, don Iohannes et don Pere Karbon et don Remond*', '*Don Velasio, operator*', and '*domno Petro*' (Pedro Marco) are all thus distinguished (see table 1).¹⁰¹

On the other hand, the only calahorran canons to be identified by their place of origin in the cathedral's documentation are 'Pedro de Grañón' and 'Pedro de Nájera'.¹⁰² Although one might at first assume that these two Pedros were given toponymics to differentiate them from one another, this hypothesis is undermined by the fact that they never appear in the same document, and the two occasions on which

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 82-4, 97, 100, 121, & 130bis; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 53.

⁹⁸ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 82, 84, 100, & 130bis.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 83 & 96-97.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 74-5.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 55, 83, 96, 113, & 123.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 75 & 131.

they did confirm surviving charters are separated by no less than seventeen years (see table 1). Indeed, it seems more likely that these two canons were given toponymics that reflected a characteristic that was unusual within the chapter: they were 'out-of-towners'. As both Grañón and Nájera are upper riojan towns, situated some 95 and 70 kilometres from Calahorra respectively, it seems that one did not have to be born too far away from the cathedral to be considered an outsider by Calahorra's canons.

The local extraction of Calahorra's chapter is most clearly indicated by numerous references in the documentation to the family ties that linked these clerics to their cathedral city. Calahorra's records thus mention Fortún, the brother of Velasco '*sacrista*', the two 'boy clerks', '*Ioannes nepos Iuliani presbiteri*' and '*Francellus nepos Dominici*', Domingo Pérez, '*Alcalde*' and grandfather of Juan Fortuniones (who was a canon by 1127 and sub-treasurer by 1139), '*Sancha, filia Petri Xemeni*' (Pedro Jiménez was a canon of Calahorra from at least 1124, and his death on April 30, 1146, is recorded in the cathedral's necrology; perhaps he had children before entering the religious life), and '*Illo kanonico don Iuliano et suo ermano Lop Dominicez*'.¹⁰³

Further family ties of the canons are revealed in certain charters of sale or donation. '*Magister Dominicus*', for example, donated a vineyard to Santa María de Calahorra that was situated close to Calahorra and between those of his two brothers, while '*don Dominico, missacantano*' bought some local property from his parents, three brothers, and one sister.¹⁰⁴ Another calahorran cleric, the presbyter Domingo, sold some land near Calahorra together with his step-mother, and, when Pedro Marco

¹⁰³ Ibid., 81-2, 97, 99, & 102; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Crónica-obituario*, p.96.

¹⁰⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 100 & 113.

exchanged some landed property with the Cathedral of Calahorra, his brother, Juan Marco, was mentioned as one of its neighbours.¹⁰⁵

The evidence of these charters does not simply connect Calahorra's canons to their local community, but also re-enforces the impression that they were recruited from the ranks of a relatively affluent landowning class that was closely bound to the land in and around Calahorra. The fact that they included the grandson of a former judge ('*Alcalde*') of Calahorra is especially indicative of this.¹⁰⁶

These same documents also illustrate the process whereby Calahorra's canons used their personal resources to support the institutional development of their cathedral. Once again, we must bear in mind the chapter statute of 1119 through which the bishop and canons agreed to donate one-tenth of their personal incomes to the maintenance of the cathedral and its library.¹⁰⁷ The canons' support of their own church and chapter was thus legally established, and officially accepted by all of their number.

This support was also forthcoming through the less formalized channel of personal donation. It was commonplace for canons to designate (sometimes substantial) pieces of their personal property as '*post obitum*' gifts that were to pass to their cathedral on their own passing. Thus Pedro Marco left certain vineyards to Santa María de Calahorra, Esteban, another calahorran cleric, a house and two vineyards, and Julian a farm.¹⁰⁸ Prior Juan Quiram and '*Magister Dominicus*' also donated one

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 83 & 130bis.

¹⁰⁶ José Moya Valgañón, 'Los oficios concejiles en La Rioja hasta 1250', *Berceo* 100 (1981), pp. 142-3.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 79, 82, 90, & 100.

vineyard each to the cathedral, but did not specify that these were '*post obitum*' gifts.¹⁰⁹

Such donations served to increase the resources of the cathedral and chapter, and to cement a very close identification of Calahorra's clergy, and their families, who were often implicated in the gifts made by the canons because they also held rights over the donated properties, with the ecclesiastical institution they served. Furthermore, these donations afforded the canons a small but nonetheless relevant degree of control over the management of Calahorra's resources, as they could sometimes specify the uses to which the revenues generated by their gifts should be put.

This is best illustrated in the statute issued around 1125, which determined the distribution among the canons and their households of the produce of some of the chapter's communal agricultural property. When regulating wine distribution, it reveals the power that one calahorran canon had clearly exercised in deciding how his gift to the cathedral should be used: '*Ex uinea quoque quam Petrus Marchus prefate aeclesie moriens dereliquit, sicut ipse constitui...*'. Pedro Marco used this power to stipulate that the production of his donated vineyards should benefit Calahorra's canons and their households at a personal level, and to establish the day on which their produce should be distributed. He also set out the proviso that the canons must be physically present in order to receive their share of his gift, thereby penalizing absenteeism within the chapter. He thus used the influence his donation conferred on him to strengthen the chapter's corporate identity.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 121.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 79.

The two dedications that introduce the *Libro de las Homilias*, one poetic and the other in prose, indicate that Calahorra's canons also supplied a large proportion of the funding for specific projects associated with the cathedral's early-twelfth-century development. They reveal that the copying of this lectionary was facilitated not only by the bishop, but also by the eleven clerics named in each of these dedications. Indeed, in the poetic dedication, the bishop's contribution to the project is mentioned only after that of two of his canons. One of these canons, Pedro Marco, stands out in the prose version as he '*qui maximam partem pretii scriptoris tribuit*', while the poem eulogizes the '*expensas large, pelles quoque tensas*' which he dedicated to the job.¹¹¹

Calahorra's canons did not only contribute to the developments we have been describing with their material assets, but also in their capacity as members of a specifically local landowning class, with the extensive knowledge and experience of Calahorra and its environs that that entailed. The way such knowledge was put to use in the cathedral's service is most clearly discernible in the extension, reorganization, and revitalization of the cathedral's physical property. Four documents with dates ranging between 1126 and 1143 record five instances in which members of Calahorra's chapter were involved in acquisitions on behalf of their cathedral entirely independently of the bishop.¹¹² These acquisitions required detailed knowledge of the local property market and free access to cathedral funds earmarked for such purchases. Members of Calahorra's chapter clearly enjoyed both.

Another document, dated 1127, illustrates this yet more clearly. It records the chapter's clarification of the legal rights associated with a vineyard close to Calahorra to which the cathedral had a claim, but the lifetime usufruct of which was held by

¹¹¹ Ibid., 74-5.

¹¹² Ibid., 83, 87, 96, & 133.

Arreda Toda, an inhabitant of Calahorra. In order to secure recognition of the rights of their church over this piece of land, the canons who pursued this matter (apparently entirely independently of the bishop) first of all relied on an accurate knowledge of the history of the property, which had been held by Arreda's family for two generations before coming to her. They also required access to local witnesses (*'Monion Geiza, testis, filio de Sanctio Aluorno, Dominicus de Carcar, ierno de Garcia Martin, Iulian Martin de Soria'* are all listed as lay witnesses to the ruling) who could testify as to the facts of the case. Finally, they required the capacity to constitute, even in the absence of their bishop, a body whose decisions enjoyed the force of law and whose authority was convincing within the context of their local society. Their successful resolution of this issue indicates that they met all of these requirements.

Calahorra's canons thus used both their personal wealth and social status, and the advantages associated with membership of a corporative ecclesiastical institution in order to further the interests of their cathedral. What is more, those interests seem to have been very closely identified with those of the canons at a personal level. Through the channels of both institutionalized contributions, and the less formalized mechanism of personal donations, more affluent individuals within Calahorra's chapter like Pedro Marco or Juan Quiram, together with the bishop himself, invested their personal resources in the development of their cathedral. Their own social standing was subsequently enhanced through their association with an increasingly powerful ecclesiastical corporation. In the process, the status of their less wealthy capitular colleagues was also raised, as the chapter came in its entirety to represent the corporate interests of Calahorra's clerical urban elite.

The Cathedral's Links to Calahorra's Urban Community

Calahorra's wider urban community also made a notable contribution to its cathedral's early-twelfth-century boom. The documentary record relating to Sancho de Funes' predecessors contains no examples of gifts made by members of the local community to the Cathedral of Calahorra. The novelty of what seems to have become a very well established practice during Funes' episcopate reflects the growing relevance of the cathedral at a local level, and the way in which its rising profile prompted donations that both gave further impetus to its development, and served to cement the increasingly close identification of the Cathedral of Calahorra with its local community. Within Calahorra's urban community, it was clearly the dominant landowning classes that were most closely associated with the cathedral's development.

The sources record six donations that were made to the cathedral by members of Calahorra's more important landowners (i.e. individuals who are distinguished by the title '*dominus*' or '*domina*', or who made substantial landed donations) between March 1122 and c. 1132 (two of these may have been made later, as they can only be very imprecisely dated between 1125 and 1148).¹¹³ The significant size of three of these donations, through which Dominga gave to the cathedral '*omni hereditate mea, tam uineis quam terris et hortis et domos et ubicumque ex mea erentia potuerit inuenire*'; the son of Domingo Mozgot gave all of his possessions '*terris, uineis, ortis, molinis, domis, cultis et incultis*'; and Pedro Ibáñez gave six fields, five vineyards, and one house close to the cathedral, indicate the undoubted material importance of

¹¹³ Ibid., 63, 72, 81, 84, 99, & 102.

such gifts for the budding chapter of Calahorra.¹¹⁴ Aside from enriching the cathedral, donations of this sort served to both reflect and cement ever closer ties between Calahorra's urban oligarchy and its ecclesiastical institutions. A closer examination of two donations made by well-off locals to Santa Maria de Calahorra will illustrate this fact in different ways.

The first concerns Dominga, whose enormous gift to the cathedral treasury formed the basis of the tightest possible bond between herself and the church in Calahorra. Through this transaction, Dominga, who was defined as a '*deuota*', gave to the cathedral not only all of her worldly goods, but also her person, in return for a pledge that the chapter would undertake to feed and clothe her (and presumably also to house her) for the rest of her days.¹¹⁵ She thus placed her property under the protection of the church in a manner that was quite typical for childless widows or single women who wanted to defend their holdings from the claims of other relatives. Dominga's choice of protector indicates that by the time she entered into this transaction in March 1122, she probably considered the Cathedral of Calahorra's ecclesiastical protection to be the best on offer in the surroundings of Calahorra, and thus reveals the institutional solidity that the cathedral had developed just four years into Sancho de Funes' episcopate.

A charter of donation issued sometime during the first two years of the episcopate of Sancho de Funes' successor, Rodrigo Cascante, highlights another important area in which the interests of the cathedral and Calahorra's local potentates overlapped. This document records a large donation made to the cathedral by two local noblewomen, Doña Godina and her daughter, Doña Andresa, in order to secure

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 63, 72, & 102.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 63.

for themselves and two of their close relatives the right to be buried in the Cathedral of Calahorra and to have an annual mass sung for their souls on the anniversary of their death. Although this document records an agreement made just after the end of Sancho de Funes' episcopate in 1146, it also contains a reference to García, respectively son and brother to these noblewomen, who was already buried in the cathedral (*'qui est sepultus in ecclesia Calagurrensi'*).¹¹⁶ It is therefore likely that burial within the Cathedral of Calahorra had already become a tradition within this local noble family by the time Rodrigo Cascante became bishop.

The size of Godina and Andresa's gift to the cathedral, which comprised a complex of baths, a mill with land attached, and a vineyard, provides a clear indication of the material advantages enjoyed by the cathedral when it was preferred by affluent locals over the region's monasteries as a place of burial. At the same time, the fact that such families began to choose the Cathedral of Calahorra as their final resting-place at this time indicates Santa María de Calahorra's influence as a religious centre, and reflects the enduring bonds between the cathedral and the city's oligarchy on which that growing influence was founded.

Other donations made to the Cathedral of Calahorra during the episcopate of Sancho de Funes include a number made by individuals who were certainly local to Calahorra, but whose social status is unknown to us. Although some of these people might indeed have belonged to the upper layers of Calahorra's local society, the majority seem to have been of a more humble standing: their donations were relatively modest, typically comprising one vineyard, a plot of land, or shares thereof, and their names and those of the witnesses to their gifts did not bear any marks of distinguished social status. Our sources contain records of fourteen such donations,

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 83.

but the fact that many of these are included in lists that are clearly incomplete indicates that more were surely made. The dates of those that we can date precisely range between 1119 and 1144. However, the majority are not precisely datable, and all we know is that they were made sometime between 1125 and 1148. All of these gifts involved property that was local to Calahorra, and most were made on a '*post obitum*' basis, so that they would enter into the cathedral's possession on the death of the donor.

The Marginalization of the Archdeacon of Calahorra

The way in which the relationship between the chapter of Calahorra and its own archdeacon changed under Sancho de Funes' leadership is highly significant, and provides another reflection of the independently local atmosphere in which the cathedral's early-twelfth-century developmental explosion occurred. Although we have no explicit evidence as to the nature of this relationship during the first six years of Funes' episcopate, the bishop's injunction in February 1124 that the business of the chapter, entrusted solely to the person of the prior, was thenceforth to be entirely free of the archdeacon's influence clearly indicates that such archidiaconal influence had previously been felt in the cathedral.¹¹⁷ However, the Archdeacon of Calahorra does seem to have been effectively removed from the internal government of the cathedral's business after 1124. He is thus conspicuously absent from the roll-call of chapter members included in the dedications that introduce the *Libro de las Homilias*, which was completed in 1125.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the Archdeacon Pedro of Calahorra's

¹¹⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 70.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 74-5.

confirmation of the chapter's acquisition of some property in Calahorra on June 23, 1126, is the only, and the last, surviving record of any archidiaconal involvement in the internal or local affairs of Calahorra's chapter between the establishment of the 1124 ruling and the end of Sancho de Funes' episcopate in 1146.¹¹⁹ In 1142, no mention was made of the Archdeacon of Calahorra in a dating clause that explicitly identified the bishop and prior as rulers of the church in Calahorra.¹²⁰

This figure does, however, seem to have had enduring relevance representing the chapter when it was involved in dealings outside of the cathedral city. Thus Pedro de Grañón, the Archdeacon of Calahorra, accompanied the prior when he went to the monastery of Quel as late as 1142 for the public reading of a charter recording an exchange between the monks and Calahorra's canons.¹²¹ The endurance of some sort of connection between Calahorra's chapter and its archdeacon is also illustrated by the inclusion of the latter in the list of those present when the bishop made a donation to his chapter on January 6, 1144. However, the archdeacon's position on that list, on which he was preceded by five named members of Calahorra's chapter, indicates that his status within the cathedral was far from pre-eminent.¹²²

The marginalization from the cathedral's internal government after 1124 of the Archdeacon of Calahorra, whose authority was by definition more widely diocesan than specifically local to the city of Calahorra, further highlights the air of local autonomy that surrounded the Cathedral of Calahorra's development under Sancho de Funes. Taken together, the archdeacon's marginalization, the recruitment of calahorran canons from the city's landowning classes, the establishment of increasingly close ties between the cathedral and both Calahorra's urban oligarchy

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 130bis.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 134.

and its wider local community, the locally and self funded extension and refurbishment of the cathedral's religious and administrative buildings, and the chapter's assertive expansion into a decidedly local and urban economy, all point to the fact that the astoundingly rapid development of Calahorra's cathedral and chapter during this period unravelled within a decidedly local bubble.

The Timing of the Cathedral's Development

The timing of Calahorra's early-twelfth-century boom is extremely significant, and underlines its local and autonomous nature by connecting its peak firmly to the years in which royal authority in the Rioja was at its weakest and most distant, and its subsequent decline to the entrance into the region of an extremely forceful and focussed royal presence. Of the five chapter statutes contained in the sources, one was issued in 1119, one in 1124, and two just after 1125.¹²³ Only one piece of capitular legislation was recorded after that, in extraordinary circumstances prompted by the bishop's imminent departure for Rome in the spring of 1144.¹²⁴ Similarly, the five new capitular posts that emerged during Sancho de Funes' episcopate were first recorded in 1119, 1124, 1125, 1132, and 1134.¹²⁵ Not a single addition to this list can be made for the twelve-year period between 1134 and the end of Sancho de Funes' episcopate. The chapter's organizational development would therefore seem to have been concentrated in the first half of his rule, between 1118 and 1134.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 56, 70, & 79-80.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 56, 70, 74, 100, & 105.

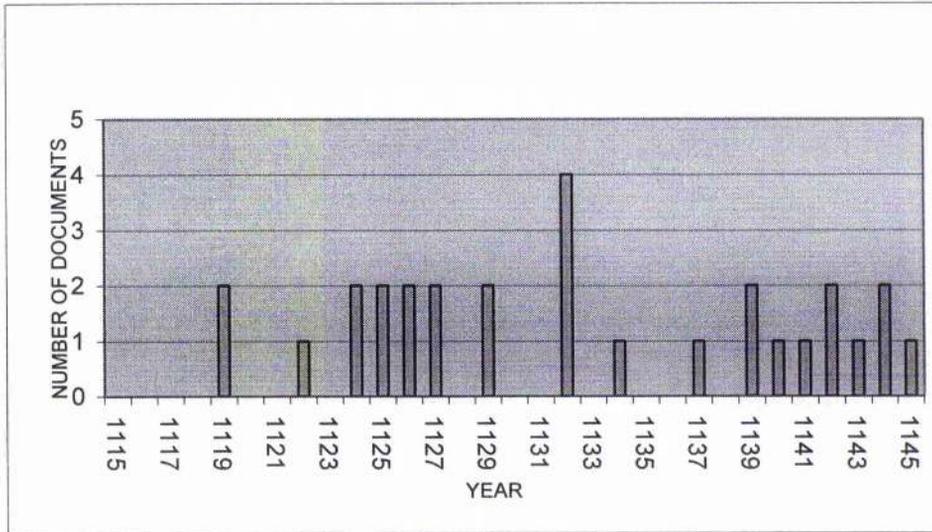


Figure 2: Surviving datable documents generated in the Cathedral of Calahorra.

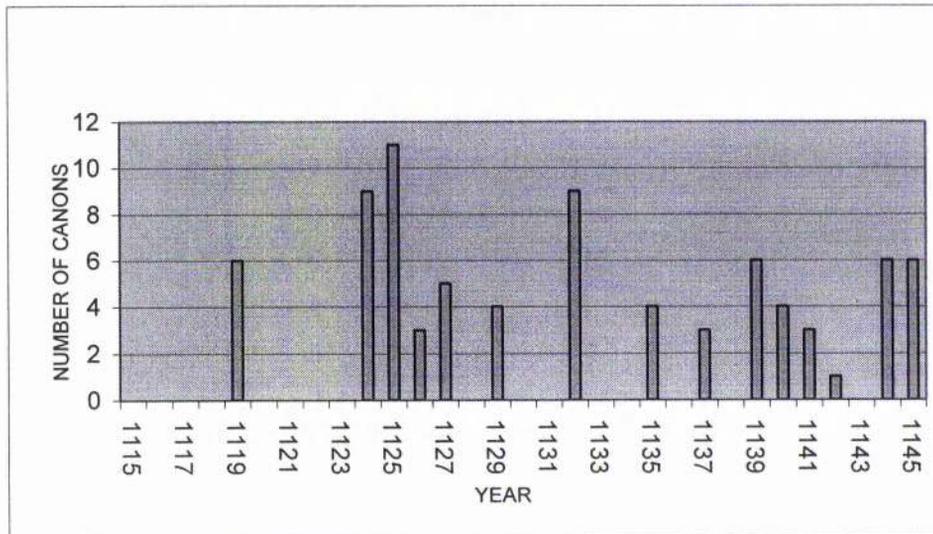


Figure 3: Numbers of named calahorran canons identified in datable contemporary documents.

The timing of the expansion of Calahorra's scriptorium and its output tells the same story. Its greatest production under Sancho de Funes, the *Libro de las Homilias*

was compiled between 1121 and 1125, and a short chronicle that represents the earliest surviving written history to be compiled in Calahorra was recorded between 1125 and 1129.¹²⁶ Around 1132, the scriptorium was put to work on the cathedral's earliest datable inventory of property.¹²⁷ The output of cathedral charters and the frequency with which calahorran clerics appear on the documentary record (obviously related phenomena), were both consistently higher before the mid-1130's than afterwards (see figs.2 & 3). Sometime around 1134, therefore, the production of Calahorra's scriptorium, which can barely have been fifteen years old by then, decreased visibly.

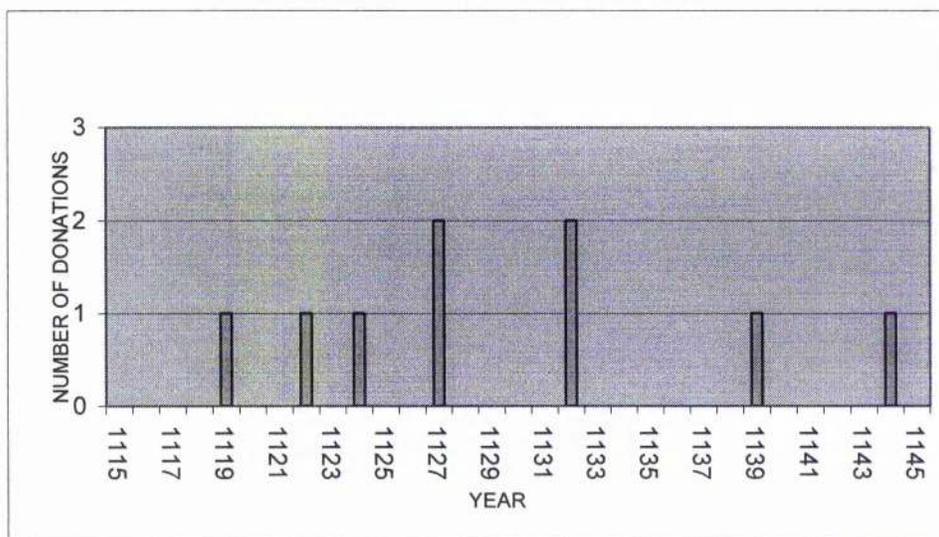


Figure 4: Recorded datable donations to the Cathedral of Calahorra.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 74-5 & 77.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 99. Other surviving cathedral inventories from this period are harder to date, two being dated 1125 – 1146, and another two 1125 – 1148: Ibid., 81-2 and 83-4 respectively.

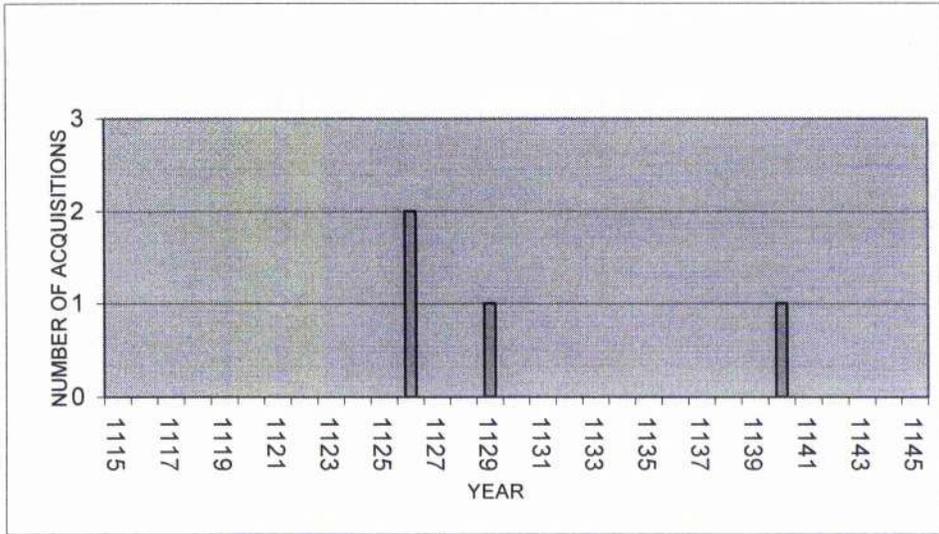


Figure 5: Recorded datable purchases made by the Cathedral of Calahorra

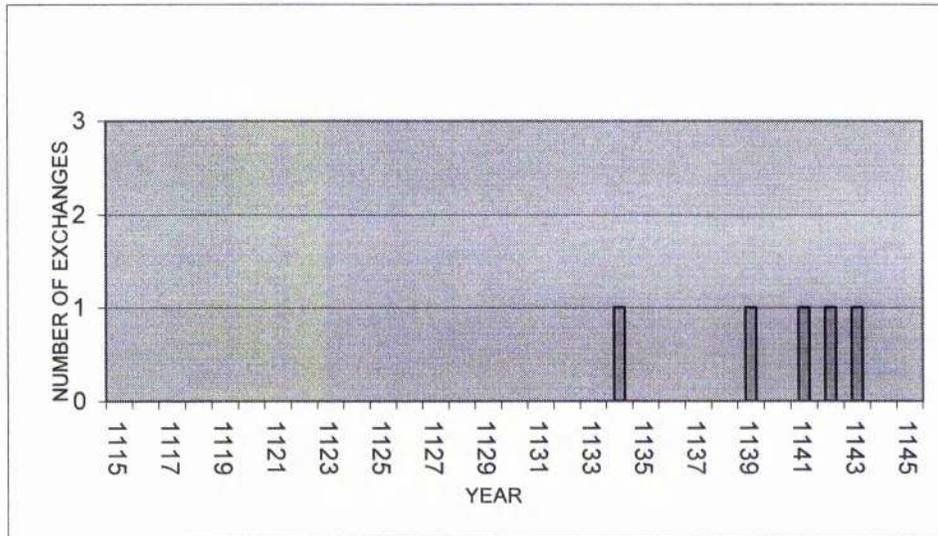


Figure 6: Recorded datable exchanges effected by the Cathedral of Calahorra.

The chapter's acquisitive activities also changed significantly during this period. As is shown in figures 4 and 5, both territorial donations made to the cathedral and the chapter's purchases of property were more numerous before the mid-1130's than afterwards. On the other hand, exchanges made by the chapter do not begin to

figure on the documentary record before 1134, and from that year on occur with a greater frequency than donations and purchases together (see fig.6). It is logical to identify a link between the evident decrease in recorded acquisitions through purchase or donation to the decline in scriptorial activity outlined above (though which might have come first is difficult to ascertain). However, it is also interesting that recorded exchanges actually went up even when the cathedral's charter production was decreasing. It seems that this increase might have reflected the chapter's reaction to relatively difficult years after 1134: by switching to a strategy based on exchanges, it was able to use existing possessions to reorganize and consolidate its property base instead of making new acquisitions through purchase or donation.

There is thus a clear association to be made between the Cathedral of Calahorra's independent flowering and the period during which the Rioja hovered on the periphery of Alfonso I's political and strategic vision, which was determinedly focussed during this period on Aragon's southwards expansion into and beyond the lower Ebro. Alfonso VII's re-annexation of the Rioja for Leon-Castile in 1134 and his identification of the region as the base from which to project his authority over the entire north-eastern corner of the Iberian Peninsula equally clearly marked the bursting of Calahorra's developmental bubble. Sancho de Funes is absent from the cathedral's documentary record between August 1134 and April 1139. His confirmation during that period of no less than 14 of Alfonso VII's diplomas provides a clear indication that the King of Leon-Castile was not tolerant of the independence with which the bishop had been building up his cathedral, which he promptly deflated by retaining him at court where he could be brought firmly into line with a Castilian

episcopate that was both highly politicized and heavily dominated by the crown.¹²⁸ That the royal charters witnessed by the Bishop of Calahorra during this period included four that recorded the king's patronage of San Millán de la Cogolla, and six that recorded his patronage of Santa María la Real de Nájera, but none indicating any positive royal predisposition towards the Cathedral of Calahorra, confirms Alfonso VII's displeasure at recent independent calahorran developments.¹²⁹

Just as 1134 signaled a sudden stagnation in the evolutionary activity that had transformed cathedral and chapter of Calahorra during the previous fifteen years, the period 1139–1146 witnessed a partial revival of the cathedral's fortunes, which coincided with Sancho de Funes' reappearance on the cathedral's documentary record. During these years, the activity of the scriptorium, the canon's documentary visibility, and the cathedral's territorial acquisitions all picked up again, although they neither regained their former pace within Sancho de Funes' lifetime, nor were they underscored by any major institutional developments. It seems that after four intensely politicized years spent at the Leonese-Castilian court, the Bishop of Calahorra had proven his loyalty to Alfonso VII's riojan regime, and was allowed to resume productive contact with his cathedral. His continuing obedience to the king, which is reflected in his confirmation of another 11 Leonese-Castilian royal charters between April 1139 and his death in December 1146, set the stage for the modest revival of his cathedral's developmental fortunes. More significantly, it set the stage for Alfonso VII's future recruitment of the Bishopric of Calahorra as the ecclesiastical

¹²⁸ Ibid., 109-110, 115-6; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 365-6, 369-71; Del Alamo (ed.), *Oña*, vol.I, 173 & 177; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 45 & 48; Ciriaco López de Silanes & Eliseo Sainz Ripa (eds.), *Colección diplomática calceatense, archivo Catedral (1125-1397)*, Logroño, 1985, 2; Bernard Reilly, 'On Getting to be Bishop in León-Castile: The "Emperor" Alfonso VII and the post-gregorian Church', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 1 (1978), pp.37-68.

¹²⁹ Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 365, 366, & 369-70; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 109-10 & 115-6; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 45 & 48.

centrepiece of a riojan regime from which Leon-Castile's hegemony was projected over the whole of north-eastern Iberia. The first piece of royal patronage to come the way of the Cathedral of Calahorra after 1134, a piece of land donated by Alfonso VII's son, the *Infante* Sancho (and future Sancho III of Castile, 1147-1148) on April 22, 1145, marked the cathedral's acceptance into the political framework of the Crown of Leon-Castile.¹³⁰ It also heralded the beginning of close political co-operation between the Bishopric of Calahorra and the Kings of Leon-Castile, and then Castile, which would define the see's history for much of the episcopate of Funes' successor, Rodrigo Cascante.

¹³⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 139.

Year	<i>Prior</i>	<i>Procurator/Operator/ Preposito Fabricae/Sacricustode</i>	<i>Sacrista/Subsacrista</i>	<i>Presbiter</i>
1116				
1117				
1118				
1119				Don Garcia
1120				
1121				
1122				
1123				
1124	Juan	Gerardo		
1125		Gerardo	Velasco	
1126	Juan Quiram	Gerardo	Velasco	
1127	Juan Quiram	Gerardo		
1128				
1129	Don Juan Quiram		Velasco	Don Raimundo
1130				
1131				
1132	Juan		Velasco	Julián
1133				Julián
1134	Juan Quiram	Gerardo	Velasco	
1135				
1136				
1137				
1138				
1139	Juan	Don Velasco	Juan Fortún	Juan Zaeit
1140				
1141				
1142	Juan Felices			Domingo
1143	Juan			
1144	Juan Felices	Velasco	Pedro	
1145	Juan		Velasco Pérez	
1146				

Table 1: Named members of Sancho de Funes' chapter (part 1).

Year	Chaplain	Untitled	Total
1116			
1117			
1118			
1119		Pedro Marco, Pedro of Nájera, Juan Felices, Velasco, Domingo.	7
1120			
1121			
1122			
1123			
1124		Velasco, Juan Felices, Pedro, Domingo, Pedro Jiménez, Esteban, Juan Abbas.	9
1125		Pedro Marco, Juan Abbas, Pedro of Nájera, Juan Felices, Gómez, Pedro Carbón, Domingo Carbón, Juan Quiram, Pedro Jiménez.	11
1126			3
1127		Pedro Carbón, Juan Fortún, Don Domingo.	5
1128			
1129		Don Pedro Carbón	4
1130			
1131			
1132		'Abbas' Juan Senior, Juan Felices, Pedro Carbón, Pedro Jiménez, Diego Domínguez, Master Domingo, 'de pueris clericis': Juan nephew of Julian Presbyter and Francellus nephew of Domingo.	9 + 2 oblates
1133			
1134	Pedro Carbón		4
1135			
1136			
1137		Velasco, Don Domingo	3
1138			
1139		Juan Felices, Pedro Carbón.	6
1140		Velasco, Juan Felices, Pedro Carbón, Pedro Jiménez.	4
1141			
1142		Pedro de Grañón	3
1143			1
1144	Juan Fortún	Pedro Carbón, Pedro Jiménez.	6
1145	Juan	Pedro Carbón, Pedro Jiménez, Francisco.	6
1146			

Table 1: Named members of Sancho de Funes' chapter (part 2).

The Development of Calahorra's Administrative and Territorial Interests

Apart from the rapid rise of its cathedral institutions, the Bishopric of Calahorra also developed in a wider territorial sense under Sancho de Funes. This territorial evolution, while clearly significant, was not as dramatic as the cathedral's rise, from which it was moreover largely disconnected. This more conventional aspect of Calahorra's diocesan development provided the context for Alfonso I's limited, and subsequently Alfonso VII's more extensive, involvement in the bishopric's internal affairs, as the kings harnessed the see's growing diocesan administration to the extension of their own power in the Rioja and beyond.

The most significant element of the Bishopric of Calahorra's territorial development during this period was represented by the introduction of archdeacons on an entirely unprecedented scale to administer the increasingly territorial archdeaconries that began gradually to take shape within the see. Only three archdeacons are associated with the diocese in the sources relating to the episcopates of Sancho de Funes' predecessors (above, p.89). By contrast, the sources identify no less than ten distinct individuals in the four clearly differentiated Archdeaconries of Calahorra, Nájera, Alava, and Berberiego, under Sancho de Funes between 1122 and 1146.¹³¹

The activity of Calahorra's archdeacons, which is recorded in 21 surviving charters, allows us to glimpse the powers and responsibilities that defined their role within the bishopric. The picture that emerges is one of ecclesiastical potentates who constituted the fundamental component of the bishop's retinue, but were also, in some

¹³¹ Ibid., 87, 90, 108, 114, 118, 122-3, 131, 133-4, & 143; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 346 & 370; Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 121 & 228.

cases, active administrators of distinct geographical archdeaconries. Their important position within the episcopal court that accompanied Sancho de Funes on his diocesan visitations is reflected by the confirmation by the Archdeacons of Alava, Calahorra, and Nájera of an episcopal transaction concerning the tithes of the upper riojan manor of Camprovín with the monks of San Millán in 1122.¹³² It is further illustrated by the presence of the Archdeacons of Calahorra, Nájera, Alava, and Berberiego to witness an agreement reached between the bishop and that same monastery over the possession and ecclesiastical administration of Madríz, another manor in the upper Rioja, in 1137, and the confirmation by the Archdeacon of Alava and Archdeacon 'don Gerardo' of a property exchange effected between Sancho de Funes and the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera in 1143.¹³³ The fact that all of the episcopal transactions thus witnessed by these calahorran archdeacons revolved around the management of diocesan lordship, jurisdiction, and/or fiscal administration, reflects the emphatically territorial nature of the authority with which they were invested.

This authority, used here in support of the bishop's own diocesan government, was most significant when applied within Calahorra's emerging geographical archdeaconries. The see's division into territorial archdeaconries under Sancho de Funes was neither comprehensive nor geographically even. The Archdeacon of Calahorra's effective exclusion from the cathedral's administration and territorial expansion, which has already been discussed, necessarily dictated the inability of this figure to transpose the theoretical territorial rights that went with his title into any sort of meaningful reality. Similarly, there is no evidence that the Archdeaconry of

¹³² Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 346.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 370; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 133.

Berberiego, which would later crystallize around Viana and Bernedo in the small block of lands north of the Upper Rioja and south of Alava, became a territorial reality during this period.¹³⁴ This fact was surely linked to the late and fleeting appearance in the documentary record of Raimundo, its only archdeacon under Sancho de Funes.¹³⁵ On the other hand, the territorial aspect of the Archdeaconries of Nájera and Alava was forcefully extended during this period. An examination into the ways in which these two archdeaconries were promoted, and by whom, will reveal two very different ways in which the territorial authority of Calahorra's archdeacons could be put to use in the simultaneous service of the interests of the see and the crowns to which it belonged, and how the Bishopric of Calahorra stood to benefit from that collaboration.

Nájera/Santo Domingo de la Calzada

In the first half of the twelfth century, Santo Domingo de la Calzada was a small urban complex situated on the western edge of Calahorra's diocese, within the Archdeaconry of Nájera. Its importance as a stage-post at the end of the riojan leg of the *Camino de Santiago* had been growing rapidly since the construction of its bridge over the river Oja in the late eleventh century and the foundation of its church at the beginning of the twelfth. The Bishops of Calahorra, who had been involved in Santo Domingo's original foundation, had been entrusted with its lordship around 1106. By the 1120's, this pilgrimage-town boasted a bridge, a church and accompanying

¹³⁴ Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'Un Mapa de la Diócesis de Calahorra en 1257', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 60 (1954), p.377.

¹³⁵ The Archdeacon of Berberiego appears only twice in the sources relating to the episcopate of Sancho de Funes, in 1137 and 1138: Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 118; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 370.

buildings dedicated to the shelter of pilgrims, a weekly market, and substantial landed endowments.¹³⁶

Given Calahorra's enduring exclusion from the former episcopal city of Nájera after the transfer of the diocesan church of Santa María la Real de Nájera to Cluny by Alfonso VI in 1077 (above, pp.68-74), it is not surprising that successive Archdeacons of Nájera were firmly installed in the up-and-coming *camino* town of Santo Domingo de la Calzada during Sancho de Funes' episcopate. Once there, they energetically promoted the town's development in close collaboration with both their own bishop and the Kings of Aragon and Leon-Castile.

In 1120, the 'Brotherhood of the House of La Calzada', which ran a hostel for pilgrims in the town, handed over the lordship of their foundation to the Bishop of Calahorra.¹³⁷ The absence of any reference to an archdeacon in Santo Domingo in the document that records this donation, and indeed the absence of any Archdeacon of Nájera from the sources before 1122, indicates that Sancho de Funes had not yet delegated the management of the *camino* town to his diocesan subordinate by that date. However, when Alfonso I donated a property in 'Olgobarte' (Jubarte,) to Santo Domingo on June 17, 1125, his gift was made out to both the Bishop of Calahorra, and to '*dompno Petro archidiacono qui eius loci custos et hedificator habetur*'.¹³⁸ From that date until the end of Funes' episcopate in 1146, the diocesan administrators of Santo Domingo de la Calzada received one more territorial donation from Alfonso I of Aragon. From Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile they received another such donation, as well as two confirmations of their holdings, and two rulings in their favour of a

¹³⁶ Eduardo Azofra Agustín, 'Desarrollo urbano de Santo Domingo de la Calzada en los tiempos medievales. Nuevas aportaciones históricas', *III Semana de Estudios Medievales: Nájera, del 3 al 7 de Agosto de 1992*, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño, 1993, p.245.

¹³⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 57.

¹³⁸ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 121.

diocesan dispute with the Bishopric of Burgos over Santo Domingo's possession.¹³⁹ A common characteristic of all of these royal grants to Santo Domingo is the emphasis they place on the town's possession by the Bishopric of Calahorra, and its administration by a calahorran archdeacon. These diplomas are thus all addressed either to the archdeacon in Santo Domingo, who is variously identified as '*eius loci custos*' or '*eiusdem loci et gubernatori et rectori*', or to the bishop himself, who in one case is specifically identified as Lord of Santo Domingo.¹⁴⁰

In the light of this steady flow of royal patronage, to which should be added the royal protection and extensive pasturage and fishing rights extended to Santo Domingo by Alfonso I in July 1124, perhaps before the archdeacon's installation in the town, it is clear that both Alfonso I and Alfonso VII displayed a profound and sustained interest in this growing settlement.¹⁴¹ This royal interest was prompted not only by a perception, which had been common to Iberian monarchs since the early eleventh century, of the importance of encouraging the flow of pilgrimage and trade through their territories through the promotion of the Jacobean routes that led to Santiago de Compostela, but also by Santo Domingo's strategic location on the western edge of the Rioja, and less than 20km south of Haro, the riojan seat of the immensely powerful and frequently rebellious Lords of Vizcaya.¹⁴²

The King of Aragon's desire to promote Santo Domingo's development as a *camino* town is reflected in his donation to its church in 1125 of land on which he specified that its archdeacon was to build houses, and again in another territorial

¹³⁹ Ibid., 228; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *Santo Domingo*, 10-1; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 114 & 127; López de Silanes & Sainz Ripa (eds), *Calceatense*, 2.

¹⁴⁰ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 121 & 228; Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *Santo Domingo*, 10.

¹⁴¹ Ubieta Arteta (ed.), *Santo Domingo*, 6.

¹⁴² Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *El Camino de Santiago y la sociedad medieval: Actas de la Reunión Científica, Logroño, 12 a 23 de abril de 1999*, Logroño, 2000, pp.9-12; Lema Pueyo, *Tenencias navarras*, pp.62-3 & 66.

donation made in 1133 '*ad consolacionem vel sustentacionem pauperum, clericorum sive laicorum Deo ibidem servientium, sive etiam causa Christi peregrinantium*'.¹⁴³

Alfonso VII also stressed that one of his donations to Santo Domingo was made with the maintenance of pilgrims in mind, while another was made out to its present and future settlers, reflecting a royal desire to encourage the town's sustained growth.¹⁴⁴

The donations made to Santo Domingo in 1133 by Alfonso I, and in 1135 by Alfonso VII can also be attributed to the desire of the former to reinforce his hold on his western border in the face of increasing Castilian pressure, and of the latter to consolidate his gains after his triumphant takeover of the region in 1134.¹⁴⁵

On the other hand, Alfonso I's extension of royal protection and fiscal privileges to Santo Domingo in July 1124, and the donation he made to the town in June 1125, are both clearly linked to the king's policy with respect to Diego López de Haro and Ladrón, lords of the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Alava respectively.¹⁴⁶ The first of these grants was thus issued '*in obsidione quam rex tenuit circa castellum Fari, cum Latro et Didaco Lopez regi insidiantes guerram agebant*', and represents an unambiguous royal overture to Santo Domingo in the context of the Basque lords' rebellion.¹⁴⁷ The other was issued within the town of Haro itself, and can be interpreted as part of a royal policy aimed at emphasizing the submission of Haro after the flight of its lord, Diego López, to the court of Leon-Castile, while at the same time ostentatiously building up Santo Domingo as a counterweight to the power of its new and potentially dangerous tenant, Count Ladrón.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 121 & 228.

¹⁴⁴ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Santo Domingo*, 10 & 12.

¹⁴⁵ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 228; Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Santo Domingo*, 10-1; López de Silanes & Sainz Ripa (eds.), *Calceatense*, 2.

¹⁴⁶ Lema Pueyo, *Tenencias navarras*, pp.62-3.

¹⁴⁷ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Santo Domingo*, 6.

¹⁴⁸ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 121; Lema Pueyo, *Tenencias navarras*, pp. 62-3 & 66.

In 1137 and 1140 Alfonso VII also delivered two judgements of the diocesan territorial dispute that had been sparked by the Bishop of Burgos' claim that Santo Domingo was situated within the geographical limits of his see. The King of Leon-Castile ruled the issue in Calahorra's favour on both occasions.¹⁴⁹ The introduction to his second judgement is especially revealing, as it mentions that when the king had first heard the case in 1137, Count Lope (who had been re-instated in the tenancy of Haro around 1135) had been rebelling against him in his riojan stronghold.¹⁵⁰ In the light of this, it seems likely that the king's ruling in Calahorra's favour in 1137 had been at least partially motivated by his desire to quash Burgos' territorial claims before they weakened Calahorra's hold on Santo Domingo just when he needed it to be strongest in the face of a revolt centered on Haro. The identification of the Bishop of Calahorra as '*eius loci protector*' and '*prescripti loci defensator et dominus*' in two of the royal charters concerning Santo Domingo de la Calzada that we have been examining seems to have reflected the very real defensive function of Sancho de Funes' lordship over the town within the riojan politics of the Kings of Aragon and Leon-Castile.¹⁵¹

The extensive contributions of both Alfonso I and Alfonso VII to the development of Santo Domingo de la Calzada during this period were motivated by a desire to extend and defend their economic and military interests in the upper Rioja. The overwhelmingly positive implications of this royal policy for the Bishopric of Calahorra included the substantial extension of its lordship in Santo Domingo, and the establishment of the town as an increasingly powerful territorial base for the otherwise seat-less Archdeacon of Nájera. As a result of the strategic interest of the

¹⁴⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 114 & 127.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 127; Lema Pueyo, *Tenencias navarras*, p.63.

¹⁵¹ Lacarra (ed.), *Ebro*, vol.I, 121 & 228.

two kings in their budding *camino* town, the Bishop of Calahorra and his Archdeacon of Nájera were able to lay the foundations for a centralized and influential territorial administration in the Archdeaconry of Nájera. They were also able to secure the support of one of those kings in the face of a serious external diocesan challenge to their possession of what was without doubt one of the Bishopric of Calahorra's most important economic and religious assets.

Alava/Armentia

The episcopate of Sancho de Funes also saw the establishment of the Archdeaconry of Alava, which represented a far more emphatically territorial development than the installation of the Archdeacon of Nájera in the growing, but nevertheless compact and decidedly urban, centre of Santo Domingo de la Calzada. Previous efforts by the Bishops of Calahorra to bring the alavan church under the authority of their see had invariably ended in near or total failure, and the creation during this period of an Archdeaconry in Alava with a centre in Armentia, the seat of the erstwhile Bishops of Alava, from which an extensive administrative network was projected over clearly identified alavan parishes, was therefore extremely significant.¹⁵²

The first indication of Sancho de Funes' intentions regarding the administrative penetration of Alava is provided by the appearance in the documentary record of García Andreas, the see's first Archdeacon of Alava, in 1122.¹⁵³ The second comes in a document dated August 16, 1134, when the Bishop of Calahorra had

¹⁵² Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, *Geografía eclesiástica de España: Estudio histórico-geográfico de las diócesis*, Rome, 1994, vol.II, p.193.

¹⁵³ Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 346.

himself described as ruling in his diocese '*usque in fines Alave*' in the dating clause of an episcopal charter.¹⁵⁴ Then, on July 4, 1135, the Archdeaconry of Alava was officially founded by the Bishop of Calahorra, and its archdeacon installed in Armentia.

The charter which describes Sancho de Funes' foundation of the territorial Archdeaconry of Alava records the installation of 'maestro Pedro, archdeacon' in an existing episcopal estate in Armentia. The archdeacon was to take over the administration of the manor, and deliver to the bishop half of the annual produce of its dairy herd. He was endowed with the bishop's share of the tithe of 20 named alavan parishes (the nine that I have been able to identify are plotted on map 3), as well as half of the bishop's revenues from the tithe of the region of '*Iveta*', a reference to what is today known as the river Ayuda, next to which Armentia is located.¹⁵⁵ He was to maintain ten clerks in the church of San Andrés de Armentia, two of whom should be priests. At the bottom of the charter, the livestock and some of the household items that were to be included in the endowment of 'maestro Pedro' were listed as: nine cows, four donkeys, twenty pigs and seven piglets, as well as ten carpets and bedding for his clerks.¹⁵⁶

The seigniorial nature of the Archdeacon of Alava's endowment is faithfully reflected in the language used to formalize its delegation. The bishop thus referred to the newly-established archdeaconry as '*istum honorem*', and bestowed it on Master Pedro on condition that he break off any obligations he owed to other lords, with the

¹⁵⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 105.

¹⁵⁵ Jon Fernández de Larrea Rojas has identified *Iveta* with the region around the river Ayuda that would later crystallize into a lordship centred on Treviño, which is less than five kilometres downstream of Armentia. Jon Adoni Fernández de Larrea Rojas, 'Treviño, La Puebla de Arganzón y Alava en la Edad Media', José María Ortiz de Orruñ Legarda (ed.), *Informe sobre las vinculaciones históricas, culturales, sociales y económicas de Treviño y Alava*, Diputación Foral de Alava, Vitoria/Gasteiz, 2003, pp.38-9.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

warning that he should not accept any additional endowment from any other lord without the bishop's consent. The endowment in 1135 of the Archdeacon of Alava is especially relevant as it represents the first indication of the emergence in Calahorra of an internal administrative hierarchy constructed around the delegation of territorial ecclesiastical lordship.

The foundation charter of the Archdeaconry of Alava is also especially interesting in that it provides a snapshot of the creation of a diocesan territorial administration. Although the buildings, land, and livestock received by Archdeacon Pedro in July 1135 were already in the bishop's possession, there is no evidence that this was the case with the tithes that were included in his endowment, and if the church of San Andrés de Armentia was not entirely abandoned when he took it over, it was certainly in need of development. He was thus commanded to install ten clerks in the church of San Andrés, the implication being that there had not been any, or enough, there previously. These clerks were to help in the administration of the newly established archdeaconry, which consisted of the parishes of the 20 villages from whose tithes they were to be supported. There is no indication, either in this document, or in any others that pre-date it, that any of these villages had ever paid tithes to Calahorra before. In the context of the severe limitations to which previous calahorran attempts at bringing the alavan church under their jurisdiction had been consistently subject, it seems unlikely. This being so, Sancho de Funes' establishment of Armentia as the administrative centre of the newly created Archdeaconry of Alava seems to have constituted a novel attempt to use an existing episcopal manor as a base from which to extend his bishopric's authority beyond the enclave of Armentia in what represented the first of Calahorra's major administrative inroads into the vast

province of Alava.¹⁵⁷ However, it is worth pointing out the limitations to which this administrative enterprise was subject, which become immediately apparent from a comparison between the area covered by the parishes associated with the Archdeacon of Alava's endowment and the province of Alava which his archdeaconry in theory covered in its entirety: this was an archdeaconry in-the-making.

Although there is no stated connection between the Bishop of Calahorra's installation of an archdeacon in Armentia and the extension of the King of Leon-Castile's influence into that region, the temporal coincidence of the two is certainly close enough to merit consideration. While calahorran aspirations to extend the administrative authority of the diocese over Alava had existed since the early 1120's, there is no evidence that these were transposed into any kind of territorial reality before the foundation of an alavan archdeaconry based around Armentia in July 1135. Bearing in mind that the greatest obstacle to previous attempts by the Bishops of Calahorra to extend their diocesan authority into Alava had been presented by the resistance of a powerful and highly autonomous regional nobility (see above, pp.107-13), it seems eminently likely that the see's bold entrance into its northern province in July 1135 had in fact been made possible by the formal submission to the King of Leon-Castile of Lope Díaz de Haro, Lord of Vizcaya, and Count Ladrón, Lord of Alava, in the spring of that year, just before Alfonso VII's imperial coronation in the city of León.¹⁵⁸ This hypothesis is supported by a consideration of the weakness of Alfonso I of Aragon's hold on these Basque territories throughout his reign, which would have provided favourable conditions for effective local resistance to the imposition of a riojan ecclesiastical authority.¹⁵⁹ It can be extended in the light of the

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁵⁸ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.48.

¹⁵⁹ Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, p.194; Lema Pueyo, *Tenencias navarras*, pp.61-9.

evident centrality to Alfonso VII's dominance in the north-east after 1134 of the maintenance of a strong influence over his semi-autonomous Basque counts: Calahorra's administrative expansion into Alava in 1135 may provide evidence not only that the see took advantage of a royally-dictated weakening of the independence of the Basque nobility, but also that the Crown of Leon-Castile perceived its newly-assimilated riojan bishopric as a valuable tool in the extension and consolidation of its authority over the Basque regions of Alava and Vizcaya.

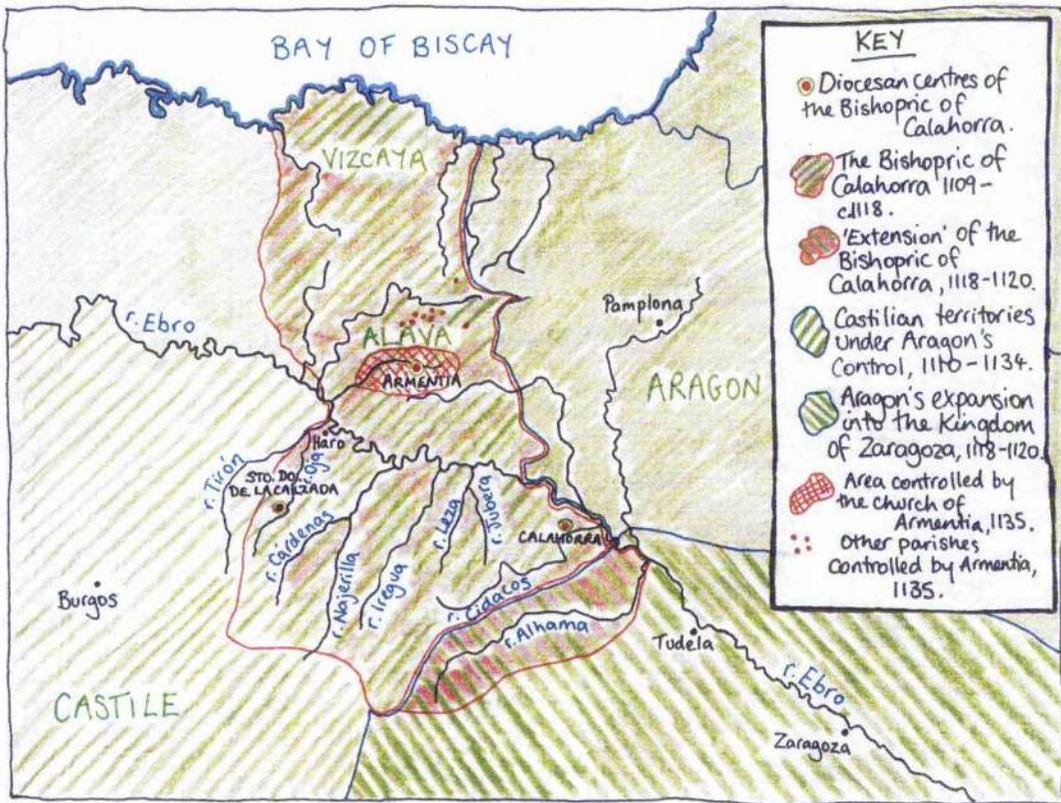
The evident collaboration between the Crowns of Aragon and Leon-Castile and the Bishopric of Calahorra in the development of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and the implicit co-operation between the Crown of Leon-Castile and the riojan see in the extension of Calahorra's administrative presence in Alava, both stand in stark contrast to the exclusion of the diocese from the consolidation and social reorganization of Alfonso I's conquests in the Alhama valley, and the highly conspicuous absence of royal patronage of the Cathedral of Calahorra following Alfonso VII's annexation of the Rioja in 1134. Unlike the development during this period of the Cathedral of Calahorra, in which royal authority played a negligible part, and which was eyed with the greatest of suspicion by Alfonso VII after 1134, the development of the see's territorial administrative capacity was promoted by the Kings of Aragon and Leon-Castile as a tool in the extension of their own regional power.

Conclusions

Under Sancho de Funes, the Bishopric of Calahorra developed in two very different and almost entirely unconnected ways, both of which were inextricably linked to the function of the see within the riojan frontier politics of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Leon-Castile.

The earlier and more spectacular of the two concerned the meteoric and highly independent rise of the Cathedral of Calahorra in the context of the weak presence of Alfonso I of Aragon in the Rioja while he pursued the massive southwards expansion of his kingdom into and beyond the lower Ebro valley. This development was arrested by the subsequent annexation of the Rioja by an ascendant and forcefully eastwards-looking Leonese-Castilian Crown, which built up the region as a base from which to exert its influence over neighbouring Aragon, Navarre, and the Basque regions of Alava and Vizcaya.

The second, more conventional aspect of the Calahorra's development during this period concerned the extension of its territorial diocesan administration. Conversely to its cathedral's independent rise, this area of the see's evolution was actively promoted by the two kings to which it was in turn subject as a means whereby they consolidated and extended the frontiers of their own power in the region. Accordingly, it gained impetus once the Rioja had become the base for the northwards and eastwards projection of Leonese-Castilian after 1134, receiving its clearest expression in Calahorra's administrative expansion into Alava.



Map 3: The Bishopric of Calahorra, 1116-1146.

PART FOUR

COMING OF AGE: CALAHORRA UNDER BISHOP RODRIGO CASCANTE, 1147-1190

4.1 THE BISHOP AND ROYAL AUTHORITY

The first uncontested documentary appearance of Rodrigo Cascante as Bishop of Calahorra occurs in the dating clause of a charter issued on May 18, 1147.¹ His death on October 1, 1190 is recorded in his cathedral's necrology.² The 43 years that elapsed between those two dates witnessed the longest episcopate in the entire history of the Bishopric of Calahorra.³ They also overlapped with the reigns of three successive Kings of Leon-Castile and Castile: the 'Emperor' Alfonso VII, king of a united Leon-Castile from 1127 until 1157, into whose kingdom the Rioja had been re-absorbed on the death of Alfonso I of Aragon in 1134; Sancho III, his eldest son, who was endowed with the 'Kingdom of Nájera', comprising the Rioja and adjoining parts of Old Castile, as well as the lordship of Navarrese Artajona, by his father in 1152 and briefly occupied Castile's throne from August 1157 to July 1158; and Sancho's successor Alfonso VIII, who inherited the Crown of Castile at the age of three, attained his majority in November 1169 aged fourteen, and went on to outlive Rodrigo Cascante by 24 years.⁴

¹ Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol.II, 145.

² Angel Carmelo Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), 'Crónica-obituario de Calahorra', *Berceo* 97 (1979), p.104.

³ Eliseo Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1994, vol.I, p.378.

⁴ The territorial endowment that the *Infante* Sancho received from Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile, which centred on the Rioja, has been defined as the 'Kingdom of Nájera' by both Julio González and Juan Francisco Elizari: Julio González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, Madrid, 1960,

The dramatic transformations that determined the course of Castile's political history during the second half of the twelfth century greatly affected the way in which the Bishop of Calahorra interacted with both the Crown of Castile, and the neighbouring Kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon. His changing relations with these three powers were determined by the extremely volatile political landscape of his see, which perched on the explosive and highly unstable borderlands over which they competed.

Between 1147 and 1157, and especially after 1152, when the future Sancho III ruled in the 'Kingdom of Nájera', the relationship between Rodrigo Cascante and the Crown of Leon-Castile was characterized by their intense collaboration in the consolidation and extension of Castile's north-eastern frontier. This was toned down notably when Sancho III's accession to the Castilian throne on August 21, 1157, was accompanied by the dismantling of the erstwhile 'Kingdom of Nájera' and the refocussing of the king's political and military energies westwards and southwards.⁵ It was further obscured in the context of the civil war into which Castile was plunged by the unexpected death of Sancho III on July 31, 1158, and the succession of his three-year-old heir, Alfonso VIII, and the opportunistic Navarrese invasion of much of the Rioja which followed it.⁶ The rehabilitation of the Castilian Crown in the late 1160's and its vigorous campaign, which lasted for most of the 1170's, to re-assert a position of dominance on its border with Navarre, was accompanied by a revival of the

vol.I, p.773; Juan Francisco Elizari, *Sancho VI el Sabio, Rey de Navarra*, Iruña, 1991, p.43. I have adopted this denomination despite the fact that the *Infante* Sancho, although frequently referred to in royal diplomas as 'Rex', is nowhere described as 'King of Nájera', owing to the consistent identification of the north-easternmost territories of the Crown of Leon-Castile that made up his endowment as 'Naigara' in the dating clauses of royal diplomas that read: '*Imperante Adefonso imperatore Toleti, Legionis, Gallecia, Naigara, Sarragocia, Baecia, et Almaria*'. A few of the many diplomas which employ this dating-clause can be found in: González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, & 15.

⁵ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.I, pp.667-71 & 890-1.

⁶ Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Alfonso VIII, Rey de Castilla y Toledo*, Burgos, 1995, pp.23-35; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.I, pp.147-71.

collaborative efforts that had defined its relations with Calahorra in the mid-1150's.⁷ However, this proximity came to an abrupt end following the re-marginalization of the politics of Castile's north-eastern borders after April 1179. The last decade of Cascante's episcopate was dominated by a distinct cooling of relations between his see and the Crown of Castile, which was accompanied by his establishment of increasingly close ties with his Aragonese metropolitan, the Archbishop of Tarragona.⁸

An analysis of each of these four phases in Cascante's relationships with the Crowns of Castile-Leon/Castile, Navarre, and Aragon (i.e. May 1147–August 1157, August 1157–August 1166, August 1166–April 1179, and April 1179–March 1190) will illustrate both the nature of those changing relations, and the underlying factors that determined their successive transformations.

Rodrigo Cascante and the Crown of Leon-Castile, 1147-1157

Barely more than ten years passed between Rodrigo Cascante's becoming Bishop of Calahorra sometime between November 1146 and May 1147, and the death of Alfonso VII on August 21, 1157. Nonetheless, the Bishop of Calahorra confirmed no less than 47 of Alfonso VII and the *Infante* Sancho's surviving charters during that time.⁹ The frequency with which he witnessed the charters of the King of Leon-Castile and his eldest legitimate son increased fairly steadily throughout this period,

⁷ Martínez Díez, *Alfonso VIII*, pp.35-40 & 84-91. González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.I, pp.172-81 & 792-820.

⁸ Pablo Díaz Bodegas, *La Diócesis de Calahorra y La Calzada en el siglo XIII (La sede, sus obispos e instituciones)*, Logroño, 1995, pp.68-9. Martínez Díez, *Alfonso VIII*, pp.66-72 & 125-34.

⁹ I have arrived at this figure after rejecting those royal diplomas of Alfonso VII and Sancho III that Bernard Reilly has identified as being untrustworthy on the grounds of stylistic inconsistency or implausible witness-lists. Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, Philadelphia, 1998, pp.323-98.

for every single year of which his presence in the entourage of either one or the other is recorded. His attendance at their courts took him far from his episcopal seat: he put in numerous curial appearances at locations as far apart from each other and as distant from Calahorra as Toledo and Carrión de los Condes.¹⁰ His presence was also occasionally recorded in such far-flung places as Baeza, León, and Avila.¹¹ By way of contrast, it is worth noting that only eight surviving documents from this period record the Bishop of Calahorra dealing with business relating to the administration of his own diocese. Rodrigo Cascante was clearly deeply committed during these years to rendering his personal service to the Crown of Leon-Castile.

The obligations towards the crown of a great curial magnate like the Bishop of Calahorra were both political and military in nature. The former included attendance of symbolic ceremonial occasions that proclaimed the prestige and power of the monarch, and the provision of counsel and highly visible public support in the context of the royal curia. The latter entailed contributions, made in person or by proxy, to royal military campaigns, as well as an independent commitment to the defence of the territorial integrity of the kingdom. It is indicative of Rodrigo Cascante's proximity to Alfonso VII and the *Infante* Sancho that he cannot be faulted in his performance of a single one of these services.

His attendance of the great royal ceremonial occasions that marked this period is indeed remarkable. He was present in January 1151 when the newly-crowned Sancho VI of Navarre came to Burgos to perform homage to Alfonso VII and give his

¹⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 149 & 205; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 10, 15, 28-9, & 42-3; Juan del Alamo (ed.), *Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Salvador de Oña (822-1214)*, Madrid, 1950, vol.I, 203.

¹¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 146; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 16 & 39.

sister, Blanca of Navarre, to the *Infante* Sancho in marriage.¹² He was also present when the future Sancho III was knighted by his father in Valladolid in February 1152, and at the wedding of the Castilian *Infanta* Sancha to Sancho VI of Navarre in Carrión de los Condes in July 1153. This wedding was accompanied by the knighting of the Navarrese king by the King of Leon-Castile, and the loaded renewal of the vows of fealty in which the King of Navarre's ultimate political dependence on the Crown of Leon-Castile was enshrined.¹³ Finally, his presence at the court of the Castilian *Infante* Sancho in Nájera on August 30, 1156, just eighteen days after the death of his queen and in the same town in which she had been laid to rest, indicates that he was most likely also at the funeral of Blanca of Navarre.¹⁴

The Bishop of Calahorra also provided the Castilian royal house with counsel and public support during some of this period's most critical political junctures, and represented Castile in political negotiations at the highest levels. In March 1149, he attended a royal court in Burgos that was summoned in response to the recent passing of Berenguela, Alfonso VII's Catalan queen, who, as the sister of Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona and effective ruler of Aragon during this period, had symbolised a solid alliance between Castile and Aragon.¹⁵ Her death removed the foundation of that bond and therefore called for urgent discussion of Castile's alignment (or re-alignment) with respect to her north-eastern neighbours. It was also at this court, and in the context of Berenguela's passing, that the *Infante* Sancho was allowed by his father to take some important steps towards consolidating his status as

¹² Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 157; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, p.48.

¹³ Luciano Serrano, *El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva, ss.V-XIII*, Madrid, 1936, vol.III (Documentación), 110; Cristina Monterde Albiac (ed.), *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Fitero (1140-1210)*, Zaragoza, 1996, 27; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 172; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp. 51-3.

¹⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 193.

¹⁵ Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de Valvanera, ss.XI-XIII*, Zaragoza, 1985, 220; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 151.

heir-apparent by making his first public appearance with a court and *majordomo* of his own. This represented a very conscious move to secure the rights of Berenguela's children to Alfonso VII's crown in advance of his re-marriage. Discussion of the Leonese-Castilian succession was therefore also presumably high on the agenda when the curia met at Burgos in March 1149.¹⁶

In December 1155 Rodrigo Cascante was present at another one of Alfonso VII's councils, again in Burgos, at which important decisions concerning the political future of the kingdom were given a public airing. The birth of a son, the future Alfonso VIII, to the *Infante* Sancho and Blanca of Navarre in mid-November had erected a barrier to the eventual succession of Sancho's younger brother, Fernando, to the throne of a united Leon-Castile. It was in this context, and in an attempt to avert future dynastic conflict, that the division of Castile and Leon between the *Infantes* Sancho (who was to inherit Castile) and Fernando (the future King of Leon) on Alfonso VII's passing was seriously contemplated for the first time.¹⁷

The Bishop of Calahorra seems also to have been a valued royal diplomat during this period. Rodrigo Cascante was with Alfonso VII when he went to negotiate a truce between Ramón Berenguer IV, the effective ruler of Aragon after his betrothal in 1137 to Petronila, the heir to the Aragonese Crown, and García Ramírez of Navarre in order to pacify his eastern border after Navarrese incursions into Aragon early in 1148.¹⁸ He was also present when the marriage of the Castilian *Infanta* Sancha to Sancho VI of Navarre was arranged in 1153, and when Sancho III met with Ramón

¹⁶ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.106.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.128 & González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.I, p.144.

¹⁸ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 147; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.102, Thomas Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragón: A Short History*, Oxford, 1986, pp.31-2.

Berenguer IV in Nájima in February 1158, in order to sign an aggressive pact against Navarre.¹⁹

Rodrigo Cascante's record of military service to the Castilian Crown is also a glowing one. He joined three out of seven campaigns led by Alfonso VII to the south of the peninsula during this period: the expedition that took Almería in 1147, and the campaigns mounted during the summers of 1155 and 1157.²⁰ Furthermore, in 1154 he was with the king in Toledo in what seems to have been a mission to fortify the southern frontier and make preparations for the expedition of 1155.²¹ Cascante was bishop of a relatively poor northern see that stood to make no direct gains either in terms of territory or security from the southward extension of the frontiers of Christian Iberia. His contribution of armed contingents which he led in person to join three royal campaigns that penetrated deep into the Muslim south, as well as one defensive operation aimed at consolidating Leon-Castile's southern border, therefore shows notable commitment to the Crown of Leon-Castile's project of southward expansion.

Regional Collaboration

The explanation for the impressive depth and breadth of Rodrigo Cascante's commitment to the political projects of Alfonso VII and the future Sancho III, lies in the Diocese of Calahorra itself, and the neatness with which the interests of its bishop dovetailed with those of his Leonese-Castilian rulers during this period. Indeed, the distinctly north-eastern flavour of every one of the aforementioned occasions on

¹⁹ Monterde Albiac (ed.), *Fitero*, 27; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 36; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.118.

²⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 146; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 29; Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.332.

²¹ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 15; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.122.

which the Bishop of Calahorra rendered his services to the Crown of Leon-Castile during this period, excepting only his assistance in its southern military campaigns, provides a revealing initial indication of Cascante's decidedly regional agenda.

This is further illustrated by the bishop's active and unfailing involvement in the defence of Castile's border with Navarre, which was largely coterminous with his own theoretical diocesan borders during this period.²² While the illegitimate García Ramírez occupied the throne of Navarre, the security of this frontier was safeguarded by his effective political dependence on Alfonso VII.²³ However, when García's son Sancho VI succeeded uncontested to the throne of Navarre in November 1150, relations between the two kingdoms became markedly tenser. His accession was accompanied by a calculated display of obedience, with the marriage of his sister, Blanca of Navarre, to the Castilian *Infante* Sancho, and his own performance of homage for the Kingdom of Navarre to the 'Emperor' Alfonso VII. It was also, however, followed by a pre-emptive demonstration of Leonese-Castilian might along the frontier separating the two realms, which Alfonso VII prowled in the company of the Basque Counts Ladrón and his heir Vela Ladrón, and Rodrigo and Gonzalo Pérez de Azagra, who between them held Alava, Vizcaya, and much of the Rioja at the time.²⁴ The Bishop of Calahorra assisted at each of these demonstrations of Leonese-Castilian regional dominance.²⁵

²² Although the Basque provinces of Alava and Vizcaya belonged nominally to the Kingdom of Navarre during this period, close contact between Count Ladrón, Lord of Alava and Vizcaya, and his son Vela Ladrón, with the court of Alfonso VII, to whom they had payed homage in 1135, indicates these provinces' distinctly Castilian leanings during the period 1147-1158. Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.48; José María Jover Zamora (ed.), *Historia de España, fundada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1969-1991, vol.IX: Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, 'La Reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política (1035-1217)', p.624.

²³ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.21-5.

²⁴ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.113.

²⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 157-8.

Then, in the spring of 1152, the *Infante* Sancho was sent by Alfonso VII to deal with his Navarrese namesake, who had ignored the overt warning of the year before and invaded Castilian territory south of the Ebro.²⁶ Rodrigo Cascante's presence in the retinue of the future Sancho III in Soria on May 27, 1152, when the newly created 'King of Nájera' was on his way to expel Sancho VI of Navarre from Castile's north-eastern borderlands, strongly suggests that the bishop was actively involved in the military defence of this Castilian frontier on this occasion.²⁷ It is likely that an exemption from royal taxation granted on June 17, 1153, by Sancho III to the clerics of Grañón, a town whose position some 20km south-east of the point at which the Ebro passes the Riojan town of Haro would have made it a likely victim of attack by Sancho VI in 1152, was in fact intended as a reward for the recent loyalty shown the Castilian *Infante* by the church in Grañón in the context of the Navarrese incursion. Cascante's involvement in Grañón's resistance can be inferred from the explicit identification of the Bishop of Calahorra as an indirect beneficiary of this royal grant: '*...sed tantumodo seruiatis Deo et episcopo uestro cum hereditate et familia uestra*'.²⁸

The eminently regional focus of Cascante's political concerns during this period are further illuminated by a comparison between his service to Alfonso VII and that which he rendered his son, the *Infante* Sancho. He witnessed 26 of Alfonso VII's surviving charters between becoming bishop in 1147 and the king's death ten years later. That figure translates into a frequency of about 2.6 confirmations per annum. This rate is significantly overshadowed by the evidence concerning the bishop's attendance on Sancho. Between February 1152, when the *Infante* was knighted,

²⁶ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.116.

²⁷ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

granted control over the 'Kingdom of Nájera', and from which date onwards he bore the title of king and issued charters in his own right, and his accession to the throne of Castile in August 1157, Rodrigo Cascante confirmed 21 of the extant charters of the future Sancho III, including one that Reilly considers to be his first genuine surviving diploma.²⁹ This figure translates into a rate of 3.82 per annum, which is notably higher than that at which the bishop witnessed the diplomas of Alfonso VII. This is especially relevant in consideration of the fact that the *Infante* was not yet king in his own right during those years. It is also worth noting that the bishop did not witness a single alfonsine diploma after February 1152 that was not also confirmed by Sancho. For the last five years of Alfonso VII's reign, Rodrigo Cascante only visited his court when his attendance on the 'King of Nájera' took him there. The consistency of his presence at the *Infante* Sancho's side could hardly be clearer.

The royal grants with which the Bishopric of Calahorra was showered during this period reveal much about both the proximity of the Bishopric of Calahorra to the *Infante* Sancho's 'Kingdom of Nájera', and the foundations and dynamics of their relationship. Calahorra received six such grants between the spring of 1147 and the summer of 1158. This number might be increased to seven, if the inadmissible date that led Reilly to reject another charter of donation could be demonstrated to be due rather to scribal error than to outright falsification.³⁰ Of these six (or seven) grants, only one was made by Alfonso VII, before the establishment of the *Infante* Sancho's riojan government in 1152.³¹ The other five (or six) were all made by Sancho in his capacity as ruler of the 'Kingdom of Nájera' between 1152 and 1157, and were

²⁹ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.379.

³⁰ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 5. There seems to be room for debate concerning the date of the document, as Reilly mentions that González dates it to 1152 despite all other sources giving a date of 1157: Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.378.

³¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 151.

especially concentrated in the years 1153-1155, when he was establishing his authority in the area.³² Calahorra undoubtedly enjoyed far greater royal favour under Sancho than it had done under his father. What is more, the frontier diocese was undoubtedly favoured over and above all of the other bishoprics that were associated with the *Infante's* government after 1152. Those that he dealt with most generously after Calahorra, namely Palencia and Segovia, only received two grants apiece between 1152 and 1158.³³ Sigüenza, Burgos, and Osma, the only other bishoprics to receive any donations from the future King of Castile during this period, received but one grant each.³⁴

The fundamental purpose served by the Bishopric of Calahorra in the establishment and consolidation of Sancho's power in the region is revealed by the contents of the grants themselves. Two of these contain donations of property. The first, dated June 18, 1155, transferred to the Cathedral of Calahorra the monastery of Santa María de Castejón, which was situated on a tributary to the Iregua river, some 60km west/south-west of Calahorra.³⁵ With the monastery came farmlands, vineyards, meadows, pasturelands, forests, wells, mills, and jurisdiction, in what constituted a significant donation of land and lordship. The second, made on September 18 of the same year, consisted of two pieces of land that lay between the villages of Autol and Quel beside the Cidacos River, about 10km from where it flowed through Calahorra on its way to join the Ebro.³⁶

When Alfonso VII had donated some property and watering-rights near Nájera to the cathedral six years before, he had listed alleviating the cathedral's poverty

³² Ibid., 181-3; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 5, 9, & 29.

³³ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 13, 41, & 48-9.

³⁴ Ibid., 12, 23, & 30.

³⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 181.

³⁶ Ibid., 183.

among the motives for his gift.³⁷ Considering the central geographical position occupied by the Bishopric of Calahorra in the 'Kingdom of Nájera', it seems logical that the see should have been adopted by the Crown of Leon-Castile as the religious centrepiece of its north-eastern dominions. In this context, and in the light of the see's so recently lamented poverty, it is probable that Calahorra's near-monopoly of Sancho's patronage of the secular church during this period responded to the *Infante's* desire to transform this backwater diocese into a suitably resplendent ecclesiastical jewel in his riojan crown.

The other royal grants received by Calahorra during this period were extremely wide-ranging in scope, but all emphatically legal and economic in nature. An examination of these gifts illustrates additional motives of the Crown of Leon-Castile in building up the cathedral's territorial, jurisdictional, and economic capacity. They include a licence, granted by the *Infante* Sancho in July 1155, to maintain the bridge at Miranda de Ebro, an important crossing for pilgrim traffic on the alavan branch of the *Camino de Santiago*, and to collect the revenues generated by its toll, as well as a grant made in September 1155 of one-tenth of the toll of Arnedo, situated some 15km upstream of Calahorra on the Cidacos river.³⁸

They also include the enormous package of legal rights granted to Calahorra when the future Sancho III extended to the cathedral the privileges enjoyed by the Bishopric of Burgos. This 'diocesan charter' decreed that all of Calahorra's possessions, including livestock, should be placed under royal protection, and all diocesan property and dependants exempted from indirect royal taxation, including tolls and customs, and placed outside the sphere of royal jurisdiction. It further

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 182-3.

contained a confirmation of all previous royal donations made to Calahorra, and conferred on the diocese the right to free pasturage throughout Sancho's '*montes*' (pasturelands), and licences to quarry, fish in royal waters, dig canals, and erect mills throughout the bishopric.³⁹

All of these privileges were granted to the cathedral while the *Infante* Sancho governed the 'Kingdom of Nájera'. Taken together, they amount to a highly conscious and energetically pursued program aimed at promoting the power of the Bishopric of Calahorra as an agent of regional development in the service of the Leonese-Castilian Crown. This program worked at various levels. Most obviously, it encouraged the growth of Calahorra's own diocesan economy, with the extension of its territorial lordship through land-grants, large-scale exemptions from royal taxation and justice, and the donation of important royal revenues. It also implicated the cathedral in the regional administration of royal taxation by farming out to it tolls such as that of Arnedo. Finally, it encouraged Calahorra's direct contribution to the region's economic and social development at the most fundamental of infrastructural levels by providing incentives for its maintenance and improvement of the region's transport and communications networks, and its promotion of the region's construction industry, industrial power, and agricultural efficiency.

The Bishopric of Calahorra was clearly deeply implicated during this period in the political, economic, and social consolidation of the Rioja as an emphatically Castilian territory. Its bishop reaped enormous political, territorial, jurisdictional, and economic rewards from his unwavering commitment to both the regional administration of Leonese-Castilian royal government, and in the development and exploitation of crown resources.

³⁹ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 29.

Mutual Support in Alava and Vizcaya

The intense partnership that was established between the Bishopric of Calahorra and the 'Kingdom of Nájera' in the 1150's has hitherto been portrayed as one in which the initiative lay squarely with the Crown of Leon-Castile. A discussion of Rodrigo Cascante's attempts to extend his diocesan administration into Alava and Vizcaya, the elusive northernmost provinces of his see, will reveal how the bishop was able to take advantage of shared interests with Leon-Castile's rulers during this period in the largely independent pursuit of an emphatically territorial diocesan agenda.

Ever since the suppression of the Bishopric of Alava and its incorporation into that of Calahorra under the auspices of Alfonso VI of Castile around the year 1090, successive Bishops of Calahorra had attempted, with varying but invariably limited success, to make good their claims over the secular church in the Basque provinces of Alava and Vizcaya. Like Calahorra's original (theoretical) assimilation of these Basque provinces, this process was inextricably linked to the Crown of Leon-Castile's long-term ambitions regarding the political subjugation of the notoriously autonomous Basque nobility.

The most notable fruit of Cascante's forerunners' largely frustrated efforts to penetrate into Alava and Vizcaya was Sancho de Funes' establishment of Armentia, in the heartlands of the province of Alava, as a bridgehead of calahorran diocesan administration and episcopal lordship in 1135 (above, pp.175-8). There is no surviving evidence that any Bishop of Calahorra exercised his authority over any Alavan or Vizcayan churches or monasteries before 1147 beyond those associated with the church of Armentia in 1135.

Indeed, the tenacity with which the Basque nobility hung onto their power over the church, both secular and religious, in a century that saw the steady dismantling of the previously dominant system of lay patronage of religious institutions throughout Western Christendom, must be considered in the context of a more generalized resistance to the imposition of royal government in these territories.⁴⁰ By rejecting the fiscal and administrative control of the Bishopric of Calahorra, which was firmly within the Castilian political orbit for most of the twelfth century, the Basque nobility not only obstructed the immediate penetration of Alava and Vizcaya by a power that was closely identified with the Crown of Castile, but also avoided the establishment of a structural, and therefore enduring, association between their territories and the Castilian Church as a whole.

Rodrigo Cascante's enormous efforts to extend his administrative hold over Alava and Vizcaya far outstripped those of his episcopal predecessors; in fact, they constituted the single most important factor affecting his relationship to the Crown of Castile between 1147 and 1190.

Before exploring the tight interdependence of Castile's north-eastern border-politics, Cascante's efforts to extend his diocesan authority and administration into Alava and Vizcaya, and the changing relationship between Calahorra and the Crown of Castile, there is an important distinction that needs to be made between the notable degree of power that Cascante was able to establish over the more southerly, accessible, and less politically, culturally, and socially differentiated province of Alava and his apparently total impotence in the more isolated northern province of Vizcaya.

⁴⁰ Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford, 1989, pp.61-2 & 221-2; Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1978, pp.158-73; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.29-31; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.164-5.

An identifiable individual can be shown to have been (at least nominally) at the head of the Archdeaconry of Alava for at least 26 of the 43 years of Cascante's episcopate (see table 2). For much of this period, Calahorra was also able to maintain and extend its control of the diocesan bridgehead that had been created in Armentia by Bishop Sancho de Funes in 1135. Rodrigo Cascante's administration of the church in Alava also intermittently extended well beyond Armentia's dependencies. By contrast, the position of Archdeacon of Vizcaya was unheard of before its first appearance in an episcopal charter of 1156, and was not surely filled before the mid-1180's (below, pp.258-9). What is more, the sources do not contain a single reference to Calahorra's administration of any individually identified Vizcayan churches during this period.

A piece of capitular legislation issued on March 4, 1156, in which the Bishop of Calahorra assigned certain diocesan revenues to his cathedral chapter, highlights many general aspects of his see's position with respect to its Basque provinces, in particular the enormous gulf between its influence in Alava and in Vizcaya. Among other revenues with which he endowed the canons on this occasion, the bishop specified a quarter-share of the tithe of 20 named parishes '*in Alava*', as well as the hospitality dues they owed him as bishop. Of the 14 locations on this list that I have been able to identify, four were parishes situated within 15km of Armentia, a cluster of five were parishes situated some 40km to Armentia's northeast on Alava's eastern fringes, and another one a parish located some 15km further south on the same borderlands. Another of these rural churches was situated some 30km north of Armentia. The remaining three represented geographical regions rather than specific parishes, '*Aiala*' corresponding to Ayala, the mountainous northwestern corner of Alava, '*Harana*' to the region of Harana on Alava's eastern border with Navarre, and

'*Harrahia*', probably corresponding to the valley flanking the River Arraita in southern Vizcaya. The regional nature of the last two is also emphasized in the document itself, which refers to them as follows: '*Similiter quartam decimarum de tota Harana et de tota Harrahia*' (see map 5).⁴¹

Most obviously, this charter provides ample evidence that, some ten years into Cascante's episcopate, the Bishopric of Calahorra administered individually identifiable parish churches from which it was able to extract both tithes and hospitality dues not only in the enclave of Armentia, but throughout the province of Alava. However, it also illustrates an important way in which Calahorra's administration of its alavan parishes was limited: the quarter-share of the tithe that the cathedral chapter was to collect from those parishes stands in distinct contrast to the Iberian bishops' almost universal practice of claiming one-third of the tithe, just as it stands out against the third-share of the tithe of 14 Riojan parishes that Cascante granted to his chapter through this very same charter.⁴² The only other reference to 'episcopal quarters' in the sources relating to Cascante's episcopate also relates to parishes in Alava, while these same sources are crowded with references to 'episcopal thirds' collected by Calahorra from Riojan parishes.⁴³ It is clear that although Cascante was able to impose some sort of episcopal fiscal regime on some areas within the province of Alava, it was generally accepted that that regime was both different and less onerous than that which he administered south of the Ebro.

However, the aspect of Calahorra's Basque administration that is thrown into sharpest relief by this document is the difference between its penetration into Alava and its inability to establish even the smallest of footholds in Vizcaya. This charter,

⁴¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 191.

⁴² Fletcher, *Episcopate*, p.174.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 254.

which demonstrates Calahorra's authority over 11 specified and identifiable parishes in Alava, also contains the sources' only reference to Calahorra's ecclesiastical administration during this period in a specifically named and (almost certainly) identifiable location in Vizcaya. It is very revealing that this solitary identification of the bishopric's administrative presence in its northernmost province seems to refer to a vaguely defined geographical district rather than any specific churches or parishes, and that the area in question was one of Vizcaya's southernmost river valleys, located just beyond the northern reaches of Alava. This reference seems to reflect a projected ecclesiastical administration rather than an existing one. What is more, it seems that even Cascante's tentative administrative ambitions in Vizcaya did not extend to any but the southernmost regions of that vast province.

While the Bishopric of Calahorra under Rodrigo Cascante's direction was able to make significant inroads into Alava, Vizcaya clearly remained resolutely beyond his control. Like every other aspect of Calahorra's relationship to its Basque provinces during this period, this disparity faithfully reflected those provinces' position with respect to the Castilian Crown, which enjoyed far greater success in extending its political influence over the more accessible and less culturally differentiated province of Alava than in the more isolated province of Vizcaya.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Pilar Martínez Taboada, 'Condicionantes históricos del urbanismo Alavés', *La Formación de Alava, 650 aniversario del Pacto de Arriaga (1332-1982): Congreso de Estudios Históricos*, Diputación Foral de Alava, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1985, vol.II, pp.563-6; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, ch.5: 'La articulación del espacio occidental del reino', pp.159-71; José Angel García de Cortázar et al., *Introducción a la Historia de Alava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya en sus textos*, San Sebastián, 1979, pp.12-4 & 39-40; Antonio Ubieta Arteta, 'Un Mapa de la Diócesis de Calahorra en 1257', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 60 (1954), pp.375-97; Ubieta's assertion that Vizcaya was not 'Christianized' by the thirteenth century, based on the inability of the Bishopric of Calahorra to extend its administration over that province is challenged by Lacarra, who points out that Calahorra's impotence in the region was due to the domination of its church by an autochthonous nobility, rather than its enduring paganism: José María Lacarra, 'La Cristianización del País Vasco', *Vasconia Medieval: Historia y Filología, Conferencias pronunciadas los días 10 y 11 de Enero de 1956*, San Sebastián, 1957, pp.59-63.

The long and discontinuous history of Cascante's efforts to extend his administrative hold over Alava and Vizcaya was closely connected to the politics of Castile's north-eastern borders, and therefore falls into the same four phases that define his changing relationship with the Crowns of first Leon-Castile, and then, after their separation in 1157, that of Castile. An examination of the Bishop of Calahorra's Basque enterprise between 1147 and 1190 reveals the workings of a dialectic whereby Castile's policy on its north-eastern border determined the strength of Calahorra's position in its Basque provinces, just as Calahorra's Basque ambitions determined its bishop's relationship to the Castilian Crown.

The first of these phases lasted from 1147 to 1157, and witnessed by far Cascante's greatest achievements in terms of consolidating and extending Calahorra's administration in its Basque provinces. The first surviving documentary reference to an Archdeacon of Vizcaya dates from this period, as does the afore-cited evidence of Calahorra's unprecedented control of Alavan parishes situated well beyond the enclave of Armentia, and Calahorran plans to extend its administrative presence in Alava and establish a diocesan foothold in Vizcaya.⁴⁵ It was also shortly after this period that the Bishop of Calahorra concluded a long-standing dispute with the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla over the right to collect tithes in, among others, Albaina and Marauri, two specified and identifiable Alavan parishes which are additional to those featured in his endowment of the cathedral chapter in 1156 (these are also plotted on map 5).⁴⁶

In order to understand the unprecedented success with which the bishop pursued his Basque ambitions during these years, it is important to emphasize their

⁴⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 191.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 218;

close connection to the development of Alfonso VII's political ascendancy over north-eastern Iberia. It has already been established that this was a period of increasingly close identification and co-operation between the Bishop of Calahorra and first Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile, and then, after his endowment with the 'Kingdom of Nájera' in 1152, his son, the *Infante* Sancho. It has also been observed that the Bishopric of Calahorra was built up by Sancho during this period as the ecclesiastical centrepiece of the riojan 'kingdom' with which he had been endowed by Alfonso VII in order to consolidate and extend Leon-Castile's dominance over its northern and eastern neighbours.

In this context, it is interesting to note the dates of the two charters that illustrate Calahorra's achievements and aspirations in Alava and Vizcaya during this period. The first, issued on March 4, 1156, was formulated in the aftermath of an (invalidated) treaty agreed between Leon-Castile and Aragon in January 1151 that stipulated a division of the Kingdom of Navarre between the two signatories that envisaged Leon-Castile's absorption of the Basque provinces of Alava, Vizcaya, and Guipúzcoa, as well as the easternmost section of Navarre's heartlands, centred on the town of Estella.⁴⁷ It also post-dated the tightening of the bonds of vassalage that bound Sancho VI to the Crown of Leon-Castile, through his knighting by Alfonso VII and his marriage to the Emperor's daughter Sancha in June 1153.⁴⁸ The confident note with which Rodrigo Cascante disposed of existing and projected ecclesiastical incomes in Alava and Vizcaya in March 1156 was also struck less than one year after Count Ladrón, whose presence at the courts of Alfonso VII and the future Sancho III had been intensifying ever since the re-establishment of Leon-Castile's power in the

⁴⁷ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.43-4; Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, p.623.

⁴⁸ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, p.52; Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, p.623.

upper Ebro valley in 1134, had transferred the allegiance of his vast Basque lordship, which comprised at that time much of Alava and Vizcaya and has been defined as an effective principality by Bernard Reilly, from Navarre to Leon-Castile in the late spring of 1155.⁴⁹

The second was issued on September 27, 1163, but recorded the conclusion of a dispute that had clearly dragged on for many years (*'...super predicta questione usque ad grauissima iudiciorum protraxerit certamina'*), and therefore presumably revolved around a fiscal regime that had been in place at least by the late 1150's. Its reference to tithes collected by the Bishopric of Calahorra not only in Alava, but also in Barbarín, situated between Alava's eastern fringes and the Navarrese territories clustered around Artajona, and the nearby hamlet of San Jorge, corresponds with the political reality of the region between 1155 and the end of 1157: these were years during which the gravitation of the Basque territories towards the Leonese-Castilian court coincided with the *Infante* Sancho's dominion of both the 'Kingdom of Nájera', and the Navarrese lordship of Artajona, which had been inherited by Urraca, his half-sister and widow of García Ramírez of Navarre, at the end of 1150, and had been placed under Sancho's control in the summer of 1153.⁵⁰

There was clearly a close connection between the extension of the Bishopric of Calahorra's administrative presence in its Basque provinces and a growing Leonese-Castilian political hegemony over that region. However, beyond establishing the pre-conditions for their pursuit, there is no evidence that either Alfonso VII or the *Infante* Sancho collaborated actively with the realization of Cascante's Basque ambitions during this period. In this particular area, the bishop seems to have taken

⁴⁹ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, p.57; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, pp.164-5.

⁵⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 218; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.54-7.

advantage of the favourable political climate created by Leon-Castile's regional dominance in order to pursue a territorial initiative that, although parallel to that of the crown, was clearly his own.

Rodrigo Cascante and the Crown of Castile, 1157–1166

Calahorra's glory-days of the 1150's, and with them its 'hand-in-glove' relationship with the Crown of Leon-Castile, did not come to an abrupt end but rather petered out over the course of a year, following the changing political focus and fortunes of the monarchy by which they were defined. The beginning of this decline was signalled by the death of Alfonso VII on August 21, 1157, and the accession of Sancho III to the throne of Castile. Although this event did not interpose any distance between Cascante and the King of Castile in terms of curial politics (the Bishop of Calahorra witnessed no less than 13 of Sancho III's extant diplomas during his year-long reign), its implications for the political centrality of Castile's north-eastern riojan borderlands were clearly detrimental to Calahorra's interests.⁵¹ Sancho III's accession was accompanied by a reorientation of the king's political focus westwards, towards Castile's newly re-established and furiously contested border with Leon, and southwards, towards the consolidation of his acutely vulnerable frontier with Muslim Iberia.⁵² His former riojan power-base immediately lost the political centrality it had enjoyed since 1152, and this change in strategic focus was duly reflected in the reinforcement of Navarrese and Aragonese interests on Castile's northern and eastern borders through Sancho III's restitution of the lordship of Artajona to the former, and

⁵¹ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 30, 35-7, 39, 41-3, 46, 48-50.

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol.I, pp.667-71 & 890-1.

Zaragoza to the latter, between December 1157 and February 1158.⁵³ Calahorra's political star inevitably faded along with the geo-political construct it had so energetically represented.

Then, little more than a year into his reign, Sancho III succumbed to a fatal illness in Toledo at the end of July 1158.⁵⁴ He left his kingdom in the hands of his three-year-old son, Alfonso VIII, and a regency government that relied on co-operation between the immensely powerful and intensely competitive Lara and Castro families.⁵⁵ In an attempt to avert the eruption of their rivalry onto the surface of Castilian politics, Sancho III established a death-bed power-sharing arrangement that entailed the appointment of the leaders of these opposing noble factions, Manrique Pérez de Lara and Gutierre Fernández de Castro, as regent and guardian of the child king respectively. It proved unworkable, and by February 1159 its terms had been breached. March 1160 saw the first outbreak of civil hostilities.

Castile's violent implosion was further exacerbated after July 1162 by the entry into the fray of Fernando II, King of Leon and uncle of the young Alfonso VIII, who also staked a claim to Castile's regency and threw his weight behind the Castros' cause in order to pursue it. The summer of 1164, when Fernando II began to step back from Castilian politics, represented a turning point in the conflict. However, it was not until the summer of 1166, when Nuño Pérez (successor of Manrique Pérez) de Lara, was able to take control of Toledo and demonstrate that his regency government enjoyed the active support of the eleven-year-old Alfonso VIII, that the Laras'

⁵³ Ibid., pp.782-4; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp. 72-5.

⁵⁴ Martínez Diez, *Alfonso VIII*, p.19.

⁵⁵ Simon Barton, *The aristocracy in twelfth-century León and Castile*, Cambridge, 1997, pp.154-5.

ascendancy over the Castro family was definitively demonstrated and the rehabilitation of the Crown of Castile slowly began.⁵⁶

Castile's civil war had enormous implications for the Bishopric of Calahorra, as the diocese was once again affected by developments specifically related to its geographical position on Castile's north-eastern frontier. The first concerned the exacerbation of the political marginalization that it had experienced since the beginning of Sancho III's brief reign. Once the chaos of Alfonso VIII's minority had set in, Calahorra found itself in a position that was utterly peripheral to the interests that were so energetically contested during this period by Laras, Castros, and the King of Leon, predominantly on or around Castile's border with Leon and in the southern Extremadura region.

The second came in the autumn of 1162, when Sancho VI of Navarre took advantage of Castile's internal disarray to invade its north-eastern corner, taking the Bureba, Logroño, Entrena, Navarrete, Ausejo, Autol, Resa, Durango, Grañón, Cerezo, and Briviesca, as well as other unidentified settlements towards Burgos.⁵⁷ Navarre's invasion of north-eastern Castile was also accompanied (or, what is more likely, preceded) by Count Vela Ladrón's transfer of the allegiance of his Basque Lordship to Sancho VI.⁵⁸

The highly irregular and discontinuous border between Castile and Navarre that was established by these conquests lay squarely within the Diocese of Calahorra. While by far the greatest part of the see, geographically speaking, now lay either

⁵⁶ Gonzalez, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.I, pp.150–76; Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford, 1993, p.268.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.788-9, Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.101-5; Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, p.630.

⁵⁸ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, p. 97. Although most historians refer to Sancho VI's invasion and occupation of these Basque provinces in conjunction with his military offensive against north-eastern Castile in 1162, Elizari has pointed out that there is no evidence of military hostilities having taken place in Alava or Vizcaya during this period, and that it is therefore probably more correct to talk of Vela Ladrón's voluntary transfer of the allegiance of these provinces to Sancho VI rather than to their military conquest by Navarre.

within Navarre, or, in the case of Alava and Vizcaya, within Navarre's sphere of influence, its episcopal city, as well as Nájera, the collegiate church of Albelda, and the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, and much of the southern Rioja, remained to Castile (see map 4). Paralyzed by internal conflict, Castile's regency government was in no position to attempt the re-conquest of these territories before the beginning of its recovery in the summer of 1166. For the central years of the 1160's, the Bishopric of Calahorra not only existed on the outer margins of a highly dysfunctional royal government, but was also geographically divided between Castile, Navarre, and the quasi-independent power of the Lord of Alava and Vizcaya.

The relationship between the Bishop of Calahorra and the Crown of Castile was certainly muted during the initial phase of Alfonso VIII's minority: Rodrigo Cascante witnessed a mere seven royal charters between the summer of 1158 and the summer of 1165, a rate of just over one diploma per annum. This figure does not, however, reflect the bishop's absence from a functioning and well-attended royal court. Rather it is indicative of a near-total meltdown of royal government: the seven royal diplomas witnessed by Cascante in fact represent almost half of a total of only fifteen such documents to survive from this period (one of which does not preserve a witness-list at all).⁵⁹ If we compare this total to the 44 documents of Sancho III listed by Julio González for the seven years directly preceding Alfonso VIII's minority, it is clear both that there is a dramatic decline in surviving Castilian royal documents from one period to the next, and that this decline must be attributed to a corresponding decline in active royal government rather than any wholesale destruction of archives during the chaos of the civil war.⁶⁰ Indeed, when the Laras' regency began to function

⁵⁹ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 51-65.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 5-50.

somewhat more coherently in 1165, Cascante's confirmations of Castilian royal documents shot up dramatically: between January 1165 and the conquest of Toledo by the Laras at the end of August 1166, the Bishop of Calahorra witnessed no less than 14 charters issued in Alfonso VIII's name.⁶¹

In fact Rodrigo Cascante, like the rest of the Castilian episcopate, displayed notable commitment to propping up the Laras' embattled regency government, even on occasion making a lengthy and, in the context of the civil war, dangerous journey to Segovia or Sahagún in order to do so.⁶² Furthermore, Cascante's active military support of the Laras' regency is illustrated by his presence among the confirmants of a royal Castilian diploma issued in Castroverde in the context of major hostilities between Laras and the combined forces of the Castros and Fernando II of Leon.⁶³ His presence at the negotiations between the Laras and Fernando II in October 1164, which preceded the Leonese king's exit from Castile's turbulent internal affairs, reveals that he also made significant diplomatic contributions to the regency government.⁶⁴ Furthermore, a total absence of evidence linking the Bishop of Calahorra to the courts of either Navarre or Aragon during this period indicates that his political loyalties remained undivided.

In order to find a possible explanation for Cascante's unflinching support during this period of a collapsed Castilian royal government whose authority over the geographical area covered by his diocese was all but nonexistent, we must turn, once again, to an examination into his pursuit of diocesan interests in Calahorra's Basque provinces.

⁶¹ Ibid., 69-74 & 77-83; Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce, ss.X-XV*, Logroño, 1992, 30.

⁶² González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 53 & 64.

⁶³ Ibid., 70.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 64.

Calahorra's confident administrative expansion into Alava and Vizcaya between 1147 and 1157 was followed by what seems to have been a dramatic collapse of the bishopric's position north of the Ebro. The sources relating to the period between August 1157 and August 1166 contain no evidence whatsoever that Calahorra continued to exercise its authority in either of its Basque provinces during these years. The only surviving document to link the bishopric to Alava or Vizcaya in an administrative or seigniorial sense during that time concerns the bishop's re-establishment in Armentia once Calahorra's position in Alava had begun to improve in 1173. It records, among other things, the re-integration into Cascante's direct administration of both parish churches and territorial possessions in Alava whose management had been farmed out to a layman, Gonzalo de Fornelos, in the preceding years. The implication of this act is that the bishop had not been able to manage these properties directly during that period, and that he recovered direct control over them when he was able to, in 1173.⁶⁵

What is more, the title of Archdeacon of Vizcaya, which had been confidently trumpeted in 1156, does not make any further appearances in the sources during these years. Although an Archdeacon of Alava does appear in diplomas dated 1162 and 1163, and was, as we shall see, probably re-established by 1171, this position seems to have been deactivated in the intervening period, during which it was taken over by the Archdeacon of Nájera, who confirmed two episcopal charters in 1167 as '*Nazarensis archidiaconus et procurator archidiaconatus Alauensis*'.⁶⁶ Although it only survives in a late copy, and might well therefore reflect a later, rather than a contemporary, reality, another indicator of the collapse of Calahorra's authority over

⁶⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 254.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 225-6.

its Basque provinces between the summer of 1157 and the spring of 1173 may be provided by the dating-clause of a donation made to the riojan monastery of Rute in 1170, which cites Rodrigo Cascante as bishop in '*Calahorra y en Naxera y en ambos Cameros*', while conspicuously omitting any reference to Alava or Vizcaya.⁶⁷

Just like its previous expansion, the collapse of Calahorra's presence north of the Ebro during this period must be considered in the context of the area's political history, as it was closely connected to the steadily accelerating decline in Castilian regional dominance described above. Castile's decline was accompanied by the gravitation of significant elements of the nobility on its north-eastern frontier towards Navarre. The most important of these was Count Vela Ladrón, Lord of Alava and Vizcaya, who was back at the court of Sancho VI of Navarre in March 1160, and who had become tenant of Navarrese Guipúzcoa by October 1162.⁶⁸ Leaning towards Navarre, and, after the autumn of 1162, cut off from Castilian-held territories by a broad swathe of Navarrese conquests, Alava and Vizcaya were just as far beyond Cascante's administrative control during this period as they were beyond Castile's sphere of influence.

A deeper understanding of the obstacles faced by Rodrigo Cascante in his attempts to expand his diocesan administration into Alava and Vizcaya can be gained by contrasting the apparently total collapse of Calahorra's presence in those territories during this period with the continuity of its administration in the Navarrese-controlled Rioja after 1162. The most obvious fact to note in this respect is that while the Lord of Alava and Vizcaya removed his Basque lordship from Castile's orbit in its entirety in 1162, Navarre's occupation of the Rioja, although extensive, was discontinuous, and,

⁶⁷ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 35.

⁶⁸ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.96-7.

largely thanks to the vigorous opposition it faced from much of the regional nobility, excluded many of Calahorra's most important administrative and seigniorial centres.

The city of Calahorra itself, as well as Nájera and Albelda, were successfully defended in 1162, the first two by their Castilian tenants, Gómez González and Lope Díaz de Haro, and the last by the Bishop of Calahorra himself.⁶⁹ The fate of Santo Domingo de la Calzada is less clear. This diocesan possession does not appear anywhere in lists drawn up in the late 1170's of Navarre's 1162 conquests, and a donation made to its church by Alfonso VIII of Castile in May 1172 may indicate that it had remained in Castilian hands throughout this period.⁷⁰ However, its location at the centre of an area of intense Navarrese occupation, as well as a donation made to the church of Santo Domingo by Sancho VI in 1168, both indicate that it may also have been included in the Navarre's conquests of 1162.⁷¹

It is possible that if Sancho VI had not been faced with such a determined opposition to his occupation of the Rioja by the regional nobility, his attitude towards what had until just a few years before been the Castilian 'flagship' Bishopric of Calahorra might have been less compromising. As things were, however, the King of Navarre seems to have adopted a conciliatory policy towards Calahorra, and there is no evidence that his occupation of much of the Rioja affected the see's diocesan administration in the Archdeaconries of Nájera, Calahorra, and Berberiego in any significant way. On the contrary, there is a significant amount of evidence pointing to the continuity of Calahorra's administration of both ecclesiastical and seigniorial possessions in the Rioja under Navarrese occupation. This is most obviously provided by the identification of three clearly distinguishable individuals at the head of the

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.103; Martínez Díez, *Alfonso VIII*, p.84; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 227.

⁷⁰ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.102-4, Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 249

⁷¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 230.

Archdeaconries of Calahorra, Nájera, and Berberiego in the very same two documents of 1167 that record the Archdeaconry of Alava's representation by a '*procurator*'.⁷²

The sources also contain more detailed illustrations of Calahorra's ongoing Riojan administration and lordship between the autumn of 1162 and the beginning of Alfonso VIII's campaign to retake these territories in the spring of 1173. These are especially relevant when they refer to those areas in which the Navarrese occupation was most coherent. Most of these concern the cathedral's management of territorial possessions, such as property in Sartaguda and Rincón de Soto (see map 4).⁷³ Others, like the license granted by Rodrigo Cascante to Doña Isabel in 1168 to build an oratory in Azofra, on the road between Nájera and Santo Domingo, concern the administration of ecclesiastical property.⁷⁴ The resolution in 1163 of a dispute between Calahorra and San Millán de la Cogolla, in which Cascante relinquished his administrative rights over 25 parishes, including at least four that were situated north of the Ebro, while reserving for his cathedral the tithes of Camprovín and Madriz in the province of Nájera, highlights both the discontinuation of his Alavan interests during this period and Calahorra's continued administrative presence in a Navarrese dominated section of the Rioja.⁷⁵

Sancho VI's conciliatory stance towards the Bishopric of Calahorra also seems to have extended beyond a policy of simple non-intervention. Cascante's inclusion in the dating clause of a charter recording the King of Navarre's donation to the southern alavan town of Laguardia in May 1164 constituted an explicit recognition of

⁷² *Ibid.*, vol.II, 225-6.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 222b & 214-5; *Ibid.*, vol.III, 244.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 228.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 218.

Cascante's regional authority.⁷⁶ In March 1168, Sancho VI made an even more obvious overture to the Bishop of Calahorra when he donated the church of San Miguel in the district of Legarda, some 10km west of Santo Domingo, to the calahorran diocesan possession of Santo Domingo de la Calzada.⁷⁷

The survival during the 1160's of Calahorra's administrative infrastructure and territorial possessions in the Rioja, and Sancho VI's evidently conciliatory attitude towards the see are extremely relevant to any discussion of the collapse of its position in Alava and Vizcaya during this same period, as they oblige us to discard the assumption that that loss was directly caused by the extension of Navarrese influence over those Basque provinces. Indeed, a close examination of the events surrounding Calahorra's Basque eclipse indicates that the rise in Navarre's power in the region at Castile's expense during this period contributed to it only inasmuch as it provided the necessary conditions for the total removal of the 'Ladrón Principality' from the influence of Castile. Throughout the period 1147–1157, the Bishopric of Calahorra's extension of its administrative presence into Alava had depended heavily on Castile's regional dominance. When that dominance was comprehensively dismantled between August 1157 and the autumn of 1162, it was Vela Ladrón's swift removal of his Basque Lordship from Castile's influence in the context of Navarre's invasion, rather than Navarre's occupation of Castile's north-eastern borderlands *per se*, that determined the collapse of Calahorra's administration in its Basque provinces.

⁷⁶ David Alegría Suescun, Guadalupe Lopetegui Semperena, & Aitor Pescador Medrano (eds.), *Archivo General de Navarra, 1134-1194*, Astigarraga, 1997, 30.

⁷⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 230. Although this church is commonly identified as belonging to the municipal district of Laguardia in Alava, Rodríguez de Lama has pointed out that '*illa Gardia*' can also be identified as Legarda in the western corner of the Rioja. In the light of the proximity of Legarda to the centre of Santo Domingo's lordship and Calahorra's loss of control over its ecclesiastical possessions in Alava during this period, I consider the second interpretation of '*illa Gardia*' to be more probable in this case.

Cascante's reaction to the Navarrese occupation in the Rioja and the sudden removal of Alava and Vizcaya from his administrative sights during this period is revealing. There is no evidence, for example, that he was receptive to the conciliatory overtures of Sancho VI. On the other hand, there are plenty of clear indications that he was deeply committed first to the defence, and then to the recovery, of Castile's position on its north-eastern border. When, for example, the Bishop of Calahorra made a territorial donation to the municipal authorities of Albelda on March 18, 1167, stating that '*Hoc siquidem datum prenominatum uobis ideo tribuo quia in illa Taiada de Albelda plurimum desudastis et eandem ad municionem castelli diligentissime preparastis*', he provided a clear indication of his deep interest, if not active involvement, in the organization of Albelda's defence during the Navarrese invasion of 1162.

His ongoing support of Castilian interests in the area is most basically revealed by his enduring identification with the troubled Crown of Castile and the Lara regency government during this period. It is more specifically highlighted by his close involvement in the establishment of the Cistercian monastery of Rute, founded in the mid-1160's near Ventas Blancas, some 10km south-east of Logroño, by Pedro Jiménez, the Lord of Cameros, as a spearhead for the re-establishment of Castilian interests in the lower Rioja (see map 4).⁷⁸ The submission of its first abbot and abbess, Raymond and Agnes, to the authority of the Bishop of Calahorra on the occasion of their investment around 1165 is especially relevant as an indication of Cascante's proximity to this new foundation, as it is the only surviving example of a

⁷⁸ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, pp.19-21; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 223.

formal monastic declaration of dependence on the bishop from Cascante's episcopate.⁷⁹

Rodrigo Cascante was clearly committed to defending Castile's riojan presence during this period. In the light of both the close connection between his previous successes in expanding his see's administration in Alava and the regional dominance of Castile-Leon, and the clearly permissive attitude of Sancho VI of Navarre towards his continued enjoyment of diocesan possessions in the Rioja after 1162, it seems that the Bishop of Calahorra's support of Castile's extremely compromised north-eastern position during this period was determined rather by a desire to bring Alava and Vizcaya back within a Castilian political orbit, than to rid the Rioja of a Navarrese influence that had proven itself to be notably benign as far as his riojan diocesan administration was concerned: Cascante considered the re-establishment of Castile's pre-eminence on its north-eastern borders to be a necessary pre-condition for the re-assertion of his authority in Calahorra's Basque provinces, and this entailed the expulsion of Sancho VI of Navarre's forces from the Rioja and Old Castile.

Rodrigo Cascante and the Crown of Castile, 1166-1179

The conquest of Toledo by Nuño Pérez de Lara in the name of Alfonso VIII in August 1166 tipped the balance, which had been gravitating increasingly towards the cause of the regency government since the negotiated exit of Fernando II of Leon from Castile's internal affairs in the autumn of 1164, decisively in its favour. After this date, the young King of Castile associated himself more and more actively with

⁷⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 223.

the authority of Nuño Pérez de Lara, who began to recover control of the kingdom as his regency gained credibility.⁸⁰ At the same time, both the documentary output of Castile's royal chancery and the rate at which Alfonso VIII's charters were confirmed by Rodrigo Cascante shot up. The Bishop of Calahorra witnessed no less than 93 alfonsine diplomas between the beginning of September 1166 and the end of February 1179, a yearly rate of 7.44. His various curial appearances in Toledo, Segovia, Avila, Atienza, Cubillas, Langa, Monzón, Valladolid and Sahagún, all of them more than five days' journey (about 120km) from Calahorra, indicate that he also began to travel much more frequently and widely for the sake of attending the royal court during the period 1166-1179.⁸¹

Although consistently significant, his attendance on Alfonso VIII was not uniform throughout this period. It peaked dramatically in 1166, in which year Rodrigo Cascante confirmed every one of the 18 surviving diplomas issued in Alfonso VIII's name, and again in 1170, when he confirmed 15. The timing of these peaks is very interesting. The first occurred in the year that the Laras' conquest of Toledo, followed by a lengthy and energetic exercise in royal government and a theatrical public display of support for Nuño Pérez de Lara by the young Alfonso VIII, marked a period during which the regency government became increasingly confident and Castro opposition to it ever weaker. The second occurred in the first year of Alfonso VIII's majority rule (he came of age on November 11, 1169), during which the young king contributed to the re-establishment of the authority of his crown with a great flurry of political and diplomatic activity. The Bishop of Calahorra was intensely

⁸⁰ Linehan, *Historians*, p.268; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.I, pp.685-6.

⁸¹ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, Toledo: 84-90, 92-6, 102-3, & 168; Segovia: 184; Avila: 180; Atienza: 173; Cubillas: 112; Langa: 104; Monzón: 105; Valladolid: 123; Sahagún: 127. Reilly has calculated that it took an Iberian medieval retinue about five days to travel 120km: Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.138.

involved and closely identified with the Crown of Castile at both of these pivotal junctures in its rehabilitation.

The curial attendance-rate of the Castilian episcopate as a whole during those two crucial years was remarkably high, especially in 1166, for which year the Bishop of Calahorra's record of attendance is either matched or almost matched by all of his Castilian colleagues.⁸² Indeed, the Castilian episcopate had been united in its support of the Lara regency government since the beginning of Alfonso VIII's minority, and the improvement of the Laras' fortunes after 1164 was accompanied by a very visible intensification of that support, as the bishops rushed to confer their combined authority on the faction they considered best able to provide a stable royal government that would eventually be able to recompense their solid support.⁸³

However, Rodrigo Cascante did not merely follow the flock of Castilian bishops in supporting the regency government during this period, but pushed his way decidedly to their fore. The record of his attendance at the court of Alfonso VIII for 1166 was equal to those of the great curial Bishops of Burgos and Palencia (the king's uncle), and the Archbishop of Toledo. While his rate of attendance on Alfonso VIII did fall behind that of these three dominant prelates in 1170, it was nevertheless significantly higher than that of the remainder of Castile's Episcopate.

His record of service to the crown also began to fill out again after 1166. We have already seen how he endorsed the regency government in 1166, and Alfonso VIII during the first year of his majority in 1170. He was also present at the highly politically and symbolically charged ceremony that marked the young king's coming-

⁸² González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 77-94.

⁸³ Peter Linehan, 'The Synod of Segovia (1166)', Peter Linehan, *Spanish Church and Society 1150-1300: Collected Essays by Peter Linehan*, Oxford, 1983, pp.31-44.

of-age.⁸⁴ The Bishop of Calahorra also rendered services of a particularly diplomatic nature to the royal government during these years. It is likely that he represented the regency in negotiating the Treaty of Fitero, a ten-year truce with Navarre secured in October 1167, which created a vitally important breathing space for Castile on her north-eastern borders.⁸⁵ He certainly formed part of the embassy that was sent to Gascony in the summer of 1170 to fetch Eleanor, daughter of Henry II of England and Alfonso VIII's bride. The fact that he accompanied the king's most trusted churchmen, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishops of Palencia, and Burgos (as well as the Bishop of Segovia), on such a prestigious mission reflects the position he had by then attained in the inner circle at the Castilian court.⁸⁶

Rodrigo Cascante owed that position to his intense and consistent commitment to the establishment of first Count Nuño Pérez de Lara, and then Alfonso VIII, as effective rulers of the Kingdom of Castile. Once Alfonso VIII had ascended the throne in his own right, the nature of the bishop's support of the Castilian Crown changed significantly, as he re-regionalized his political efforts. This renewed attention to the territory of his diocese is reflected by a significant change in his attendance at court. His intense support of the Castilian royal government between 1165 and the end of Alfonso VIII's first year on the throne (1170) had entailed travelling extensive distances to spend extended periods spent at courts that met far from his own diocese. The royal diplomas he confirmed during that time reveal that he spent at least five months and one week at various points of those six years accompanying the royal court for periods of at least a week, and at most nine weeks,

⁸⁴ Ibid., 124.

⁸⁵ Ibid., vol. I, p.790.

⁸⁶ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.347, cites: Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales del Reino de Aragón*, Valencia, 1967, vol.II, 85.

as it passed through locations well over five days' travel from his episcopal seat.⁸⁷ He also made a further five isolated curial appearances in locations more than 120km from Calahorra, which may or may not reflect longer visits to the royal court, but certainly represented absences of at least ten days from his diocese.⁸⁸ In contrast, it is impossible to deduce the Bishop of Calahorra's prolonged absence from his see from any of the surviving Castilian royal diplomas that he witnessed between 1171 and March 1179. Instead, these are dominated by charters issued within 120km of Calahorra, with a significant proportion actually drawn up within the diocese itself.

This re-regionalization of Cascante's political activity is also illustrated by the way he served the Crown of Castile after 1171, with support that was overwhelmingly military in nature, and exclusively bound up with Alfonso VIII's conflict with Sancho VI of Navarre over territories that lay almost entirely within the Bishopric of Calahorra. As Alfonso VIII launched himself energetically into the task of pushing his border with Navarre back to its pre-1158 position, Rodrigo Cascante barely left his side. Numerous charters attest to his presence on every one of the military campaigns mounted by the King of Castile against Navarre in the summers of 1173, 1174, and 1176.⁸⁹ The summer of 1173 witnessed two separate Castilian expeditions. The Bishop of Calahorra's confirmation of two alfonsine charters, one issued at the end of July 1173 '*cum redirem de expeditione quam feci super Nauarros*', and another drawn up on September 18, 1173, at the siege of Artajona in Navarre, indicates that he participated in both.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 69, 70, 77-8, 84-90, 92-6, 116, 118, & 122-3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 98, 104, 112, & 137; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 231.

⁸⁹ Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, pp.634-6; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.I, pp.798-801; vol.II, 1173: 185 & 188-9; 1174: 205-6 & 208; 1175: 226, 229-30; 1176: 262-6.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 185 & 188.

The bishop also seems to have contributed to this conflict (or its attempted resolution) in a diplomatic sense. On August 25, 1176, Alfonso VIII of Castile and Sancho VI of Navarre made a joint decision to submit their border dispute to the arbitration of Henry II of England.⁹¹ Rodrigo Cascante's confirmation of royal Castilian diplomas issued on 22, 23 and 26 August 1176 provides a very strong indication that he was closely involved in the negotiations that had preceded it.⁹²

After more than ten dry years, a concentrated spurt of royal favour began to gush in Calahorra's direction between 1170 and 1173. The Bishopric of Calahorra and its representatives received three royal grants in 1170, one in 1172, one in 1173, and another whose precise date is unknown, but which was probably issued in or soon after 1170.⁹³ All of these donations were made within three years of Alfonso VIII attaining his majority; two of them actually in the context of his first great curia in the early spring of 1170. They were also made during the preparatory stages of Alfonso VIII's campaign to restore the integrity of his inheritance by expelling Navarrese forces from the Rioja, and to re-assert Castile's authority over Alava and Vizcaya. These various grants therefore served two distinct functions. On the one hand, they remunerated the see for valuable support provided during the difficult years of Alfonso VIII's minority. On the other, they reflected the revival of the close partnership between Calahorra and the Crown of Castile in the context of their common desire to bring the territory of the bishopric back under Castilian control.

Calahorra's exceptional proximity to Alfonso VIII in the early 1170's is highlighted by a comparison of the King of Castile's treatment of this see and his patronage of the remainder of the Castilian secular church in 1170: only four other

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, vol.I, p.802.

⁹² *Ibid.*, vol.II, 265-6 & 268.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 137 & 185; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 206; vol.III, 239, 243, & 249.

Castilian bishoprics, Sigüenza, Segovia, Burgos, and Osma, received royal grants in that year; of these four, Sigüenza was the only one to be treated on a par with Calahorra, the others receiving but one donation apiece.⁹⁴

The nature of the royal donations and privileges received by Calahorra between 1170 and 1173 reflects their dual function. Those couched in the warmest tones of grateful affection are also those most likely to have been granted in compensation for the see's support of the regency government during the king's minority. On March 10, 1170, for example, Alfonso VIII granted the Cathedral and Bishop of Calahorra, whom he addressed as '*patri meo spiritali [sic] dompno Roderico*', the right to collect one tenth of the revenues generated by royal mints throughout their diocese, thereby providing the see with a direct, secure, and extremely significant source from which to replenish its coffers.⁹⁵ In November 1170 Alfonso VIII explicitly stated the motives behind a donation of a royal manor, which he made to García, Archdeacon of Calahorra, '*pro multis seruiciis et deuotissimo animo quod erga me actenus exhibuistis*'.⁹⁶

Other donations from this cluster can be quite specifically linked to a collaborative approach to Castile's projected wars against Navarre. On February 27, 1170, the King of Castile entrusted the estate of Arnedillo, complete with a wide variety of agricultural property, dependants, and a castle, to the administration of the Cathedral of Calahorra.⁹⁷ Arnedillo is situated some 25km to Calahorra's south-west, in the Arnedo valley. Through this grant, Alfonso VIII not only bolstered the cathedral's administrative and seigniorial control over this valley, but also entrusted Calahorra with its military defence. The strategic significance of this gift in the light

⁹⁴ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 129, 131-2, 136, 144, 148, &154.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 239.

of Castile's military campaign to recover the Rioja in the mid-1170's is revealed by its location directly facing the front-line of the Navarrese occupation (see map 4).

Another donation made by Alfonso VIII in 1170, this time to the church of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, included land to settle and plant in Valluércanes, which lay in an area that the King of Castile had probably regained from Navarre sometime before 1167, and now represented the vanguard of Castile's power on the Rioja's eastern border with the province of Burgos.⁹⁸ Through this gift, the King of Castile involved the clergy of the calahorran church of Santo Domingo in the extension of his interests at the fringes of Navarre's occupation. Similar motives probably informed his decision in November 1170 to reward don García, the Archdeacon of Calahorra, with a section of the royal demesne situated near Cerezo de Riotirón, only some 10km south of Valluércanes.⁹⁹

Alfonso VIII's donation to Rodrigo Cascante of a share in his minting profits from the diocese may also have been partly motivated by a desire to strengthen both the infrastructure of Castilian royal government, and the association of the territory administered by the Bishopric of Calahorra with his own power, as it provided the bishop with a strong incentive to encourage the use of Castilian coin within his diocese.

The last of this group of royal charters of donation is that most explicitly connected to Alfonso VIII's wars against Navarre, as it was issued on July 28, 1173, '*cum redirem de expeditione quam feci super Nauarros*'.¹⁰⁰ It records a gift to Franco, a canon of Calahorra, of an oven and a house in the cathedral city. The presence of this calahorran cleric in the retinue that had accompanied the King of Castile into

⁹⁸ Ibid., 249; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, p.129.

⁹⁹ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 150; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, p.129.

¹⁰⁰ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 185.

battle against Sancho VI provides a most succinct indication of the depth of the Bishopric of Calahorra's commitment to Alfonso VIII's north-eastern campaign.

Castile's military offensive against Navarre in the 1170's resulted in the total expulsion of Navarrese forces from the Rioja and Old Castile, as well as the establishment of Castilian garrisons deep in the pamplonan heartlands of the Kingdom of Navarre by the summer of 1176.¹⁰¹ They also included the re-integration of the 'Ladrón Principality', ruled since around 1174 by Vela Ladrón's heirs, Juan and Pedro Vela, into Castile's sphere of influence sometime before April 1179.¹⁰²

The political calculation that informed Cascante's co-operation with the Crown of Castile during this period is perhaps best illustrated by the reactivation of the position of Archdeacon of Alava around the year 1171, in the context of Alfonso VIII's moves to strengthen his position in the Rioja ahead of his military offensive against Navarre in 1173: considering the appearance between 1173 and 1188 of one Sancho at the head of the Archdeaconry of Alava, it is thus highly likely that the 'Archdeacon Sancho' who appears alongside the archdeacons García, Diego, and Arnaldo, whom we know to have served in Calahorra, Nájera, and Berberiego respectively, in an episcopal document issued in 1171, was in fact the archdeacon of a rehabilitated province of Alava (see table 2).¹⁰³ This constituted a clear declaration of episcopal intent. The bishop had backed a winning horse, for the dramatic political transformations on the frontier territory occupied by his see were accompanied by a visible recovery in his position with respect to the provinces of Alava and Vizcaya.

In 1173 Alfonso VIII launched two military offensives, one of which struck at the heart of Navarre, and retook the town of Logroño, the centrepiece of Navarre's

¹⁰¹ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.132-43.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp.137 & 156.

¹⁰³ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 244.

occupation in the Rioja.¹⁰⁴ The same year witnessed Rodrigo Cascante re-assertion of his ecclesiastic and seigniorial authority in Alava, through the installation of Gonzalo de Fornelos as the manager of the episcopal estate of Armentia. At the same time as handing over the management of this manor to Gonzalo, the Bishop of Calahorra recovered from him the direct administration of certain parishes in Alava. These were identified as Lantarón, some 25km east of Armentia, Apodka, in the north of the province, less than 10km north-west of Vitoria, and Aríñez, north of the enclave of Armentia, some 5km southwest of Vitoria, as well as other, unspecified parishes ('*alterius uille*') (see map 5). The document that records this transaction also contains the first surviving reference from Cascante's episcopate to an Archpriest of Armentia, and the first unambiguous record of a named and active Archdeacon of Alava following the de-activation of that position in the 1160's.¹⁰⁵ Sometime in 1173, Rodrigo Cascante was therefore clearly in a position to rehabilitate his seigniorial interests in Alava, re-assert direct control over the ecclesiastical administration of parishes both within and beyond the enclave of Armentia, and re-instate the human infrastructure on which that administration depended.

The relationship between the Bishopric of Calahorra and the Crown of Castile increased significantly in both intensity and scope between September 1166 and March 1179. The bonds that linked the two institutions during the first half of this period were almost exclusively the fruit of Rodrigo Cascante's very personal dedication to the cause of the Lara regency government as a frequent visitor to the Castilian royal court. In its second half, they were the result of a seemingly total identification between the regional interests of the bishopric with those of the Crown

¹⁰⁴ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.132-5.

¹⁰⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 254.

of Castile, as Calahorra became extensively involved in an extended effort to expel Navarrese forces from territory coveted by both institutions. The two phases were not unconnected. Rather, they reflected the Bishop of Calahorra's pursuit of a continuous strategy of support of the Crown of Castile that was primarily determined by his desire to resume his administrative penetration of Alava and Vizcaya in the shadow of a renewed Castilian dominance of those regions. Once again, Cascante's territorial ambitions regarding Alava and Vizcaya represent the best mirror in which to see the foundations of his relationship to the Crown of Castile reflected.

Rodrigo Cascante and the Crown of Castile, 1179–1190

Relations between the Bishopric of Calahorra and the Crown of Castile cooled significantly during the 1180's. The most obvious indicator of the bishop's proximity to the king is the rate at which he confirmed surviving royal diplomas. This fell dramatically in the period March 1179 - March 1190, to a yearly average of just 3.64, compared to a yearly average of 7.44 for the period September 1166 - March 1179. What is more, the year 1185 is the first since the lawless days of the early 1160's for which there is no surviving record that Rodrigo Cascante visited the Castilian royal court. The bishop's confirmations of royal diplomas of the 1180's do include a handful recorded in places such as Toledo, Cuenca, Castrojeriz, Plasencia, or Carrión de los Condes, which imply at least a minimal degree of involvement on his part in the politics of the southern and western extremes of Alfonso VIII's kingdom.¹⁰⁶ These are, however, far outnumbered by his confirmation of royal business transacted much closer to home, and well within a 120km radius of Calahorra. Cascante did not render

¹⁰⁶ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 351, 353, 363, 390, 494, 531, & 536.

any exceptional services (i.e. beyond the attendance of plenary sessions of the royal curia and appearances at the royal court when it passed through his diocese) of a political, diplomatic, or military nature, at all to the Crown of Castile during this decade.

The negligible royal patronage bestowed on the Bishopric of Calahorra by the Crown of Castile during this last phase of Cascante's episcopate also reflects the cooling of relations between the two. The frontier diocese received only three royal grants between March 1179 and March 1190, and even these were of very little value. The first, issued when Alfonso VIII's court was in Nájera on June 18, 1180, contained a blanket exemption for all the king's churchmen from royal taxation (taxation relating to military expenditure was emphasized) and service duties, and a royal pledge not to tax the Church against its will or assume the administration of ecclesiastical benefices during vacancies.¹⁰⁷ Identical diplomas, issued around the same time, were lodged in the archives of cathedrals dotted throughout the Kingdom of Castile.¹⁰⁸ This privilege certainly did not reflect any particular proximity between Alfonso VIII and his riojan bishopric. Instead it reveals the reassurance that the king felt under pressure to extend generally to a financially exhausted Castilian church that had represented the single most important economic and political support of the Lara regency government during Alfonso VIII's troubled minority.¹⁰⁹

Towards the end of the 1180's, Alfonso VIII issued two more charters that somehow benefited the Bishopric of Calahorra. However, even though the diocese stood to gain from these grants, their link to the diocese was not stated, but indirect and implicit. The first is dated May 15, 1187, and contains a list of privileges

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 344.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 348, 351, 353, & 368.

¹⁰⁹ Linehan, *Historians*, p.287.

bestowed by the king on the *camino* town of Santo Domingo de la Calzada. These include exemption from the tolls of seven nearby settlements, exemption from prosecution for violent offences committed in self-defence between the town's bridge and the leper hospital, a confirmation of Santo Domingo's pasture rights, and a confirmation of its inhabitants' right, previously granted by Rodrigo Cascante, to build and use their own bakeries, thereby dismantling the bishop's monopoly over the town's bread production. The Bishop of Calahorra is not addressed in this charter, and is only mentioned in passing in relation to this last clause, despite the fact that the town of Santo Domingo was under his direct lordship. In this case, it seems that the Castilian king's grant was made more with a mind to the regeneration of the region's pilgrimage economy than the promotion or maintenance of any special bond with the Bishopric of Calahorra. This idea is supported by the fact that by altering the town's legal constitution without formally involving the bishop, and confirming a privilege that Cascante had granted to his *santo domingano* tenants, the king may in fact have been issuing an indirect challenge to the independence of the bishop's lordship over the town.¹¹⁰

The final piece of royal patronage to come (just about) Calahorra's way in the 1180's was also the only one to contain a donation of land and jurisdiction. In a charter issued on April 30, 1189, Alfonso VIII transferred a manor from the royal demesne at Clavijo to the '*monasterium*' of Albelda and its prior, Calvet. In this instance, the king's omission of any mention of the Bishop of Calahorra is particularly conspicuous, as it was a long-standing practice for donors to Albelda, which had been associated with the personal lordship of successive Bishops of Calahorra since the see's re-foundation, to make explicit reference to the bishop's dominion over the

¹¹⁰ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 469.

riojan foundation. In the light of Albelda's transformation into a collegiate church of the Cathedral of Calahorra during the 1150's (see below, pp.296-7), Alfonso VIII's identification of Albelda as a '*monasterium*' in this charter might also be construed as a veiled royal attack on the Bishopric of Calahorra's possession of one of its most important ecclesiastical assets.¹¹¹

The royal cold shoulder shown to Calahorra during the last decade of Cascante's episcopate becomes especially obvious when Alfonso VIII's treatment of this frontier diocese is compared to his patronage during the same period of both other Castilian bishoprics, and other riojan institutions. It is worth noting, for example, that the Bishoprics of Toledo, Palencia, and Cuenca received six substantial donations apiece from the King of Castile between March 1179 and March 1190, while Sigüenza received four and Burgos two, in addition to three royal confirmations of previous royal patronage.¹¹² The grants here cited do not include any of the exemptions from royal military taxation that Alfonso VIII distributed in a general manner to his bishops during this decade, or any indirect donations like those 'received' by Calahorra in 1187 and 1189. They therefore represent a significantly better quality, as well as a higher quantity, of patronage.¹¹³

Although the King of Castile clearly turned his back on his riojan bishopric during this period, he certainly did not entirely lose interest in the political, economic, and social consolidation of the Rioja itself, and this is reflected in his ongoing patronage of both religious and secular institutions in the region. The monastery of

¹¹¹ Ibid., 524.

¹¹² Ibid., 324-5, 326, 328, 341, 347, 355-6, 360, 373, 376, 384, 411, 415-6, 422, 431, 444, 446, 465-6, 471, 483, 490-1, 521, & 536.

¹¹³ Peter Linehan has pointed out that Alfonso VIII became particularly reticent with respect to royal patronage of the church in general in the 1180's. Despite this, however, the contrast between the king's patronage of other Castilian churches and his treatment of Calahorra is notable. Linehan, *Historians*, p.311.

Santa María la Real de Nájera thus received four grants from Alfonso VIII, San Millán de la Cogolla two, and Fitero one confirmation of previous donations and privileges, between March 1179 and March 1190.¹¹⁴ Likewise, the town councils of Haro, Logroño, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and Calahorra all received either complete town charters or extensions of their municipal privileges from the Castilian king during this period.¹¹⁵ The Bishopric of Calahorra was therefore excluded from a program of royal patronage in the Rioja in the 1180's that was far from negligible.¹¹⁶

Although not openly hostile, relations between Alfonso VIII and his riojan bishopric were certainly strained during the last decade of Rodrigo Cascante's episcopate. It has been suggested that the bishop's infrequent attendance on the royal court during this period was due to his advancing years.¹¹⁷ However, the more generalized distance between Crown and diocese that has been described above, as well as Cascante's attendance on Alfonso VIII in locations as remote from his diocese as Plasencia and Cuenca as late as March 1188 and October 1189, suggest that some alternative explanations for the transformation in their relationship should be sought.¹¹⁸

They are to be found in a dramatic change in the political focus of the Crown of Castile after the spring of 1179. On April 15, 1179, Alfonso VIII and Sancho VI of Navarre met in the Rioja somewhere between Logroño and Nájera to agree a truce to end (for the next ten years) the border conflict that had been the primary occupation of both kings throughout the 1170's. As a result of this agreement, the Rioja was ceded to Castile in its entirety, and Alfonso VIII handed back to Sancho VI all the

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 323, 329, 343, 345, 428, 488, & 537.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 469-70, 497, & 525.

¹¹⁶ Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, p.531.

¹¹⁷ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, pp.370-1.

¹¹⁸ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 494 & 536.

positions that he had taken within Navarre. Less predictably, and much more significantly for the Bishopric of Calahorra, Navarre also regained control over almost all of the disputed province of Alava, and half of Vizcaya.¹¹⁹

Alfonso VIII's willingness to relinquish his conquests and influence north of the Ebro despite the strength of his position in that region throughout much of the 1170's may at first seem surprising. However, it becomes more comprehensible in the context of the serious challenges that the Kingdom of Castile faced on its western border with Leon during this period and the chronically overstretched Castilian Crown's need, which was extremely pressing by the late 1170's, to reward the nobility on whose military, economic, and political support it had so heavily depended during both the king's minority, and his subsequent campaigns to recover the territorial integrity of the kingdom he had inherited in 1158. The rewards, in terms of territorial lordship, that it now needed to mete out to an increasingly powerful feudal nobility whose support it was in no position to dispense with lay in the rich, and crown-dominated, territorial pickings associated with the *Reconquista*, and not in the already overcrowded and deeply entrenched seigniorial landscape of Castile's north-eastern borderlands. After consolidating his position in the Rioja, Alfonso VIII resolutely turned his back on the region to concentrate more fully on the security of his western, and the expansion of his southern, frontiers.¹²⁰

This turn of events dealt a huge blow to Cascante's Basque ambitions. The fact that the position of Archdeacon of Alava was not suspended as it had been in the 1160s indicates that at least the bishop's pretensions as far as Alava was concerned

¹¹⁹ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, p.156; Luis Javier Fortún Pérez de Ciriza & Carmen Jusué Simonena, *Historia de Navarra I: Antigüedad y Alta Edad Media*, Pamplona, 1993, p.146.

¹²⁰ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.I, pp.687-709 & 924-49.

were kept alive during the last decade of his episcopate.¹²¹ A confirmation of Calahorra's territorial extension issued in by Pope Celestine III in 1192, just after the end of Cascante's episcopate, makes specific reference to Armentia as a calahorran possession, indicating either that Calahorra had been able to maintain this alavan ecclesiastical centre during the 1180's, or that it was eager to revive its interests there in the early 1190's.¹²² However, there is no evidence whatsoever of any actual calahorran administration of any possessions, either ecclesiastical or secular, in Alava or Vizcaya between March 1179 and March 1190.

Once again, it is interesting to note that the evident deterioration of Calahorra's position with respect to its Basque provinces had more to do with the reinforcement of their independence from Castilian political influences after 1179 than with Navarre's own control of those territories. One of the clauses to which Sancho VI of Navarre signed up through the treaty of April 15, 1179, obliged him to 'respect the property of the Alavans', excepting only that associated with the stronghold of Treviño and that of '*Castellar*' (which none of the historians who have commented on this treaty have been able to identify with any degree of certainty).¹²³ According to Juan Francisco Elizari: 'the result was not a comprehensive incorporation of Alava into the lordship of the Navarrese crown, but the maintenance of that peculiar seigniorial regime that was later reflected in the jurisdiction of the *Cofradía de Arriaga*' (a thirteenth-century association of alavan nobles who enjoyed significant political and jurisdictional independence from the Crown of Castile).¹²⁴ The reference to Navarre's reservation of its rights in Treviño is particularly

¹²¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 190; vol.III, 295; María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla, 1076-1200*, Zaragoza, 1989, 437.

¹²² Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 328.

¹²³ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, p.156.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.156.

interesting, as this castle was situated just 5km north-west of Armentia. It seems that Calahorra's possible maintenance of Armentia during the 1180's may in fact have reflected the contrast between Cascante's continued administration of diocesan possessions in a limited Navarrese-dominated enclave of Alava, and his inability to retain control over the church in those Alavan territories that Sancho VI had promised to 'respect' in 1179. Once again, the Basque nobility, rather than the King of Navarre, emerges as the greatest obstacle to the realization of Calahorra's administrative ambitions north of the Ebro, and once again, it was the deterioration in Castile's position on her north-eastern frontier that determined the strength of the Basque territories' independence.

Rodrigo Cascante's reaction in the face of this wholesale withdrawal of the Castilian political support on which his ability to expand his see's Basque interests so heavily depended was, as usual, extremely revealing. It has already been established that the 1180's witnessed a distinct cooling of relations between the Bishop of Calahorra and the Crown of Castile. The fact that this was not a one-way process but one that also owed much to Cascante's own initiative is revealed by the bishop's stance towards the Kingdom of Aragon, and in particular the strengthening of his ties to his Aragonese metropolitan, the Archbishop of Tarragona, in a climate of increasingly tense relations between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.

Rodrigo Cascante, Aragon, and the Archbishopric of Tarragona, 1179-1190

While Castile's offensive against Navarre dominated Alfonso VIII's agenda in the 1170's, good, or at least neutral, relations with neighbouring Aragon were a strategic necessity. However, once peace had been concluded between Alfonso VIII

and Sancho VI of Navarre in April 1179, tensions that had underlain Castile's relationship with Aragon for at least a decade surfaced, resulting in increasing friction between the two kingdoms. These revolved primarily around the independent Lordship of Albarracín, established by the Navarrese noble Pedro Ruiz de Azagra on territory ceded by the 'Wolf King', Ibn-Mardanish of Murcia, sometime between 1166 and 1170.¹²⁵ This extraordinary lordship enjoyed independence not only from the major claimant to its territory, the Kingdom of Aragon, but also from those powers such as Castile and Navarre that were keen to contain Aragon's south-eastward expansion. The autonomy with which Pedro Ruiz de Azagra ruled Albarracín derived from the artful division of his political loyalties between Castile and Navarre, through which he both secured their backing in the face of Aragon's claims to his territory, and avoided its domination by either of his competing supporters.¹²⁶

Frequent appearances by Pedro Ruiz de Azagra at the court of Alfonso VIII throughout the 1170's, and the establishment, at Azagra's invitation, by 1172 of a Bishopric in Albarracín under the auspices of Toledo, provide evidence of Castile's active endorsement of the independence of this noble enclave from Aragon before 1179.¹²⁷ However, the Lordship of Albarracín did not become a major diplomatic issue between the two kingdoms before the 1180's, when Castile adopted a markedly more hostile stance towards her eastern neighbour, epitomized by the capture of the Aragonese frontier fortress of Ariza by Count Nuño Sánchez in Alfonso VIII's name in the spring of 1184.¹²⁸ This incident was followed by the formulation of no less than three treaties between Castile and Aragon between January 1186 and October 1187,

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp.118-9.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp.118-22, González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol. I, pp.311-7.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp.121-2.

¹²⁸ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol. I, p.821.

all of which dealt with the search for an acceptable solution to the issue of Albarracín's *de facto* independence. A typical indication of the King of Castile's unwillingness to see this matter effectively resolved is provided by a clause inserted into the second of these treaties, drawn up on October 5, 1186, which made his obligation to assist in Aragon's conquest of Albarracín dependant on Pedro Ruiz de Azagra's revocation of his existing loyalty to Castile.¹²⁹ In the context of such legal foot-dragging, the diplomatic frenzy represented by these three treaties failed to contain ever more prominent tensions between the two kingdoms. By 1188, Alfonso II of Aragon had become the primary force behind the creation of an anti-Castilian league which, by the end of 1191, included Portugal, Leon, and Navarre.¹³⁰

The fall in Cascante's support of the Crown of Castile during the 1180's coincided with this period of steadily worsening relations between Castile and Aragon. In this context, the Bishop of Calahorra's confirmation of a charter of Alfonso II in 1185, the same year for which no evidence of his attendance on the King of Castile survives, takes on enormous significance as a solitary indication of Cascante's growing closeness to the Aragonese royal court.¹³¹ A yet clearer revelation of the active role assumed by the bishop in defining his position with respect to the volatile political landscape in which he operated is provided by his conspicuous fostering during this period of increasingly close ties with Tarragona, his emphatically Aragonese metropolitan.

The complexity of Calahorra's position with respect to its metropolitan, Tarragona, was determined by the see's location, perched on the ever-shifting borders between Castile, Navarre, and Aragon. In the twelfth century, Calahorra constituted

¹²⁹ Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.189-92.

¹³⁰ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol. I, pp.828-31; Ladero Quesada, *Reconquista*, p.642.

¹³¹ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.372.

the westernmost diocese in the Metropolitanate of Tarragona, an ecclesiastical province that was rooted in and deeply identified with first the County of Barcelona (between 1118 and 1137), and then, after their political union in 1137, with Aragon-Barcelona. During Cascante's episcopate, the Archbishopric of Tarragona, which had been tentatively resurrected in 1118 under the auspices of the Count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer III, began to push its metropolitan pretensions in earnest.¹³² The first of many surviving papal confirmations of Tarragona's metropolitan province was issued in 1154 by Anastasius IV.¹³³ The borders of Tarragona's newly-re-established metropolitanate coincided almost exactly with the territory of the enlarged Crown of Aragon. The only areas in which they did not were in their inclusion of Navarrese Pamplona and Castilian Calahorra. The Bishopric of Calahorra was thus subject to a formal ecclesiastic affiliation with an emphatically Aragonese metropolitan that sat extremely awkwardly with the see's geographical position within the Kingdom of Castile. Cascante's highly inconsistent response to this anomalous situation was predominantly determined by his fluctuating relationship with the Crown of Castile, and reflects the existence of an area in which the bishop enjoyed a notable degree of autonomy in determining the political alignment of his see.

The strength of Calahorra's links to its Aragonese metropolitan under Rodrigo Cascante was unprecedented in the post-refoundation history of the see, and was evident from the very beginning of his episcopate. The dating-clause of a calahorran charter issued in 1147, '*eo anno quod dominus Rodericus suscepit cathedram episcopalem Calagurritanae sedis consecratus in episcopum apud Terragonam*' reveals that he was the first Bishop of Calahorra to receive his pallium

¹³² Thomas Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History*, Oxford, 1986, pp.27 & 33; Lawrence McCrank, 'Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971-1177', (unpublished PhD thesis), University of Virginia, 1974, pp.302-30.

¹³³ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 185.

from the hands of his tarragonan metropolitan after the restoration of the Diocese of Calahorra in 1045.¹³⁴ Two years later, in May 1149, Rodrigo Cascante attended the Archbishop of Tarragona's consecration of the church of Santa María in Navarrese Tudela in the company of his fellow suffragan the Bishop of Pamplona, in what was the first recorded instance of a post-re-foundation Bishop of Calahorra operating within emphatically tarragonan ecclesiastical circles.¹³⁵ He acted similarly in 1155, when he confirmed a royal privilege granted by the *Infante* Sancho to the inhabitants of Olite, which formed part of the Lordship of Artajona, together with the Bishops of Pamplona and Tarazona.¹³⁶ In the spring of that same year, Cascante hosted a legatine council, convened in Calahorra by the Papal Legate Cardinal Hyacinth, that was heavily dominated by representatives of the archiepiscopal province of Tarragona: of the ten bishops and three abbots who are known to have attended this council, only three, the Bishops of Ourense, Lisbon, and Santiago de Compostela, did not belong to Tarragona's metropolitanate.¹³⁷ Finally, a report submitted to the Pope by the Bishop of Osma in 1156/7 concerning a dispute between the bishoprics of Pamplona and Calahorra details five separate occasions on which attempts had been made, with the Bishop of Calahorra's backing, to have this case heard at the court of the Archbishop of Tarragona, of whom both litigants were suffragans.¹³⁸ This indicates that by the mid-1150's at the latest, Cascante actively recognized and endorsed the superiority of his Aragonese metropolitan's jurisdictional authority.

During the period that marked the first, intensely collaborative, phase of his relationship with the Crown of Castile (1147-1157), the Bishop of Calahorra

¹³⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 145.

¹³⁵ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.328.

¹³⁶ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 16.

¹³⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 179 & 177.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 194.

undoubtedly forged entirely novel ties with his metropolitan in Tarragona. However, his commitment to the Aragonese archbishopric during these years was in fact extremely measured, and amply counterbalanced by his identification with the Castilian episcopate.

Rodrigo Cascante's unfailing presence at the courts of Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile and the *Infante* Sancho has already been demonstrated. At those courts, he naturally mingled with the bishops of Leon and Castile, and not his Aragonese or Catalan fellow suffragans. There is no corresponding evidence that he was ever at the court of Count Ramón Berenguer IV, ruler of Aragon-Barcelona, during this period. What is more, two of the afore-cited occasions on which Cascante appeared in the company of Tarragona's suffragans in fact took place on Leonese-Castilian soil, one of them at the court of the *Infante* Sancho.¹³⁹ Even Cascante's attendance in 1149 of his archbishop's consecration of Santa María de Tudela was made in response to a request by García Ramírez of Navarre, and did not therefore directly reflect the strengthening of ties between Calahorra and its metropolitan.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, if this incident is considered in the context of the Navarrese ruler's heavy political dependence on Alfonso VII, it becomes clear that it cannot have placed any strain on Calahorra's Castilian affiliation.¹⁴¹ It is also worth noting that Cascante's consecration in Tarragona had taken place during a period of exceptionally close relations between Leon-Castile and Aragon-Barcelona, and might have proved less tolerable to Alfonso VII if it had been attempted after the death of his Catalan queen, Berenguela, and the subsequent loosening of ties between Leon-Castile and Aragon-Barcelona, in 1149.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 177 & 179; González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 16.

¹⁴⁰ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.328.

¹⁴¹ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p102.

It is also highly significant that despite himself hosting a council with a decidedly tarragonan flavour in 1155, the Bishop of Calahorra certainly did not generally align himself with the Province of Tarragona when attending important ecclesiastical meetings during this period. Not once between 1147 and 1157 did he travel east of his see to attend a council of the church. On the other hand, his attendance of the great gatherings of the ecclesiastics of Leon-Castile during this period was exemplary. He was among the 11 Leonese and Castilian bishops who attended the knighting of Sancho III in Valladolid in the spring of 1152.¹⁴² He was also in Salamanca in January 1154 when 17 of Alfonso VII's bishops met to declare Compostela's subordination to the primacy of Toledo, and in Burgos in August of that same year at a council attended by at least 11 Leonese-Castilian bishops.¹⁴³ Finally, he was also present at a royal curia celebrated in early December 1155 in Burgos at which no less than 18 of the 20 bishops of Leon-Castile were present.¹⁴⁴

When Cardinal Hyacinth, the papal legate, came to the Iberian Peninsula in the spring of 1154 to ease the way for political co-operation between the Christian kingdoms of the north in preparation for the Iberian 'Crusade' of 1155, his mandate was emphatically pan-Iberian. However, even in the context of this legatine visit, Cascante's Castilian loyalties overrode his Aragonese ecclesiastical affiliation. Although it was his fellow suffragans of Tarragona who were best represented at the legatine council held in Calahorra in 1155, the Bishop of Calahorra travelled west rather than east to attend Hyacinth's other councils. He was thus present at the two councils held jointly by Alfonso VII and the papal legate in Segovia in July 1154, and in January 1155 in Valladolid, both of them in emphatically Castilian settings and

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p.116; Serrano, *Burgos*, vol.III, 110.

¹⁴³ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 12; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.122; Luciano Serrano (ed.), *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza, antiguo monasterio benedictino*, Madrid, 1925, 109.

¹⁴⁴ Serrano, *Burgos*, 115; Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, p.128.

dominated by Leonese-Castilian clerics.¹⁴⁵ Although the foundations for Calahorra's future relationship to the Archbishopric of Tarragona were certainly laid during the first decade of Cascante's episcopate, there is no doubt that his loyalty to Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile and the *Infante* Sancho of Castile took forceful precedent over his obligations to his Aragonese metropolitan between 1147 and 1157.

This picture seems to have altered significantly in the context of the near-total meltdown of Castilian royal government that accompanied the first eight years of Alfonso VIII's minority, as the sources for the period 1158 – 1166 contain significant indications of Tarragona's active involvement in the internal affairs of its riojan suffragan. Three documents, drawn up between September 27, 1163, and January 19, 1164, record the resolution of a dispute over tithes between the Bishopric of Calahorra and the riojan monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. They register the concessions made by the Bishop of Calahorra and the Abbot of San Millán, and the confirmation of the dispute's resolution by the Archbishop of Tarragona, at whose court it had been heard.¹⁴⁶ This series of documents records a judgement that was accepted and endorsed by both litigants. It thereby reveals Tarragona's active extension of a jurisdictional authority that was both relevant and respected over the Diocese of Calahorra during this period. As a rule, medieval litigants brought their cases to the courts of their judicial superiors, and not the other way around.¹⁴⁷ This being so, it seems most likely that either the Bishop of Calahorra or the Abbot of San Millán, or both, had identified the Archbishop of Tarragona as the appropriate arbiter of their

¹⁴⁵ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 13; Fidel Fita, 'El concilio nacional de Valladolid del año 1155', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* XIV (1861), p.530; Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp.122 & 125.

¹⁴⁶ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 217-8; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 404.

¹⁴⁷ Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, pp.211-9.

dispute, thereby actively inviting him to extend his jurisdictional reach over their territories.

The last document relating to Calahorra's links to Tarragona during the first phase of Alfonso VIII's minority has been dated to 1169 by its editor, Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, but records a succession of recent events, and therefore must refer to a state of affairs that had developed around the mid-1160's. It is a letter in which Pope Alexander III commanded the Archbishop of Santiago and his suffragans to use their influence to remove the Prior of Santa María la Real de Nájera from the abbacy of San Millán de la Cogolla, which he had forcefully usurped. In his missive, the pope related how the errant prior had first falsified letters purportedly written by the Archbishop of Tarragona authorizing his assumption of San Millán's abbacy, and then sent 'false messengers' to assure Alfonso VIII that his move had the backing of the Bishop of Calahorra, before invading and taking over the monastery of San Millán. He also told of the Prior of Nájera's subsequent excommunication by the Bishop of Calahorra and Archbishop of Tarragona (this dispute is discussed in greater detail below, pp.304-17).¹⁴⁸

Two aspects of Alexander III's letter are particularly relevant to the development of Calahorra's relationship to Tarragona during the 1160's. Firstly, the revelation that the Prior of Nájera had identified the Archbishop of Tarragona as the authority whose (fabricated) backing would best support his venture in San Millán reflects a widespread perception of the legitimacy with which Tarragona could dictate (or attempt to dictate) the affairs of the monastic church in the Diocese of Calahorra. Secondly, the joint action of Rodrigo Cascante and his Archbishop in excommunicating the Prior of Nájera is indicative of the active collaboration of two

¹⁴⁸ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 237.

prelates who defended common interests in the maintenance of their authority over the internal ecclesiastical affairs of the Diocese of Calahorra. Although this measure was to prove ineffective, it provides additional evidence of Cascante's perception that the Archbishop of Tarragona was the figure most likely to provide effective backing for his internal diocesan government in the context of Castile's political implosion.

Calahorra's links to Tarragona during the most insecure phase of Alfonso VIII's minority were limited to internal diocesan issues concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction and administration. Cascante did not establish any corresponding political affiliation with his Aragonese metropolitan during this period that might undermine his position with respect to the embattled Crown of Castile. While there is no evidence that he attended any Aragonese church councils between August 1157 and August 1166, he was present on at least 13 occasions on which seven or eight of Castile's eight bishops were gathered together at the royal curia during that period.¹⁴⁹ The Bishop of Calahorra clearly did not hesitate to turn to his Aragonese metropolitan in search of external support for his diocesan government in the total absence of any coherent royal authority in Castile. However, he was careful not to allow his administrative approximation to Tarragona to spill over into a more conspicuously political association that might jeopardize his energetically maintained proximity to a secular power from whose rehabilitation he hoped to reap significant territorial rewards.

The hypothesis that Cascante's growing closeness to Tarragona between 1158 and 1166 had been a reaction to the collapse of the royal Castilian framework within which his internal diocesan government had hitherto been developing is supported by the distinct cooling of his relationship to Tarragona in the context of the recovery of

¹⁴⁹ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 53, 55-8, 69, 70, 73, 77-9, & 81-2.

the Lara regency government after 1166, and Alfonso VIII's confident campaigns against Navarre in the 1170's. There is only one surviving document linking the Bishop of Calahorra to his Aragonese metropolitan between the summer of 1166 and the spring of 1179. This concerns his attendance in 1172 of a council convened in Soria by Cardinal Hyacinth (during a second legation to the Iberian Peninsula) in the company of his fellow-suffragans of Tarragona. Moreover, even this isolated display of obedience to his archbishop loses significance in the light of the fact that the Council of Soria was attended not only by the King of Aragon, but also those of Castile and Leon, and there is therefore a distinct possibility that Cascante was there in attendance on Alfonso VIII.¹⁵⁰ In contrast, the Bishop of Calahorra assisted on at least seventeen separate occasions on which the Castilian episcopate convened in its entirety at the Castilian royal court during this same period.¹⁵¹

In the spring of 1179, a turning point in Cascante's relationship with the Castilian Crown was once again closely mirrored by a marked change in his stance towards his Aragonese metropolitan. Thus at the very moment when the foundation for his intense collaboration with Alfonso VIII was brought crashing down through Castile's negotiated return of influence over Alava and Vizcaya to Navarre on April 15, 1179, Rodrigo Cascante was in Rome, attending the Third Lateran Council as part of an emphatically Tarragonan delegation, in the company of his Archbishop and fellow suffragans, the bishops of Gerona, Barcelona, Vic, Tortosa, Lérida, Urgel, and Huesca.¹⁵² (Although the bishop's attendance at Lateran III did not post-date the treaty signed by Castile and Navarre, it is likely that he would have become aware of

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., vol.I, p.378; Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.360.

¹⁵¹ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 84-9, 90, 92-6, 103-5, 108, 116, 118, 123-4, 134, 168, 186, 188, 224, 248, 262, 290, 304-5.

¹⁵² Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.363, cites: Edmund Martene (ed.), *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum dogmaticorum amplissima collectio*, Paris, 1773, vol.VII, col.85.

the lines along which their conflict would be resolved in the weeks leading up to April 15.) The next year, he visited Tarragona itself when summoned to a metropolitan council also attended by his fellow suffragans the bishops of Pamplona, Zaragoza, Huesca, Lérida, Vic, Tortosa, Urgel, and Barcelona.¹⁵³ The remarkable fact that even the King of Castile had come to publicly accept Calahorra's inclusion among Tarragona's suffragans by the end of the 1180's is revealed in the pre-nuptial agreement reached on April 23, 1188, between the Castilian *Infanta* Berenguela and Conrad Hohenstaufen, son of the German Emperor. In a list of Castilian dignitaries attached to this document, the kingdom's bishops are grouped according to their metropolitan affiliations (or lack of such in the case of those sees directly dependant on Rome). In this list, which was drawn up in the Castilian royal chancery, the obedience owed by the Bishopric of Calahorra to Tarragona is explicitly mentioned, in a way that would have been entirely out of place just one decade previously.¹⁵⁴ In the context of Cascante's disillusionment with Castile's north-eastern border politics after 1179, the political reality of Calahorra's status as a suffragan of Tarragona acquired the substance that it had previously so revealingly lacked.

Conclusions

The evident deepening of Calahorra's relationship with its Aragonese metropolitan under Rodrigo Cascante was certainly not unconnected to Tarragona's own efforts, as the archiepiscopal see, backed by the rulers of Aragon, began to flex its increasingly powerful administrative muscles during the second half of the twelfth

¹⁵³ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.370.

¹⁵⁴ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II, 499.

century.¹⁵⁵ It also sits well with the increasingly tight, and emphatically hierarchical, order to which the Iberian Church as a whole began to conform in the twelfth century under the influence of the post-Gregorian papacy.¹⁵⁶ However, it is also worth pointing out that the administrative map of the Iberian Church had begun its transformation under the influence of the eleventh-century Papal Reformation long before the 1180's, and for much of his episcopate, Rodrigo Cascante was much more closely associated with the emphatically Castilian Archbishop of Toledo than with the metropolitan he had been unambiguously assigned by Pope Anastasius IV in 1154. In this respect, it is extremely significant that even in the presence of Cardinal Hyacinth, one of the Reformed Papacy's most forceful agents in Iberia in the mid-1150's, Cascante actively maintained his affiliation to the Castilian episcopate.

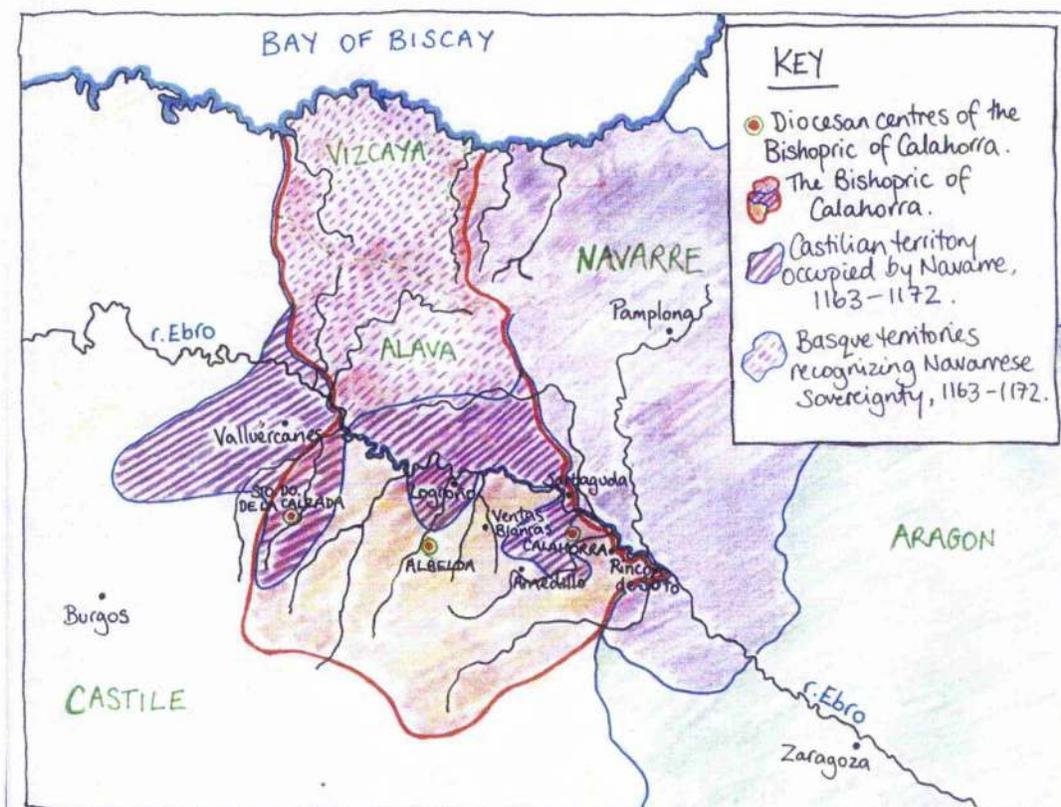
On the other hand, the close coincidence between three distinct adjustments to Cascante's stance with respect to his Aragonese archbishop and as many parallel transformations in his relationship to the Crown of Castile cannot be ignored, and points very clearly towards the existence of a causal link. Indeed, taken together, the evidence concerning Calahorra's administrative penetration into its Basque provinces and its growing closeness to Tarragona under Rodrigo Cascante indicates that the Bishop of Calahorra actively adjusted his relationship with his archbishop according to the differing degrees to which the Crown of Castile served his own diocesan interests, in particular those related to Alava and Vizcaya. Just as Calahorra's territorial and administrative gains north of the Ebro were dependant on Castile's political ascendancy over that region, the riojan bishopric's alliance with the Castilian Crown, and by implication also its careful avoidance of political association with its

¹⁵⁵ McCrank, *Restoration*, pp.398-447.

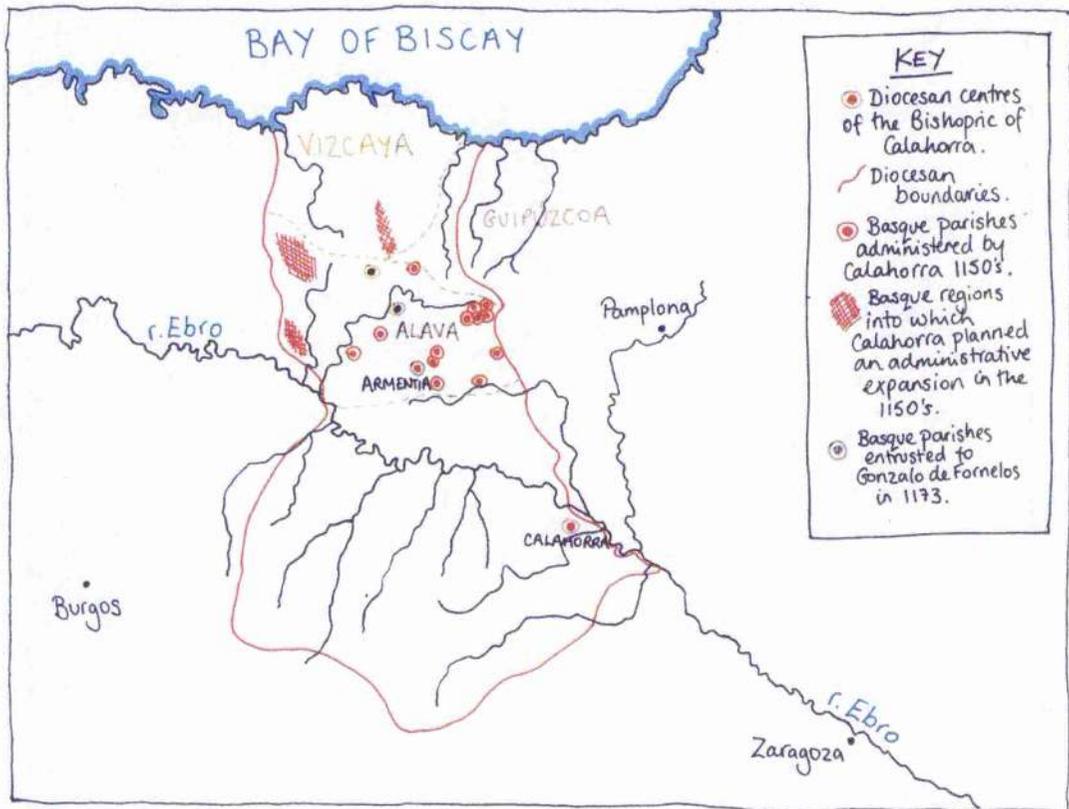
¹⁵⁶ Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp.23-6.

Aragonese metropolitan, was dependant on the continued maintenance, or projected recovery, of that ascendancy.

In the insecure days of the late 1150's and early 1160's Cascante still clearly identified Castile as the power that was most likely to (eventually) recreate the optimum conditions of the 1150's in which he had been able to expand his Basque interests so successfully. This informed his continued and intense support of the Crown of Castile even when, for the central years of the 1160's, the greatest part of his diocesan territory lay outside of the control of an immensely weakened Castilian royal government. Although the Bishop of Calahorra actively invited Tarragona's intervention in matters concerning his internal diocesan administration during the lawless days of the early 1160's, he nevertheless meticulously preserved his see's Castilian political affiliation during that period. Accordingly, the recovery of Castile's royal government and its position on its north-eastern borderlands in the late 1160's and 1170's was accompanied by an absence of tarragonan intervention in Calahorra's internal diocesan affairs. However, once Alfonso VIII had abruptly dismantled the Castilian regional dominance on which Calahorra's penetration into Alava and Vizcaya depended in the spring of 1179, Rodrigo Cascante displayed significant initiative in using the political leverage represented by his Aragonese metropolitan connection in re-asserting the independence of his own position on Castile's north-eastern frontiers.



Map.4: Navarre's Occupation of the Rioja, 1163-1172.



Map 5: The extension of Calahorra's administration into Alava and Vizcaya under Rodrigo Cascante.

4.2 THE REFORM OF THE CATHEDRAL OF CALAHORRA

The Chapter

Calahorra's cathedral chapter had burst onto the documentary record in spectacular fashion under Sancho de Funes, during whose episcopate it had developed at an astoundingly rapid pace. Although the organizational base it established at that time was substantially extended and consolidated under Rodrigo Cascante, the developments experienced by Calahorra's chapter between 1147 and 1189 were neither as breathtaking in proportion, nor as novel in character, as those overseen by his predecessor. During this period, the nature of the chapter of Calahorra was transformed perceptibly as the forces that had shaped it 'from below' under Sancho de Funes surrendered to the forceful, top-heavy, and distinctly canonical, interventions of Rodrigo Cascante.

The most obvious indicator of this change is a definite blurring of the surprisingly clear view the sources offer of the human face of Calahorra's chapter during the episcopate of Sancho de Funes. However, the veil that resettled on the chapter under Rodrigo Cascante is not immediately apparent. The maximum number of calahorran canons recorded at any one time in the sources relating to Cascante's episcopate is after all 12, one more than the maximum recorded for Sancho de Funes' chapter.¹ Similarly, the average number of named calahorran chapter members to appear in surviving dated documents under Rodrigo Cascante is 2.9 per annum, which is slightly higher than an average yearly rate of 2.58 under Sancho de Funes (data

¹ Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol.II, 153.

taken from tables 1 & 2). The cathedral's scriptorial production also increased from a yearly average of surviving chapter-generated documents of 0.94 under Sancho de Funes, to one of 1.5 under Rodrigo Cascante.² However, despite the actual increase in the size and recorded activity of Calahorra's chapter that is indicated by these numbers, their limitations are significant. When considered in the context of the fact that they occurred during a period in European history that was characterized by a sharp and sustained increase in documentary production, and in comparison to the meteoric rise of the chapter of Sancho de Funes in the 30-year period before 1147, the growth and activity of Calahorra's chapter under Rodrigo Cascante seems remarkably modest.³

In order to perceive the actual blurring of Calahorra's capitular picture, we must examine the documentary presence of individual members of the chapter (excepting its archdeacons, who will be discussed later). This was decidedly more muted under Rodrigo Cascante than it had been between 1116 and 1146, despite the fact that his longer and later episcopate generated many more available sources. Although it is possible to take a small peek between the lines of the documentation of Cascante's chapter at the community whose existence they record, the picture we can construct in this way is neither as lively nor as detailed as that which had emanated from the chapter of his predecessor.

A few examples do indicate that local landholding continued to be characteristic of Calahorra's canons under Rodrigo Cascante. Domingo Pérez, Pedro Merino, Lope García de Almonecer, and Pedro Cídez all made donations of local property to the cathedral on entering its service as canons, the first in 1150, the

² The sources for these two episcopates contain 29 datable cathedral charters relating to that of Sancho de Funes, and 66 datable cathedral charters relating to that of Rodrigo Cascante. *Ibid.*, 52-229; vol.III, 230-312.

³ Malcolm Barber, *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050-1320*, London & New York, 1992, p.446.

second sometime before 1167, and the last two between 1162 and 1167.⁴ The canons Franco, Juan de Tudela, and Pedro Ibáñez Gómez, are also all identified in the sources as holders of property in and around Calahorra, in 1171, 1173, and sometime late in the twelfth century respectively.⁵

Rodrigo Cascante's canons also seem, like those of Sancho de Funes, to have been bound both to each other and to their local community by the tightest of family ties. This is indicated by the presence of '*Dominicus quoque consanguineus meus*', as well as both Velasco and '*Petrus nepos Blasii*' among the calahorran clerical witnesses to a donation made by Domingo Pérez when he himself entered the chapter in May 1150.⁶

When María, the sister-in-law of Calahorra's doorkeeper, Vincent, donated a half-share in a house in the city to the cathedral sometime between 1150 and 1154, she named Juan López, the brother of Dominga, who was herself the sister-in-law of the canon Velasco, as the guarantor of her gift.⁷ This rather roundabout reference in fact provides an excellent illustration of the vital role played at the time by family relationships in providing a framework for interaction between Calahorra's cathedral and its local community: the link that Dominga provided between the chapter and the guarantor of this donation was important enough for the exact nature of her family relationship to both the canon Velasco and the guarantor of this grant to be carefully specified.

Two more relatives of Cascante's canons are mentioned in the sources, both of them ex-wives, who separated from their husbands, Pedro Merino and Pedro Cidez, when the latter became canons of the cathedral, the first sometime before 1167, and

⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 153, 226, & 214-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 247, 260, & 311.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 153.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 154.

the second between 1162 and 1167.⁸ The chapter's treatment of Pedro Merino's wife, María Oliva, who was described in a cathedral document as '*sororis nostre*', and who was accepted by the chapter '*in collegio nostro*' along with her husband '*pro fratribus et concanonicis nostris*', provides an indication of the respect with which the chapter approached even those family ties that it formally disrupted.

Patterns of local landholding, recruitment and family ties within Calahorra's chapter under Rodrigo Cascante therefore seem at first sight to have been very similar to those that had characterized the chapter of his predecessor. However, even though the surviving documents relating to Cascante's chapter greatly outnumber those relating to that of Sancho de Funes, the latter contain many more references to both the local property holdings and the local family ties of calahorran canons. They also provide more information about the social status and background of the canons, who represented a distinguished sector of Calahorra's local landowning class (above, pp.148-54).

The available information relating to the social background of Cascante's canons is, by contrast, extremely sparse. Of the four members of the chapter to be distinguished with the title '*don*' in the sources, three were priors, whose titles might therefore reflect their dominant position within the cathedral's hierarchy rather than a status that they enjoyed before entering the chapter.⁹ The other, don Velasco, is referred to in a document issued sometime between 1150 and 1154, and had by that time already enjoyed a very long association with the Cathedral of Calahorra as a

⁸ Ibid., 226 & 215.

⁹ Ibid., 153 & 219; Julio González, *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, Madrid, 1960, vol.II (Documentos), 115.

canon under Sancho de Funes.¹⁰ He might therefore safely be regarded as a leftover from a previous era.

Evidence concerning wealthy members of Rodrigo Cascante's chapter is equally thin on the ground. Although some donations, like the collections of nine and five agricultural holdings gifted by the canons Lope García de Almonecer and Pedro Cídez respectively, did reflect significant local landholding status, the properties with which Calahorra's canons are identified are for the most part modest, typically comprising one or two rural smallholdings or pieces of urban property.¹¹ One donation, through which Franco, the cathedral's treasurer, was endowed with a royal oven and a house within the walls of Calahorra by none other than Alfonso VIII of Castile, provides a rare glimpse of a calahorran canon who enjoyed both important urban possessions and the most exalted of social connections.¹² However, this example stands alone.

The visibility of Cascante's chapter was certainly diminished as far as the background and activity of individual canons was concerned. With respect to their local family connections, it is highly significant that the picture provided by the sources of Cascante's episcopate was one that was originally relatively lively, but then quickly faded from view. Most references to the close relatives of Cascante's canons are thus contained in documents issued before 1155. What is more, all three references relating to the canons' local family connections that were recorded after 1157 concern wives who were put aside in order for their husbands to enter the chapter.¹³ As such, they record the formal neutralization of kinship bonds between members of the chapter and the local community, in contrast to the active

¹⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 154. Also see table 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 153, 214-5, 226; vol.III, 247 & 311.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol.III, 260.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 226 & 214-5.

maintenance of such ties that is reflected by the chapter's earlier employment of close relatives of canons as witnesses or even guarantors of cathedral business.¹⁴

This fading and changing picture in fact reflects a growing divide that separated Calahorra's chapter from the urban elite to which it had been so closely connected under Sancho de Funes. The sources' silence concerning the social status of Cascante's canons outside of the chapter reflects this same divide. As does an increasing identification of Cascante's chapter with the more emphatically religious and un-worldly label of '*conuentus*' rather than the '*capitulo*' that it had always previously been known as in cathedral documents (the chapter is identified as '*conuentus*' twice and '*capitulo*' six times between 1147 and 1157, and as '*conuentus*' 14 times and '*capitulo*' five times between 1158 and 1189).¹⁵ This ostensible disassociation of the chapter from Calahorra's urban oligarchy was surely influenced by the emphasis placed on the separation of the church from lay society in post-Gregorian Western Christendom. However, as we shall see, it also formed part of the process whereby Rodrigo Cascante comprehensively dismantled the independent urban base that the cathedral chapter of Calahorra had built up under Sancho de Funes.

The evidence concerning Cascante's canons as individuals may be sketchy, but that relating to the internal organizational development of his chapter is an entirely different matter. Although Calahorra's chapter does not seem to have grown significantly in size between 1147 and 1189, its development in terms of institutional sophistication and coherence during this period was remarkable. The main agent

¹⁴ Ibid., 145 & 153-4.

¹⁵ Ibid., 83f, 153, 180, 189-90, 192, 208, 213-4, 218-20, 222a, 225-6; vol.III, 236, 241, 244-5, 250, 272, 280, & 287; Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce, siglos X-XV*, Logroño, 1992, 43.

behind this transformation was the bishop, and its result was the formation of an intensely hierarchical and increasingly tightly regulated chapter.

A notable increase in the number of function-specific capitular offices was the most visible result of the chapter's organizational development during this period. Five such offices, those of prior, treasurer, deputy-treasurer, chaplain, and master, had been established under Sancho de Funes. A hierarchy that loosely linked the first four in descending order had also taken shape before 1147 (see above, pp.254). The number of capitular offices mentioned in the sources relating to Rodrigo Cascante's episcopate is more than double that number, and there is abundant evidence that they were increasingly firmly fixed into a hierarchy that determined and reflected their relationship to each other and the rest of the chapter.

The existing offices of prior, treasurer ('*sacristan*'), '*operator*' (who seems to have assumed responsibility for the cathedral's buildings), chaplain, and master were retained in the context of Cascante's chapter.¹⁶ Their holders are first mentioned in the sources relating to this period in the years 1148/9, 1147, 1150, 1154, and 1173 respectively.¹⁷ The first three went on to maintain a consistent documentary presence throughout most of Cascante's episcopate, while its chaplains made more erratic appearances, and Calahorra's one master is only mentioned once during this period (see table 2).

The offices of '*operator*' (whose holder was sometimes also referred to as '*procurator*') and '*sacristan*' were at times duplicated under Rodrigo Cascante. This

¹⁶ Although Rodríguez de Lama is of the opinion that the titles '*sacrista*' and '*operator*' were used indiscriminately to refer to the same office throughout the twelfth century, it is clear from the consistency with which the holders of the title '*sacrista*' and '*sacricustos*' are differentiated in the sources from those identified with the titles '*operator*' and '*procurator*', that these labels had come to refer to two separate offices by its second half. Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.I, p.68.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 83f, 145, 153, & 189; vol.III, 254.

happened in 1155, in which year both Calvet and Sancho witnessed the same document as '*sacristan*'.¹⁸ The confirmation of an exchange made in January 1171 between the cathedral and some local landowners by both '*Franco opere prepositus*' and '*Pedro procurator*', indicates that the position of '*operator/procurator*' was also duplicated at least once during Cascante's episcopate.¹⁹ Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Calahorra's chaplains also multiplied under this bishop: while the sources' identification of calahorran chaplains named Pedro in 1154 and 1177, and Ponce in 1171 and 1188 may reflect the existence of four distinct individuals whose tenure of the post did not overlap in any way, it seems more likely that, for most of the 1170's at least, two chaplains served the Cathedral.²⁰ Cascante's chapter thus retained all five of the offices that it had developed under Sancho de Funes, and this number may have increased to eight, in the case that the duplication discussed above amounted to more than a handful of temporary measures.

It was certainly raised to at least 8 (or a maximum of 11) by the emergence of three more capitular offices between 1147 and 1189. The first to appear in the sources is that of choirmaster ('*rector chori*'), which features in a capitular witness-list of May, 1147.²¹

The office of '*precentor*' (whose holder is once also identified as '*primiclericus*' in the sources) is first mentioned in a calahorran context in a document dated July 1162, and is then referred to another four times in chapter records dating between that year and 1188.²²

¹⁸ Ibid., vol.II, 192.

¹⁹ Ibid., vol.III, 245.

²⁰ Ibid., vol.II, 189; vol.III, 245 & 295; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 43.

²¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 145.

²² Ibid., 213, 218, & 225; vol.III, 245 & 295.

Another capitular post that was unknown in the Cathedral of Calahorra before the episcopate of Rodrigo Cascante was that of bishop's chaplain, which first appears in the sources in June 1152, and also features in two witness-lists of 1155.²³ Its emergence during this period is especially relevant to a discussion (which follows) of the bishop's own role in the development of his chapter.²⁴

Cascante's Capitular Archdeacons

Under Rodrigo Cascante, the see's archdeacons, whose exclusion from the business of the cathedral chapter under Sancho de Funes had been determined by episcopal legislation, emerged as emphatically capitular figures who became significantly more visible and active in the cathedral's documentation. While Funes' archdeacons had been predominantly associated with the territorial administration of the diocese, and had very rarely put in any recorded appearances in their cathedral city, those of Cascante became extremely closely involved in the cathedral's internal government. The sources record Cascante's four archdeacons' (of Calahorra, Nájera, Alava, and Berberiego) involvement in capitular affairs, for the most part in the context of chapter meetings held in the cathedral itself, on 12 distinct occasions.²⁵ Only five documents record their activities in a broader diocesan context.²⁶

Most of the archdeacons' appearances in capitular records from the period 1147-1189 link them to the chapter's most formal moments, and those occasions

²³ Ibid., vol.II, 180 & 192; vol.III, 513.

²⁴ Ibid., vol.II, 180; vol.III, 513.

²⁵ Ibid., vol.II, 180, 189-91, 213, 218, 225-6; vol.III, 244-5, & 295; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 43.

²⁶ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 152, 227; vol.III, 254 & 274; Margarita Cantera Montenegro, 'Santa María la Real de Nájera, siglos XI-XIV', (unpublished PhD thesis), Complutense University Madrid, 1987, vol.II (appendix of primary sources), 68.

when it was involved with important external ecclesiastical institutions. They were, for example, present to head the list of capitular signatories when Rodrigo Cascante legislated on the financial structure and internal government of the chapter in March, 1156, and again when his provisions were confirmed in 1179.²⁷ They were also all present for the chapter meeting at which a dispute between the Monastery of Fitero and the Church of Arnedo over the right to administer Arnedo's tithes was heard and judged by the bishop.²⁸ Three archdeacons confirmed an important donation of episcopal incomes to the Temple, made by Rodrigo Cascante in the context of a plenary chapter meeting in 1155, and four archdeacons witnessed the bishop's confirmation of that gift in 1162.²⁹ When bishop and chapter made a substantial gift of tithes to the Monastery of Santa María de Castejón, all four archdeacons confirmed it, as they did the pact, drawn up in 1164, that concluded the Cathedral of Calahorra's longstanding dispute with the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla over the administrative control of a long list of churches within the diocese.³⁰ No record survives of any important capitular affairs having been settled without the archdeacons having been present.

The archdeacons' participation in the business of the chapter of Calahorra was not, however, limited to grand or ceremonial occasions, but also involved them in the detail of the cathedral's internal financial management. This was the case on two occasions in 1167, one on which the chapter exchanged some small plots of land with the cathedral's former shepherd in the presence of all of its archdeacons, and another on which the bishop drew up a lease for two houses in Calahorra that were to be held by a local couple for a yearly rent of 2 *solidi* '*cum assensu Sanccii prioris et*

²⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 190.

²⁸ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 43.

²⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 180 & 213.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 189 & 218.

archidiaconorum'.³¹ It also occurred in January 1171, when the Archdeacons of Calahorra and Berberiego witnessed the chapter's exchange of some fields with Juan and his wife Cecilia, a local couple who bore no marks of social distinction, and in 1188, when a full compliment of calahorran archdeacons confirmed the chapter's acquisition of a house in Calahorra from Mossé de Zahac, a local Jew.³²

In addition to the four existing Archdeaconries of Calahorra, Nájera, Alava, and Berberiego, Rodrigo Cascante also created a fifth, namely Vizcaya. The Archdeaconry of Vizcaya is first mentioned in a piece of capitular legislation concerning chapter finances issued in March 1156, which determined, among other things, the dates on which each of the see's archdeacons was expected to entertain the chapter. The archdeacons here associated with such an obligation included the entirely unprecedented Archdeacon of Vizcaya. Although the four pre-existing calahorran archdeacons were clearly involved in the formulation of this statute, the Archdeacon of Vizcaya's participation in its preparation is not mentioned. Neither did any such figure join Calahorra's other four archdeacons in confirming this piece of legislation 23 years later in 1179.³³ These omissions, in combination with a resounding documentary silence that surrounds both the Archdeacon and the Archdeaconry of Vizcaya for the three decades after 1156, and the removal of the region of Vizcaya from Calahorra's administrative sights for most of the period between its occupation by Navarre in 1163 and Rodrigo Cascante's death in 1189 (above, chapter 4.1), strongly indicate that this position remained empty for most of Cascante's episcopate. However, when the bishop appealed to Rome for support in a dispute with the neighbouring Bishopric of Tarazona sometime between 1185 and 1187, he sent Pedro,

³¹ *Ibid.*, 225-6.

³² *Ibid.*, vol.III, 245 & 295.

³³ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 190.

Archdeacon of Vizcaya, as his envoy.³⁴ Towards the end of the bishop's days, it seems that this office had finally become a reality within Calahorra's diocesan administration.

If we add these five emphatically capitular archdeacons onto our tally of office holders within Cascante's chapter, we reach a total of at least 13, and not more than 16. Even if the actual number of such posts maintained and created during this period were at the lower end of this bracket, it would be well over double the number of offices associated with the chapter under Sancho de Funes. The organization of Calahorra's cathedral administration through the institutionalized delegation of authority and responsibility clearly accelerated significantly during the episcopate of Rodrigo Cascante.

The Imposition of Order

This period also saw the development of an increasingly rigid hierarchy that permeated every aspect of Calahorra's capitular administration. The see's archdeacons, whose position at the summit of this hierarchy was only very sporadically challenged by the chapter's priors, provide a good starting place for an examination into this development.

Like the rest of the chapter, Calahorra's archdeacons themselves were organized into a hierarchy that grew progressively stricter during Cascante's episcopate. This was reflected by the development of a rigid protocol determining their respective positions on capitular witness-lists. The sources contain 11 such lists that were signed by three or more of Calahorra's four active archdeacons (the

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 290.

Archdeacon of Vizcaya has been omitted from this discussion owing to his doubtful existence before 1185). Three date from the 1150's, and include the only one not to be signed by a full complement of four archdeacons. While two of them list the Archdeacons of Alava and Berberiego before those of Calahorra and Nájera, the other is headed by the Archdeacon of Calahorra, followed by those of Alava and Berberiego. By the 1160's this more flexible pattern, in which the Archdeacon of Alava seems to have taken a very loose sort of precedence over his archidiaconal colleagues, had been replaced by one that was much more consistent and totally dominated by the Archdeacon of Calahorra. After 1163, Calahorra's four archdeacons confirmed cathedral documents in the following fixed order: Calahorra, Nájera, Alava, Berberiego. This order was only slightly altered in two of eight witness-lists that are dated between 1162 and 1188, once when the Archdeacon of Nájera preceded the Archdeacon of Calahorra, and once when the Archdeacons of Alava and Berberiego exchanged positions at the bottom of the list.³⁵

The archidiaconal hierarchy that developed during this period is in keeping with what we know of the status and power associated with each of Calahorra's four active archdeaconries. During the first expansive decade of Cascante's episcopate, the vast and relatively uncharted province of Alava promised great fiscal and territorial rewards and constituted the single greatest administrative prize in the bishop's gift, a fact reflected by the position of its Archdeacon in capitular witness-lists during that period. The transferral of Alava's allegiance to Navarre in 1163 rendered its administration by the then emphatically Castilian Bishopric of Calahorra all but unworkable, and the archdeacons of the province receded into relative diplomatic obscurity. When, in 1167, the archdeacons of the diocese confirmed some cathedral

³⁵ Ibid., vol.II, 218; vol.III, 244.

business for the first time since 1163, the province of Alava was not represented by an archdeacon of its own, but was under the management of Diego, Archdeacon of Nájera and '*procurator Alauensis archidiaconatus*'.³⁶ The representatives of the limping province of Alava were accordingly demoted to a more humble position in the archidiaconal ranking-system that emerged in cathedral records in the 1160's.

It is also logical that the archdeacons of the tiny province of Berberiego, shaped out of lands north of the Ebro and south of Alava that belonged to the Kingdom of Navarre during most of Cascante's episcopate, should have been shunted to the bottom of Calahorra's emerging diplomatic archidiaconal hierarchy.

That Calahorra should have taken diplomatic precedence over Nájera is also natural, given that this province contained what Sancho de Funes had unambiguously revived as the see's cathedral city and administrative centre. It is also understandable in the context of the great losses that the historically pre-eminent province of Nájera had suffered when its ecclesiastical and territorial centrepiece, the Navarrese royal pantheon of Santa María la Real de Nájera, was wrested from the Bishopric of Calahorra and transferred to Cluny by Alfonso VI of Castile in 1077 (above, pp.68-73).³⁷

Whatever the relationship of the Archdeacons of the Diocese of Calahorra to each other, it is clear that they collectively dominated the cathedral's administration. The seniority that these officials enjoyed within the chapter is well illustrated by their invariable presence at discussions concerning the cathedral's most important affairs. It is also emphasized by their position in capitular witness-lists, in which they were

³⁶ Ibid., vol.II, 225-6.

³⁷ For a description of the Bishopric of Calahorra's territorial subdivision in the thirteenth century, see: Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'Un Mapa de la Diócesis de Calahorra en 1257', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 60 (1954), pp.375-996. There are no earlier records of the precise geography of the diocese.

preceded only by the bishop when he himself also confirmed a document, and, on three rare occasions, by the prior.³⁸

The archdeacons' diplomatic precedence over the prior of the chapter reflects the enormously negative effect that their promotion within the cathedral had on the power that Calahorra's priors had hitherto enjoyed over its administration. This is also well illustrated by Cascante's chapter statute of 1156. As we have seen, this piece of capitular legislation established, among other things, the hospitality owed to the chapter by its most powerful members. Although the prior was included in this privileged category by the statute, he, like the phantom Archdeacon of Vizcaya, was not identified by the bishop as a member of the executive committee with whose cooperation this piece of legislation had been formulated: '*Comunicato itaque consilio cum archidiaconis nostris, D. Alauensi, F. Berbericensi, G. Calagurrensi. D. Nazarensi, concessimus et confirmamus...*'. His exclusion from such an important decision-making process reflects a serious reduction of his power and status within the chapter.

The archdeacons' dominance over Calahorra's prior in such a clearly capitular context is especially relevant in that it constituted a total reversal of the order established by Bishop Sancho de Funes in 1124, when he created the office of prior and ruled that its authority should be entirely independent of the power of the Archdeacon of Calahorra (and, by implication, also the remainder of his emphatically territorial archdeacons) (above, pp.158-9). The archdeacons' intense involvement in the very internal capitular administration from which they had formerly been expressly excluded by episcopal statute thus reveals not only a fundamental shift in

³⁸ Ibid., 152, 213, & 225.

their habitual sphere of activity and authority, but also a dramatic transformation in the chapter's internal power-structure.

This transformation was taken to its extreme by García Pérez, the immensely powerful Archdeacon of Calahorra who actually took over the office of prior between 1171 and 1182 (at least: Archdeacon García Pérez is first identified as Prior of Calahorra in 1171, but the previous holder of that office, Don Sancho, disappears from the record in 1167; similarly, García Pérez made his last documented appearance as prior in 1182, but his successor in the post, Juan de Préjano, does not feature in any surviving documents before 1185 – see table 2). During this 11-year period, he confirmed documents as either '*Garsias, prior et archidiaconus sedis*' or '*archidiaconus et prior*', and dominated every aspect of the cathedral's administration.³⁹ The days of Sancho de Funes' bottom-heavy prior-led chapter were certainly a thing of the past.

The sources contain little indication of the wealth and status of Calahorra's archdeacons in general, but we can safely assume that if they were to meet their obligations of hospitality to the cathedral chapter as laid out in the 1156 statute, they must have had access to relatively deep pockets.⁴⁰ Although the record provides no further details of the personal power of any of the see's other archdeacons, the picture it allows us to reconstruct of García Pérez, the Archdeacon of Calahorra who dominated the chapter from 1154 to 1188, is truly spectacular. García Pérez seems to have occupied a variety of positions at the top of the cathedral hierarchy, some of them simultaneously. He was thus possibly the same García who held the post of Archdeacon of Nájera two years before he emerged as Archdeacon of Calahorra in

³⁹ Ibid., 190; vol.III, 245, 250; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 43.

⁴⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 190-1.

1154, a post he went on to hold for 34 years. As we have seen, he also took over the office of prior for at least 11 of those years. Finally, there is also a distinct possibility that he was the same García who filled in as Archdeacon of Berberiego during a vacancy in that province in the early 1180's (see table 2).

A grant made out to '*domino Garsie, Kalagurritano archidiacono pro multis seruiciis et deuotissimo animo quod erga me actenus exhibuistis*' by Alfonso VIII of Castile on November 5, 1170, reveals this ecclesiastical magnate's strong personal connection to the King of Castile. Although it was made a good 16 years after the archdeacon first appears on Calahorra's documentary record, it is possible that his royal connections dated back to the mid-1150's, when the *Infante* Sancho ruled in the 'Kingdom of Nájera', and that he owed his appointment to the top of the cathedral hierarchy to the Crown of Castile. The size of Alfonso VIII's donation, which comprised the royal estate of Belusano, in the region of Cerezo on the border between the sees of Calahorra and Burgos, and all of the royal demesne attached to it, including fields, vineyards, pastures, streams, and mills, reveals the economic and territorial power to which such a figure could aspire.⁴¹

García Pérez's enormous spending power is further revealed by a charter of July 19, 1185, which records his purchase of property, including a house, a mill, five fields, and eight vineyards, in Calahorra and its environs for the staggering sum of 140 '*morabetinos de la cruz*' (the sale of a vineyard to the chapter of Calahorra in 1189 for seven *morabetinos* serves to put the archdeacon's acquisition in perspective).⁴² As Archdeacon of Calahorra García Pérez occupied the highest position one could attain within the chapter without becoming bishop. Furthermore, it

⁴¹ Ibid., vol.III, 243.

⁴² Ibid., 289 & 301.

was a position with which the right to administer the office of prior, and possibly also other archdeaconries, during vacancies, in his case for periods that were clearly abusively long, seems to have become associated during his tenure. Although it would be an exaggeration to cite this 'super-archdeacon' as a typical example of the status and wealth enjoyed by the remainder of Calahorra's archdeacons, his case can provide an insight into the heights to which they might have not so unrealistically aspired.

It is possible, but not demonstrable, that 'Domingo Pérez, presbiter', who entered the chapter in 1150, was the same Domingo who appears in the sources as Archdeacon of Alava between 1154 and 1163.⁴³ It is also possible that he was García Pérez's brother. If this were the case, his appointment as archdeacon would further highlight the facility with which his brother disposed of cathedral offices and benefices. It would also provide evidence of the high social status and lofty connections of another one of the cathedral's archdeacons.

The fact that the archdeacons stood both above and apart from the rest of Calahorra's cathedral chapter is best illustrated by the 'glass ceiling' that separated the level they occupied in the chapter hierarchy from those filled by the remainder of the canons. Although, as we shall see, various calahorran canons approached the summit of the chapter hierarchy along clearly distinguishable career-paths during this period, these very rarely reached the level of archdeacon. Thus while most office-holders within the chapter were recruited from within its own ranks, its archdeacons were predominantly outsiders appointed straight to the top of the cathedral's administrative structure.

Of the eight archdeacons who can be clearly distinguished from each other in the sources, only two can be tentatively linked to a capitular background. One is the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 153, 180, 189-92.

aforementioned Domingo, Archdeacon of Alava, who may have entered the chapter four years before first appearing in cathedral records as archdeacon in 1154. The other is Sancho, his successor in the Archdeaconry of Alava, who first appears as archdeacon in 1171, and may have been the same Sancho who had served as the bishop's chaplain between 1152 and 1155, and then as prior between 1161 and 1167 (see table 2).

Their significance as capitular appointees is, moreover, rather limited due to the very particular personal connections that seem likely to have earned them their appointments. As we have already seen, it is possible that Domingo was in fact the closest of blood relatives of the man whose power within the cathedral was second only to that of the bishop. For his part, Sancho's possible background as the bishop's own chaplain would have afforded him the opportunity to establish the closest of personal relationships with Rodrigo Cascante himself, a connection that could well have provided him with the means to break through the glass ceiling that blocked the path of other aspiring Calahorran canons.

By contrast, Calahorra's other capitular offices were increasingly tightly linked to each other and the main body of the chapter during this period by a growing network of ascending career-paths. The post of prior was occupied by four different people apart from the archdeacon García Pérez between 1147 and 1189. All of them can be linked to a capitular background, as can Calahorra's two '*operator/procurator*'s and two '*sacristan*'s. The paths along which they ascended the chapter hierarchy can best be identified by charting their progress individually.

Pedro de Grañón was identified as the cathedral's '*operator*' in 1147, and was probably the same 'Don Pedro' who served as prior between 1150 and 1154.⁴⁴ Velasco, his successor as prior, was identified as a presbiter within Cascante's chapter in 1147.⁴⁵ He served as '*sacristan*' at least between 1152 and 1154, and occupied the post of prior in 1155.⁴⁶ It seems most likely that he was replaced as prior by Sancho de Grañón, who is identified as the bishop's chaplain in documents dated 1152 and 1155, and who could be the same 'Don Sancho' who appears on the surviving record as prior between 1161 and 1167.⁴⁷ Juan de Préjano is first identified as prior in a document dated 1185, before which, in 1169, he confirmed a cathedral charter as '*procurator*' (see table 2).⁴⁸

A few other career paths that stopped short of the position of prior are also discernible. Thus Franco, who is first mentioned in the sources as a priest within the chapter in 1147, went on to become '*operator*' between 1155 and 1177, and is identified as '*sacristan*' in a document of 1188.⁴⁹ Calvet, who was also identified as a capitular priest in 1147 and a simple canon in 1150, went on to serve as '*sacristan*' between 1155 and 1177.⁵⁰ Cornelius was identified in cathedral records as deacon in 1147, an untitled canon in 1150, and as '*precentor*' in 1171.⁵¹ (see table 2)

Some general conclusions can be drawn from these individual capitular careers. Most obviously, it seems that Calahorra's priors were for the most part recruited among long-serving canons who held either the post of

⁴⁴ Ibid., 145, 152-3, 161, 163, 170, & 189.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 145.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 163, 180, 189, & 192.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 180, 208, 213, 218-9, & 225-6; vol.III, 513.

⁴⁸ Ibid., vol.III, 236 & 287.

⁴⁹ Ibid., vol.II, 145, 180, 192, 213, 218, & 225-6; vol.III, 245 & 295; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 43.

⁵⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 145, 153, 180, 192, 213, 218, & 225-6; vol.III, 245; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 43.

⁵¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 145, 153; vol.III, 245.

'operator/procurator', or that of 'sacristan' immediately before becoming prior. The only exception to this rule was Sancho de Grañón, whose possible preferential treatment as a former personal chaplain to Rodrigo Cascante has already been outlined above.

The position of the offices of 'sacristan' and 'operator' directly below that of prior in the chapter hierarchy is further emphasized by the fact that no holders of these offices were ever subsequently identified in any other capitular positions except that of prior: there was no way down for the incumbents of these posts. These career paths do not, however, indicate the existence of an hierarchical relationship between these two offices themselves: while the sources reveal two cases in which an 'operator' went on to become prior (Pedro de Grañón and Juan de Préjano), and only one in which a 'sacristan' did the same (Velasco), they also reveal one case of an 'operator' who later became 'sacristan' (Franco).

The picture of the capitular hierarchy that we have begun to sketch here can be filled out by an examination of the positions of Rodrigo Cascante's office-holding canons in the witness lists of cathedral documents. The sources contain 16 witness-lists dated between 1147 and 1188 that include the confirmations of calahorran canons. These paint a very clear picture of the rather dramatic development of calahorra's diplomatic hierarchy during this period. The first four of these lists, drawn up between 1147 and 1152, are positively anarchical and thoroughly inconsistent in the order in which they list the cathedral's canons. One, which was signed by two office-holders and eight other canons, lists the office holders third and sixth, with no apparent regard to their possible capitular pre-eminence.⁵² In another two the prior did assume a position at the top of the list, but in one the confirmation of the 'sacristan'

⁵² Ibid., vol.II, 145.

was preceded by that of an untitled canon, and in the other the signatures of the prior and another canon both preceded that of Archdeacon García Pérez.⁵³ The last of these unruly lists records the ‘*sacristan*’ and the bishop’s chaplain as the only members of the chapter to confirm a document along with the Archdeacon of Nájera and the bishop himself.⁵⁴

After 1152, a very different pattern emerged to mark an abrupt end to these chaotic diplomatic conventions. From that date onwards, the archdeacons and the prior invariably headed lists of capitular confirmants (almost always in that order, and except for one occasion on which they seem to have been totally absent), followed by the ‘*sacristan*’, ‘*operator*’, and ‘*precentor*’ (also almost always in that order). Other office-holders who were present then preceded canons with no specific title.⁵⁵

The Timing of Calahorra’s Capitular Reforms

The massive organizational drive that propelled the institutional development of Calahorra’s chapter under Rodrigo Cascante was for the most part concentrated into the period 1152–1156. Before that, in the days between 1147 and 1152 when no sense of hierarchy permeated capitular witness-lists, the chapter of Calahorra seems to have led a decidedly deregulated and relatively autonomous existence, largely unaffected by any active intervention by its newly-appointed bishop. The archdeacons who would later come to totally dominate the chapter are almost totally absent from the surviving sources from this initial phase of Cascante’s episcopate, which furthermore only record the existence of four calahorran capitular offices.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 152-3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 513.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 163, 189, 180, 192, 213, 218, & 225-6; vol.III, 245, 247, & 295; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 43.

The most eloquent testimony of the relative independence with which Calahorra's chapter administered its own affairs during this first phase of Cascante's episcopate is provided by a remarkable document drawn up in the cathedral on May 25, 1150. It records the arrangements that accompanied the entry of the presbyter, Domingo Pérez, to the chapter as a canon: his donation of land to the cathedral, which he was to receive back from the prior and chapter on condition that he deliver its tithe to the chapter treasury, and his endowment with a separate cathedral benefice. Despite presenting us with a complete and thorough text, this document provides no evidence that the bishop was involved in its formulation or confirmation, nor indeed that he exercised any authority over the process whereby this new canon entered the Cathedral of Calahorra.⁵⁶

Rodrigo Cascante did not tolerate the state of capitular independence reflected by this document for long. The first signs of his reforming agenda are visible in a calahorran document drawn up in June 1152, in which he appears at the head of a conspicuously orderly capitular witness-list.⁵⁷ This marked the abrupt introduction of the strictly hierarchical order that from that date onwards characterized lists of capitular confirmants in Calahorra's records. It was also around this time that the bishop clipped the chapter's wings by introducing archdeacons to dominate its ranks. The first time an archdeacon of the see is mentioned in the sources relating to Cascante's episcopate is in a document dated 1150, in which '*archidiaconus G. Petrus*' is listed among the confirmants of a cathedral document.⁵⁸ In the document of June 1152 just mentioned for its witness-list, García Pérez was the only archdeacon to confirm (assuming it was indeed he, above, p.263), doing so as '*Garsias*

⁵⁶ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 153.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 513.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 152.

archidiaconus Nagarrensis'.⁵⁹ By 1154, he was no longer a lone figure, but was accompanied by a full complement of four calahorran archdeacons (excluding the probably nonexistent Archdeacon of Vizcaya), he himself having been promoted in the process of this archidiaconal influx to the newly pre-eminent Archdaconry of Calahorra.⁶⁰ Once they had been introduced to the chapter, Calahorra's archdeacons certainly made their presence felt: their remarkably persistent appearances in 5 capitular documents issued in the short space of time between March 1154 and March 1156 stands in sharp contrast to their previous silence.⁶¹

The establishment of such active archdeacons to occupy what was effectively an entirely unprecedented layer at the very top of the chapter's hierarchy was an episcopal initiative and not one that proceeded from within the chapter itself. As we have already seen, the men who held these posts were recruited from outside the chapter, which as a rule appointed its own members to positions of responsibility when it had the opportunity to do so. These archdeacons were also closely bound to the bishop long after their appointment. There is thus not a single document that records them acting independently of Rodrigo Cascante, either in the context of their respective archidiaconal provinces, or in the context of the chapter itself. Cascante's archdeacons also actively endorsed around two-thirds of the charters that he issued in a capitular context.

Rodrigo Cascante's personal direction of the administrative reforms that turned the chapter of Calahorra around in the mid-1150's is most clearly visible in the statute of 1156 to which we have already had frequent recourse. This piece of legislation represents the bishop's most forceful and thorough declaration of intent to

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 513.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 189.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 180, 192, 189-91.

enforce his episcopal authority over the most fundamental aspects of the administration of the Cathedral of Calahorra. Although it is introduced by the bishop purely as a piece of episcopal munificence, there are clearly two sides to this statute. Its provisions for the hospitality to be provided for the chapter by the bishop, archdeacons, and prior, and its detailed confirmation of the chapter's existing income, were thus counterbalanced by a ruling that canons were to receive their benefices directly from the bishop, and that no canon was to be deprived of his benefice unless he had been found guilty by the bishop and canons of an offense that merited expulsion from the chapter:

*...ut omnes canonici prestimonia sua firmiter teneant, nec ullus eorum prestimonium sibi ab episcopo canonice in capitulo acceptum ulterius amittat, sed omni tempore uite sue libere habeat et possideat, nisi pro criminali et manifesta culpa conuictus coram canonicis in capitulo ab episcopo fuerit.*⁶²

Bishop Cascante's pointed insistence on this regulation, which in itself was entirely normative as far as canon law was concerned, surely represented his response to the pre-1152 atmosphere of capitular autonomy in which it had been possible for Domingo Pérez to be admitted to the chapter and awarded a canon's benefice without even lip-service being paid to his episcopal authority over such a process. He clearly intended to enforce his right to control admittance and expulsion to and from the chapter in the future.

After 1157, the bishop's forceful intervention in the administration of his cathedral chapter stopped as abruptly as it had started. He himself is absent from the

⁶² Ibid., 191.

cathedral record between 1157 and 1161. His archdeacons also stopped appearing in calahorran documents for a few years after 1157, and when they resumed their documented activities within the chapter in 1162, it was not with the same insistent frequency that had characterized their previous intervention in capitular business. Neither did Rodrigo Cascante issue any further capitular legislation throughout the remainder of his episcopate.

However, the end of the bishop's drive to take control of his chapter in no way signified the reversal of his reforms after 1157. The strictly hierarchical structure that had been introduced to the chapter in 1152 remained in place, as did the cathedral's archdeacons. The bishop also retained tight control of even the most detailed cathedral transactions. Significantly, the two documents that record the creation of two more calahorran canons after 1157 also record the bishop's close supervision of their entry to the chapter.⁶³

The concentration of Cascante's energetic program of capitular reform into such a short period in the mid-1150's was far from accidental, and coincided precisely with the brief apparition of the Castilian 'Kingdom of Nájera' under the Castilian *Infante* Sancho between 1152 and 1157. The intensely close co-operation that determined relations between Rodrigo Cascante and the Castilian ruler of the Rioja during that period has already been discussed (above, pp.185-95). The identification of the Diocese of Calahorra as the symbolic and administrative centerpiece of that territory, and its bishop as a central figure in its government and consolidation, clearly had significant implications for both the bishopric's internal development, and Cascante's own power.

⁶³ Ibid., 214-5.

The top-heavy canonical reforms that were imposed on Calahorra's cathedral in these few short years should therefore be interpreted as part of a program aimed at transforming the semi-autonomous chapter of a politically peripheral and economically-challenged bishopric into an institution that could reflect the new, emphatically Castilian, identity of a cathedral that had almost overnight been identified as the religious and symbolic centerpiece of a novel Leonese-Castilian political configuration. The flood of royal donations that gushed in Calahorra's direction in the mid-1150's should also be interpreted in this light, as should the possible royal appointment in 1152 of García Pérez, the calahorran 'super-archdeacon' who represented the antithesis of the chapter's erstwhile independence.

The ephemeral apparition during this period of a modest but clearly discernible episcopal court associated with the person of Rodrigo Cascante reflects the growth in his own power and status that the sudden promotion of his see to a position of such political and strategic importance entailed. As we have seen, the bishop retained a personal chaplain at least between 1152 and 1155. He also employed the services of a chancellor, who is mentioned in two documents which relate to a single transaction, made on April 18, 1155.⁶⁴ This fledgling episcopal court did not, moreover, outlast the *Infante* Sancho's riojan reign: neither of these figures appear in cathedral records again between the end of the 1150's and Rodrigo Cascante's death in 1189.

Along with an episcopal court, Rodrigo Cascante also acquired another of the fundamental trappings of power during what were clearly glory-days for the Bishopric of Calahorra: his own seal. He first used his seal to corroborate a surviving episcopal

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 180 & 192. Although Rodríguez de Lama gives a date of April 18, 1156, for the latter document, I have assumed that they were in fact issued on the same day in the same year as they record the same transaction, and have identical witness-lists which include the signature of the prior Pedro, who had died by 1156.

charter on March 4, 1154.⁶⁵ He also used his seal to authenticate the two documents that had been written by his chancellor on April 18, 1155.⁶⁶ Unlike his court, Cascante's seal survived beyond the end of the 1150's. Although he was extremely sparing in his use of it after the death of Sancho III, the bishop did get his seal out again once in July 1162, and, for the last time, to authenticate a donation he made to the canons of Calahorra on his deathbed on September 9, 1189.⁶⁷

Acquisitions

An examination of the material acquisitions of the chapter of Calahorra between 1147 and 1189 supports the developmental picture that has been described above. The rate at which the Cathedral of Calahorra acquired property and incomes during this period seems to have risen with respect to the acquisitions of Sancho de Funes' chapter. While the average yearly number of datable recorded capitular acquisitions under the earlier bishop had been about 0.5, the average annual rate at which the chapter recorded such transactions in surviving documents under his successor rose to 0.85. However, this increase is in keeping with the rates at which the recorded size and activity of Calahorra's chapter rose under Rodrigo Cascante (above, pp.248-9), and might therefore simply reflect a growing sense of the importance of making and maintaining cathedral records rather than a significant rise in the rate at which the chapter actually accumulated property. Even if these numbers do reflect a real increase, moreover, it is by no means spectacular, and compares especially feebly

⁶⁵ Ibid., 189. Seals were coming into use at around this time in both episcopal and some noble households in the peninsula: Fletcher, *Episcopate*, p.99; Simon Barton, *The aristocracy in twelfth-century León and Castile*, Cambridge, 1997, pp.61-2.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 180 & 192.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 213; vol.III, 306.

with the fast and furious accumulation of the Cathedral of Calahorra's property base under Sancho de Funes.

More interesting than the numbers of acquisitions made by the chapter during this period is their changing nature. Each of the three categories into which these transactions can be divided, namely donations, purchases, and exchanges, underwent transformations under Rodrigo Cascante that reflect both the general direction in which he steered his cathedral, and the way its fortunes were affected by the powerful and opposing political currents that swept across the Rioja and the Basque provinces during this period.

Donations

The record relating to the episcopate of Sancho de Funes contains references to 27 separate donations made to the chapter. Of these, only two were royal gifts. The rest were for the most part emphatically local, comprising local gifts made by canons and local landowners (above, pp.151-8). By contrast, no less than seven of the 23 donations received by Cascante's chapter were made by a member of the (Leonese-) Castilian royal family, four of them by the *Infante* Sancho during his Riojan reign.⁶⁸ Of the remainder, two related to property that lay a considerable distance from the city of Calahorra.⁶⁹ The donations received by the Cathedral of Calahorra during this period thus seem not only to have been fewer in number, but also much less emphatically local in nature than those received by the chapter under Sancho de Funes. As we shall see, under Rodrigo Cascante the broad range of local donations

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 151, 160, & 181-3; vol.III, 239-40.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 208; vol.III, 272.

which had underpinned the domination of the chapter by Calahorra's urban oligarchy in the 1120's, 30's and 40's, was replaced by a combination of the sporadic patronage of the Castilian royal house, increasingly formalized gifts made by members of the regional nobility in return for well-defined spiritual and material rewards, and increasingly tightly regulated donations made by new canons on entry to the chapter.

Of the 16 donations made to Rodrigo Cascante's chapter by regional landholders, six were made in return for burial within the cathedral.⁷⁰ These were by far the greatest local and regional donations received by the cathedral during this period, and most of them (four out of six) were made by noblewomen bearing the title '*domina*' who held lands within the Diocese of Calahorra. They typically comprised significant complexes of urban property as well as landed estates.

Doña Mayor's donation of c.1165, through which she requested burial in the cathedral in return for '*tota mea hereditate quantam habeo in Calagurra, in Morello, in Resa et in Sartaguda*' (Murillo and Sartaguda are both situated in the close vicinity of Calahorra; I have been unable to identify Resa), which included shares in vineyards, orchards, mills, as well as the lady's clothes, provides a good example of this type of gift.⁷¹ An even grander 'donation-for-burial' made by Doña Teresa on November 28, 1179, included a house in Guesálaz, which lay some 20km southwest of Pamplona, on the road that linked the Navarrese city with Logroño on the other side of the Ebro, that the noblewoman had converted into a hostel for travelers, which came with some land, an orchard, a grain-store, and the right to use a nearby mill on one day of every month, as well as another field.⁷² In 1183, Doña Toda de Murillo also requested burial in the cathedral, in return for all of the property that she owned

⁷⁰ Ibid., vol.II, 83f, 142, 208, & 222b; vol.III, 272 & 284.

⁷¹ Ibid., vol.II, 222b.

⁷² Ibid., vol.III, 272.

in the cathedral city, as well as her flock of sheep and moveable goods. Like Doña Mayor, she also owned property in Murillo, which she stipulated should pass first to her nephew, Don Sancho, and then, on his death, should enter into the cathedral's possession in its entirety. Although her possessions are not individually listed, the donor's noble status, her broad property base, and the high status of her witnesses, two of whom were entitled '*dompnus*', all indicate that her donation to the cathedral was probably a large one.⁷³

Through these donations, all of which were recorded in legal texts in which the rights and obligations of both the cathedral and the donors were meticulously stipulated, these lofty female patrons of Calahorra secured for themselves the spiritual and social advantages associated with burial in the cathedral. The fact that none of the women involved in these transactions seems to have had a living husband or any living children (apart from Doña Godina, who made a large donation of urban property within Calahorra to the cathedral between 1146 and 1148 together with her daughter, Doña Andresa, after the father of the family and a male child had died), and that in every case apart from one (which we know of through a document that is in any case incomplete) these noblewomen reserved for themselves the usufruct of their donations for the duration of their lifetime, provides an indication of an additional function of their donations.⁷⁴ It seems that these donors were in fact availing themselves of the protection a powerful institution like the cathedral could extend over their possessions, which, as single and childless women, they might otherwise have had trouble in holding on to. In return for its protection and patience, and as a

⁷³ Ibid., 284.

⁷⁴ Ibid., vol.II, 83f & 222b.

result of its corporate endurance, the chapter could expect to take over these properties after the death of their donors.

In some cases, Calahorra's noble female benefactors also managed to secure the rights of future generations of their close relatives over their property through this mechanism. Doña Toda de Murillo's nephew, who was to enjoy the possession of her property in Murillo before it passed to the cathedral on his death, was one of those whose inheritance was protected in this way. Another example is provided by Doña Teresa de Guesálaz, who stipulated that if any member of her close family were to enter Calahorra's cathedral in the future, they should receive her donated property as a benefice.⁷⁵

This group of 'donations-for-burial' made to Cascante's chapter also includes two made by men. One was granted sometime during Rodrigo Cascante's episcopate by Pascasio, the priest of Arnedillo, which is situated some 25km upstream of Calahorra on the Cidacos river. He gave to the cathedral one vineyard in '*Cherta*', one field in '*Sancto Michaele*' (both of which I have been unable to identify), the largest of his two houses in Arnedillo, and one third of his movable goods on his death.⁷⁶ The other was made in 1161 by Elias Maingo, who made over one third of the tithe of Cornago, some 30km southeast of Calahorra, to the cathedral for the duration of his lifetime in return for burial there.⁷⁷ Both of these donations were substantial, especially in comparison with the other non-royal donations received by the chapter of Calahorra during this period.

⁷⁵ Ibid., vol.III, 272.

⁷⁶ Ibid., vol.II, 142.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 208.

Only two of these six 'donations-for-burial' do not record the bishop's involvement, and one of those survives in an incomplete copy.⁷⁸ Cascante's supervision of the remaining four is explicit.⁷⁹ These gifts, which represented the cathedral's most important non-royal acquisitions through donation during this period, were far from being predominantly specifically local to the city and suburbs of Calahorra. Neither were they predominantly made by calahorran potentates. Instead, they reflect the broadening spectrum of Calahorra's patrons which was extended under the bishop's close scrutiny to include powerful members of the regional nobility, who made substantial landed gifts to the cathedral through a remarkably consistent and formalized mechanism of donation. There is no indication that they gained any control over the chapter (apart from Doña Teresa's rather limited right to reserve a gift for the use of close relatives who might in the future be admitted to serve as calahorran canons) as a result of their patronage.

The donations made to the chapter by new canons on entry to the chapter also reflect important changes in the way the chapter related to its patrons. Sancho de Funes' canons had made numerous highly significant and relatively spontaneous gifts to their cathedral, almost exclusively of property in and around Calahorra. By contrast, surviving cathedral records include only three donations made to the Cathedral of Calahorra by Cascante's canons, all of them highly formalized affairs which accompanied the donor's acceptance into the chapter.

The first, a gift of one field and one vineyard made by Domingo Pérez on his entry to the chapter in 1150, was the most modest of these gifts, and the only one not supervised by the bishop.⁸⁰ It provides an interesting contrast to the other two, both

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 222b; vol.III, 284.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 83f, 142, & 208; vol.III, 272.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 153.

made between 1162 and 1167, under Rodrigo Cascante's personal direction. By the 1160's, it seems that the bishop had not only taken firm control of the creation of new calahorran canons, but had also extended and formalized the obligations that they were expected to meet on entry into the chapter. Thus when Lope García de Almonecer and Pedro Cídez gained admittance to the chapter, they did so '*cum tota mea hereditate ubicumque est*'. In Lope García's case this consisted of seven plots of land, two vineyards, and a house, and in Pedro Cídez's of one vineyard, two fields, one farm, and a share in a second farm.⁸¹

Sometime between 1150 and the mid 1160's, therefore, it seems to have become a formal obligation for those entering the chapter of Calahorra to surrender all their independent holdings to the cathedral, on which they would henceforth (in theory at least) be wholly dependent. The increasingly total identification of Cascante's canons with the '*conuentus*' of which they became formal dependents marked a significant departure from the '*capitulo*' of Sancho de Funes, whose members maintained their identities as important calahorran landowners long after entering the chapter, and who displayed strong and enduring local family connections.

The seven remaining non-royal donations made to the cathedral during the episcopate of Rodrigo Cascante were for the most part local to Calahorra and its immediate surroundings.⁸² However, they were much more modest than the 'donations-for-burial' and the donations that accompanied the creation of new canons discussed above. None contained more than one field, vineyard, or plot of land. One represented only half a house, another was valued at three *morabetinos*, and a third comprised a holding that was worth one *morabetino* per annum in rent.⁸³ This

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 214-5.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 155, 154, & 201; vol.III, 248, 266, 287, & 292.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 154.

spattering of skinny donations certainly did not represent the backbone of Calahorra's acquisitions through donation during this period.

Purchases and Exchanges

The record concerning the more pro-active side of Cascante's chapter's material acquisitions, pursued through the mechanisms of purchase and exchange, also reveals some interesting differences between the cathedral's territorial and economic development during this period and the lines along which its property base had been established under Sancho de Funes.

Unlike that concerning donations to the chapter, more evidence of both of these types of transaction survives for the period 1147-1190 than for the period 1116-1146. Thus while surviving records of purchases rise, albeit modestly, from six under Sancho de Funes to eight under Rodrigo Cascante, surviving records of exchanges actually doubled from one episcopate to the other, from seven to 14.⁸⁴ What is more, any feeble impression that might be made by such a numerically insignificant rise in the numbers of capitular purchases under Rodrigo Cascante is conclusively dispelled by a glance at the spending power that those transactions reflect. Thus while recorded spending on capitular acquisitions under Sancho de Funes reaches a total of 82 silver *solidus* spread over three separate transactions (at a time when 20 *solidi* could buy one a house in Calahorra and 22 *solidi* an orchard in its environs),⁸⁵ surviving records show that Cascante's chapter not only spent at least 29 ½ gold *morabetinos* on six

⁸⁴ Ibid., 145, 161, 170, 208, 219-20, 222a, & 225; vol.III, 236, 241, 245, 250, 270, 280, 295, 300-2, 307, & 387; below, p.137.

⁸⁵ Ibid., vol.II, 87, 96, & 83g.

routine purchases worth between three and seven *morabetinos* each,⁸⁶ but was also able to fork out the extraordinarily large sums of 110 ½ and 125 *morabetinos* in 1161 and 1179 respectively, when it bought first the tower of Almudebar and its attached property, and then an oven in Calahorra, from Elias Maingo.⁸⁷

Calahorra's acquisitions through purchase and exchange during this period were not only quantitatively and qualitatively superior to those of Funes' chapter, but also responded to a different accumulative strategy. Thus while seven of the 11 properties acquired through the purchases of the chapter of Sancho de Funes represented holdings within Calahorra's walls that were for the most part clearly associated with the chapter's expansion of its urban ecclesiastical infrastructure or its participation in the urban economy, only three of the nine properties acquired by Cascante's chapter through purchase were situated within the city walls.⁸⁸ The remainder almost exclusively constituted small agricultural holdings in the city's municipal district, the only exception being the tower of Almudebar which, although it came with a sizable package of agricultural property attached, must be singled out for its military significance.⁸⁹

An examination of the chapter's exchanges during this period throws its reversal of a previous capitular preference for urban over rural property in and around Calahorra into even sharper relief. No less than six of the exchanges effected by the chapter of Calahorra under Sancho de Funes resulted in the cathedral's acquisition of property within the city walls, in all but one case in return for rural property (see above, p.140). In contrast, only two of the 14 exchanges effected by Cascante's chapter saw the canons exchanging rural holdings for property within their cathedral

⁸⁶ Ibid., 161, 170, & 219; vol.III, 250, 307, & 301-2.

⁸⁷ Ibid., vol.II, 208; vol.III, 270.

⁸⁸ Ibid., vol.II, 170 & 219; vol.III, 270.

⁸⁹ Ibid., vol.II, 161 & 208; vol.III, 250, 307, 301-2.

city.⁹⁰ Another one did result in the cathedral's acquisition of a half-share in a house in the city, but we do not know what the chapter gave in return.⁹¹ However, the great majority of Calahorra's exchanges under Rodrigo Cascante (10 out of 14) involved the substitution of one rural smallholding with another.⁹² All but two, one through which the chapter exchanged land in San Pedro Manrique, in Soria, with the Monastery of Fitero, and another through which it exchanged property with the local clergy in '*San Zoilo*' (Sansol, some 40km northwest of Calahorra), involved lands situated close to Calahorra held by landowners bearing no marks of social distinction.⁹³ In one final case, the chapter even relinquished the rights it had inherited over a collection of properties within Calahorra in exchange for a farm in '*Torrescas*', (a location I have been unable to identify).⁹⁴

The chapter's evident drive to extend its agricultural holdings outside the city of Calahorra included efforts to reorganize and optimize its possessions by exchanging isolated properties for others that bordered on existing cathedral lands, and could therefore be exploited in more manageable continuous blocks. Four of the rural properties acquired by the chapter through exchange during this period thus shared borders with existing cathedral holdings, as did two of those acquired through purchase.⁹⁵

The sources for this period also contain three rental contracts through which the canons leased out cathedral property. These are interesting not only in that they reveal the chapter's indirect exploitation of its possessions, but also for the types of property they concern. Only one, through which the bishop and chapter leased some

⁹⁰ Ibid., vol.III, 241 & 295.

⁹¹ Ibid., 387.

⁹² Ibid., vol.II, 145, 220, & 225; vol.III, 236, 245, 280, & 300.

⁹³ Ibid., vol.III, 236 & 300.

⁹⁴ Ibid., vol.II, 222a.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 225; vol.III, 236, 250, 280b, 307, & 387.

houses next to the '*Portam Tutele*' to a local couple for an annual rent of 2 *solidi*, involved urban property.⁹⁶ It was also the least economically significant of the three agreements. The second concerned shares in two mills near Logroño, which the bishop and chapter leased to Don Elias (perhaps the same person as Elias Maingo who sold such enormous properties to the chapter during this period) and his wife Doña Jordana for the monumental sum of 200 *morabetinos*.⁹⁷ The third concerns a property which had been held from the prior and chapter by Domingo Martínez, the son of Martín Vela, and whose tenancy was transferred on his death to his brother, Don Domingo Mancebo.⁹⁸ Neither the nature nor the rental value of the property are specified in this document, but the tenant's noble status, and the fact that his father belonged to the Vela family, one of the most powerful lineages in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, point to the likelihood of this property being a significant one. Its location in '*Abricanno in Uilar de don Sancho*' also reveals that this was a rural property. The most important of these three leaseholds thus seem to have related to rural property.

Conclusions

Under Rodrigo Cascante, the focus of the Cathedral of Calahorra's material development was shifted away from its urban expansion, and towards the consolidation of rural properties such as fields, vineyards, pastures, and even a dovecote, which represented its intense involvement in the agricultural and pastoral economies. This change in direction, through which the cathedral's territorial lordship

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 226.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 244.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 287.

took precedence over its ties to Calahorra's urban economy, formed part of the process whereby the bishop dismantled the close association between Calahorra's cathedral chapter and its urban oligarchy. This process, which also found expression in Cascante's forceful reform of his cathedral chapter, was closely connected to the adoption of the Bishopric of Calahorra by the Crown of León-Castile in the mid-1150's as the ecclesiastical centerpiece of its north-eastern peninsular hegemony, and an associated royal dictate that Calahorra's cathedral shine as an example of a 'modern' and emphatically Castilian, rather than regional, church. Although the cathedral's reformation developed according to the current of Canon Law that emanated from Rome during this period, its abrupt termination after the dismantling of the Leonese-Castilian 'Kingdom of Nájera' in August 1157 indicates that Roman influence served as the vehicle, rather than the driving force, for its evolution.

Year	Archdeacon of Calahorra	Archdeacon of Nájera	Archdeacon of Berberiego	Archdeacon of Alava	Prior
1147					
1148					
1149					
1150					Don Pedro
1151					
1152		García			Pedro
1153					Pedro
1154	García	Diego	Fernando	Domingo	Pedro
1155	G. Pérez		Fernando	Domingo	Velasco
1156	G. Pérez	Diego	Fernando	Domingo	
1157					
1158					
1159					García
1160					
1161					Sancho
1162	García	Diego	Fernando	Domingo	Sancho
1163	García	Diego	Fernando	Domingo	Sancho
1164					
1165					Don Sancho
1166					
1167	García	Diego	Magister Arnaldo	Diego Alava <i>'procurator'</i>	Don Sancho
1168					
1169					
1170	Don Garcia				
1171	García	Diego	Arnaldo	Sancho	García
1172	García				García
1173		Diego		Sancho	
1174					
1175					
1176					
1177	García	Diego	Arnaldo	Sancho	García
1178					
1179	García	Diego	Arnaldo	Sancho	García
1180		Diego			
1181					
1182			García	Sancho	García
1183					
1184					
1185	García				Juan de Préjano
1186					
1187					
1188	García	Diego	Fernando	Sancho	Juan
1189					Juan
1190					

Table 2: Named members of Rodrigo Cascante's cathedral chapter (part 1).

Year	<i>Procurator/Operator</i>	<i>Sacritan/Prior Claustris</i>	<i>Precentor/Primicerius</i>	Bishop's Chaplain	Chaplain
1147	Pedro de Grañón				
1148					
1149					
1150		Domingo			
1151					
1152		Gonzalo Plagado, Velasco		Sancho de Grañón	
1153					
1154		Velasco			Pedro
1155	Franco	Calvet, Sancho		Sancho	
1156					
1157					
1158					
1159					
1160					
1161					
1162	Franco	Calvet	Diego		
1163	Franco	Calvet	Diego		
1164					
1165					
1166					
1167	Franco	Calvet	Diego		
1168					
1169	Juan de Préjano				
1170					
1171	Franco, Pedro	Calvet	Cornelius minor		Ponce
1172					
1173					
1174					
1175					
1176					
1177	Franco	Calvet			Pedro
1178					
1179					
1180					
1181					
1182					
1183					
1184					
1185					
1186					
1187					
1188		Franco	Pedro		Ponce
1189					
1190					

Table 2: Named members of Rodrigo Cascante's chapter (part 2).

Year	Others	Total
1147	Pedro 'neptus', Nicolás deacon, Cornelius deacon, Velasco deacon, Velasco presbiter, Juan Fortún, Calvet priest, Franco priest, Raimundo Choirmaster	10
1148		0
1149		0
1150	Velasco, Calvet, Martín, Cornelius, Nicolás, Pedro nephew of Velasco, Pedro, Domingo, Archdeacon G. Pérez, B	12
1151		0
1152		5
1153		1
1154		7
1155	Brocardo, Pedro	10
1156		4
1157		0
1158	Fortún presbiter	1
1159		1
1160		0
1161		1
1162		8
1163	<i>Nazaremus</i>	9
1164		0
1165		1
1166		0
1167	Pedro Merino	8
1168		0
1169		1
1170		1
1171	Juan de Tudela	10
1172		1
1173	Franco, Juan master	4
1174		0
1175		0
1176		0
1177	Juan de Prejano, Diego de las Almas, Velasco, Domingo	11
1178		0
1179		4
1180		1
1181		0
1182	Juan de Tudela	3
1183		0
1184		0
1185		2
1186		0
1187		0
1188		8
1189		1
1190		0

Table 2: Named members of Rodrigo Cascante's chapter (part 3).

4.3 TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION

The episcopal energies of Cascante's predecessor, Sancho de Funes, had been primarily dedicated to the promotion of the Cathedral of Calahorra. His administrative grasp of the church beyond the city of Calahorra did not extend far beyond the neighbouring Arnedo valley, and traditional diocesan strongholds such as the monastery of Albelda and the *camino* town of Santo Domingo de la Calzada. Although his establishment in 1135 of the church of San Andrés de Armentia and its associated possessions as a residence and benefice for the Archdeacon of Alava did represent the bishopric's first documented administrative inroad into the vast and elusive province of Alava, it was the only initiative of its kind pursued by Funes, and there is no evidence that the projected influence of this church extended beyond the dependencies of Armentia (above, pp.177-9).

By contrast, one of the most striking features of Rodrigo Cascante's term as Bishop of Calahorra is the evident fervour with which he established, consolidated, and defended his territorial and administrative interests in areas that were widely distributed throughout his diocese. His efforts, which intensified visibly during the 1150's and were sustained until his death more than 30 years later, were forceful and broad-ranging, and included both the development of new areas of diocesan influence, and the reorganization of existing administrative structures. This territorial drive was entirely in keeping with the general intensification of the emphasis on administrative consolidation that characterized the secular Church throughout Western Christendom in the twelfth century.¹ However, both the degree to which Cascante's territorial drive

¹ Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford, 1989, pp.219-23.

outstripped that of his predecessor, as well his intense and very personal dedication to his programme of administrative expansion were remarkable in their own right.

Exactly half (24 out of 48) of the documents that record the bishop's own involvement in matters pertaining to his see refer to locations that lay beyond the city of Calahorra and its suburbs.² By contrast, only five of the 18 documents that record the activity of the bishopric's archdeacons during this period relate to business that was not directly connected to the Cathedral of Calahorra.³ What is more, each of these five documents records Cascante's archdeacons acting under the bishop's direct supervision, rather than their delegated administration of diocesan territory. Two of them illustrate the archdeacons' involvement in affairs that were wholly unconnected with the archidiaconal provinces from which they derived their names.⁴

It has already been established that Calahorra's archdeacons were transformed by Rodrigo Cascante around 1154 from embryonic territorial administrators of the see's ecclesiastical lordship into emphatically capitular figures that dominated the Cathedral of Calahorra (above, pp.256-9). By employing his archdeacons as a lid with which to contain the independent tendencies of his cathedral chapter, Rodrigo Cascante undermined their territorial capacity, and was also able to assume a more direct control over the see's territorial development than Sancho de Funes had ever wielded. Cascante's 'de-territorialization' of his archdeacons represented a highly conspicuous step in the opposite direction from the general development of the

² Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol.II, 152, 180, 182, 177, 189, 192, 218, 223, 227, & 228; vol.III, 244, 254, 273, 277, 288, 290, 294, 300, & 304; Francisco Javier García Turza (ed.), *Documentación medieval del monasterio de San Prudencio de Monte Laturce, ss.X-XV*, Logroño, 1992, 43, 45, & 47; María Luisa Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla, 1076-1200*, Zaragoza, 1989, 437; Margarita Cantera Montenegro, 'Santa María la Real de Nájera', (Unpublished PhD thesis), Complutense University Madrid, 1987, vol.I, 68.

³ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 227; vol.III, 254 & 290; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II (appendix of primary sources), 68; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 437.

⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 290; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 437.

Iberian Church during this period, in which Archdeacons were becoming steadily more territorial, and represents one of the most distinctive characteristics of his episcopate.⁵

The areas and institutions over which Cascante extended his administrative reach were very varied. In April 1155, and again in April 1156, for example, the bishop negotiated the donation to the Templars of his episcopal third share of the tithe of the church of Alcanadre, situated some 20km north-west of Calahorra, as well as the right to appoint its priest. His donation complemented the transfer of that settlement to the military order by the Navarrese magnate Rodrigo de Azagra, and was conditional on Alcanadre's successful rehabilitation by the monks.⁶ Seven years later, in 1162, the Bishop of Calahorra confirmed his gift, most probably in response to the Templars' satisfactory colonization of the settlement.⁷

The documents that record this process seem at first sight to illustrate the bishop's loss of control of a parish church. However, none of these charters records the bishop's donation of the church of Alcandre itself to the Temple, while one of them does record the wholesale transfer of the settlement to the military order by Don Rodrigo de Azagra.⁸ It therefore seems likely that what they in fact record is a territorial donation to the Templars that included a parish church that had hitherto been controlled by a powerful member of the regional nobility. In this context, the conditions on which Rodrigo Cascante insisted in return for his gift to the Templars of his share of Alcandre's tithe, which completed their fiscal control of the settlement,

⁵ Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1978, pp.152-4; Derek Lomax, 'Don Ramón, Bishop of Palencia (1148-84)', Jordi Maluquer de Motes (ed.), *Homenage a Jaime Vicens Vives*, Barcelona, 1965, vol.I, p.283; Juan Ramón López Arévalo, *Un cabildo catedral de la Vieja Castilla: Avila. Su estructura juridical. Siglos XII-XX*, Madrid, 1966, p.95.

⁶ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 180, 185, & 192.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 185.

becomes highly relevant: the bishop repeatedly reserved his jurisdictional authority over Alcandre, demanded the right to invest its priest and veto candidates put forward for consecration by the monks, and decreed that the Priest of Alcandre should profess obedience to his bishop and heed his summons to the diocesan synod.⁹ It seems possible that instead of losing control over the church of Alcandre through this transaction, Rodrigo Cascante was in fact exchanging his existing fiscal rights over the parish for a set of administrative prerogatives that had previously either been denied him, or had lacked clarification.

A similar example is provided by a document issued in 1168, when the Bishop of Calahorra granted a license to Doña Isabel to erect an oratory inside the hostel that she was in the process of building in Azofra, on the *Camino de Santiago* between Nájera and Santo Domingo de la Calzada.¹⁰ This license is in fact a rigorously detailed legal contract, in which the limits under which Doña Isabel's oratory was to function are painstakingly laid out: the bishop was to elect and invest its chaplain, whose pastoral care was to be extended only to pilgrims, and who was on no account to accept any parishioners of the Diocese of Calahorra for burial. Furthermore, if any of the bishop's parishioners decided to dedicate themselves to the care of pilgrims at the hostel, Doña Isabel could take them on, on condition that they continued to pay tithes in their original parish.

In this case, we can see how Cascante moved to bring firmly within his administrative control a fast-growing area of religious life that was connected to the increasingly busy northern Iberian pilgrimage routes, and which presented new legal and administrative challenges and opportunities to the peninsula's evolving diocesan

⁹ Ibid., 180, 192, & 213.

¹⁰ Ibid., 228.

institutions. It also reveals the existence of very real administrative interests that he defended when the integrity of a calahorran parish such as Azofra was threatened.

Cascante also moved to extend his control over the monastic church within his diocese, which under previous twelfth-century bishops of the see had been effectively limited to their personal lordship of San Martín de Albelda. A document issued in 1155 sets the tone that was to define this issue for the remainder of Rodrigo Cascante's long episcopate. It records the submission of the Abbot of San Millán de la Cogolla, the most powerful monastery in Cascante's diocese, to the Bishop of Calahorra in the presence of the Archbishop of Tarragona, the Bishops of Barcelona, Pamplona, and Tarazona, and the Abbot of Montearagón, secured in response to the abbot's failure to heed either the bishop's summons to council, or his condemnation of the abbot's allegedly wayward behaviour.¹¹ Rodrigo Cascante was clearly willing, and able, to take on even the see's most powerful monastery in his drive to establish the pre-eminence of his ecclesiastical authority within the Bishopric of Calahorra.

Cascante's policy with respect to the Cistercian Monastery of Rute, founded near Ventas Blancas on the Jubera river by Pedro Jiménez, Lord of Cameros, in April 1162, is also indicative of his efforts to bring the monastic church within his diocese firmly under his control.¹² This monastery was founded as an emphatically Castilian stronghold in the Jubera valley. After Sancho VI of Navarre's occupation of a large swathe of territory around Logroño in the autumn of 1162, it became a spearhead for Castilian resistance in the region.¹³ It was therefore an extremely important new riojan monastic foundation, and was energetically promoted by the regional nobility as well

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹² *Ibid.*, 211b.

¹³ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, pp.19-21.

as the Crown of Castile during the first five years after its foundation.¹⁴ In this context, the profession of obedience made to the Bishop of Calahorra on the occasion of their investment by Raymond and Agnes, the first Abbot and Abbess of Rute, is very significant.¹⁵ By securing Rute's submission, the Bishop of Calahorra ensured that this important new actor on the Riojan ecclesiastical scene would develop its power within his own sphere of specifically diocesan influence.

The Bishop of Calahorra enjoyed even more direct control over the Monastery of Santa María de Castejón, situated between Anguiano and Ortijosa in the mountain range of the Camero Nuevo, which stretches away to the south-west of Logroño, some 80 km from Calahorra.¹⁶ This monastic foundation was donated to Calahorra by the Castilian *Infante* Sancho and his wife Doña Blanca on June 18, 1155, together with its territorial holdings, which included fields, vineyards, pastures, forests, watering-rights and mills.¹⁷

The Diocesan Court

Episcopal jurisdiction represented an important pillar in the edifice of a twelfth-century bishop's diocesan authority, and it is therefore highly significant that the first notice of a functioning calahorran episcopal (legal) court dates from Cascante's episcopate. It is preserved in a charter issued on January 7, 1177, which records the bishop's judgment of a dispute between the parish clergy of Arnedo (a settlement that lay some 20km to the south-west of Calahorra) and the Monastery of

¹⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 211b; García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 28 & 30-3.

¹⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 223.

¹⁶ This monastery is not to be confused with Santa María de Castejón, situated near Tudela, which later became the Monastery of Fitero.

¹⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 181.

Fitero (situated on the eastern fringes of the Bishopric of Calahorra) over the monks' refusal to pay tithes to the priests of Arnedo for properties that they held in their parishes. The list of confirmants of the sentence, which was formulated 'with the advice and consent of the entire Chapter of Calahorra' is entirely made up of members of the cathedral chapter, including the prior, four archdeacons, three other capitular dignitaries, as well as four other named canons.¹⁸ By 1177 at least, there was clearly a functioning episcopal court in Calahorra that dealt with legal disputes between ecclesiastical institutions belonging to the see.

Collegiate Churches

Rodrigo Cascante also significantly altered Calahorra's administrative framework with respect to at least one, and possibly all three of the most important territorial 'packages' beyond the cathedral city that he had inherited from his predecessor: the monastery of Albelda, the *camino* town of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and the church of San Andrés de Armentia.

In the introduction to his edition of the medieval documents contained in the archives of the collegiate churches of Albelda and Logroño, Eliseo Sáinz Ripa states that sometime after 1092, the Monastery of Albelda 'was subject to a process of secularization, the dates and stages of which are unknown to us, which resulted in the monks' substitution by secular canons'.¹⁹ In a separate work on the 'Bishoprics of the Rioja', he proposes that Albelda had become a collegiate church of Calahorra by 1167, based on the fact that a document of that year refers to the body of churchmen

¹⁸ García Turza (ed.), *San Prudencio*, 43.

¹⁹ Eliseo Sainz Ripa (ed.), *Colección diplomática de las colegiadas de Albelda y Logroño*, Logroño, 1981, vol.I (924-1399), p.9.

that represented the erstwhile monastery as a chapter.²⁰ In fact, this was not the first time that the community at Albelda had been identified as a '*capitulum*' rather than the regular '*conuentus*'. The charters of donation issued to the Temple by the Bishop of Calahorra on April 18, 1155, and April 18, 1156, were both formulated '*cum assensu totius capituli Calagurritane et Albaidensis ecclesie*'.²¹ Yet more explicit evidence of the existence of a chapter of canons at Albelda is provided by a charter drawn up on July 3, 1162, which concludes: '*P. Albaidensis ecclesie supranominate scripsit canonicus*'.²² In fact, every documentary record of the community at Albelda made between April 1155 and the end of Cascante's episcopate in 1190 indicates the church's new secular status.²³

The evidence that Santo Domingo de la Calzada was also made a collegiate church of Calahorra under Rodrigo Cascante is similarly compelling. Eliseo Sainz Ripa quotes the *Anales Compostellanos*, which state that Bishop Cascante elevated Santo Domingo to the status of a collegiate church in 1142, and corrects this impossible date, at which time Cascante had not yet become bishop, to 1152, presumably on the assumption that the scribe of the *Anales Compostellanos* had omitted an *X* from the original date.²⁴

However, in the collection of Santo Domingo's documents which he had published some ten years previously together with Ciriaco López de Silanes, Sainz Ripa had suggested that the church was raised to collegiate status around 1223, a claim based on the conclusions published by Agustín Prior Untoria in his 1950 work on the history of Santo Domingo, and the fact that the church had certainly become a

²⁰ Eliseo Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1994, vol.I, p.354.

²¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 180 & 192.

²² *Ibid.*, 213.

²³ *Ibid.*, 180, 192, 213, & 227; vol.III, 277, 273, & 288.

²⁴ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.343, cites: Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada*, Madrid, 1777, vol.XXIII, p.322.

collegiate church of Calahorra by the time Pope Honorius III elevated Santo Domingo to the status of 'co-cathedral' alongside the Cathedral of Calahorra in 1227.²⁵

The documentary evidence concerning Santo Domingo's status is not conclusive, but certainly points to the possibility that the church was, as the *Anales Compostellanos* relate, raised to collegiate status during the first half of Cascante's episcopate. The most solid evidence with which to challenge Prior Untoria's claim that Santo Domingo did not become a collegiate church before 1223 comes from Rome. In a bull of December 8, 1216, Pope Honorius III thus referred to a '*capitulum canonicorum Sancti Dominici de Calcata*'.²⁶ Almost 25 years earlier, on April 22, 1192, Pope Celestine III described the territorial extension of the Diocese of Calahorra in unprecedented detail, listing not only the see's archidiaconal provinces and geographical boundaries, but also singling out three churches for their importance. The inclusion of Santo Domingo de la Calzada on that list, which also included the collegiate church of San Martín de Albelda, and the church of San Andrés de Armentia, in which an archdeacon and ten clerics had been installed by Sancho de Funes in 1135, points to the possibility that these three churches had in fact been singled out by the pope for their special status as collegiate churches.²⁷ This would bring the *terminus ante quem* for Santo Domingo's elevation to collegiate status to 1192, just two years after the end of Cascante's episcopate.

The evidence of a document included in Ubieta's collection of Santo Domingo's charters may push it yet further back. This charter, dated March, 1168, is accompanied by a footnote that offers '*abbati, ceterisque canonicis*' as an alternative

²⁵ Ciriaco López de Silanes & Eliseo Sainz Ripa (eds.), *Colección diplomática calceatense, archivo Catedral (1125-1397)*, Logroño, 1995, p.8. Agustín Prior Untoria, *La Catedral Calceatense: notas para la historia de la Catedral de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, Logroño, 1950.

²⁶ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 468.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 328.

reading for what in the main body of the text reads '*abbati, ceterisque clericis*'.²⁸ If we were to accept this alternative, this document would provide the earliest recorded reference to canons in Santo Domingo, and significant support for the theory that those canons were installed there in the 1150's by Rodrigo Cascante. A further reference to the existence of a '*capitulum*' at Santo Domingo during Cascante's episcopate is contained in a charter of Alfonso VIII of Castile dated May 15, 1187.²⁹

We have already seen that Cascante's drive to formalize and regularize his diocesan administration became especially forceful during the high point of his episcopal career in the central 1150's. Through his evident transformation of Albelda into a collegiate church during the 1150's, and his probable elevation of Santo Domingo to the same status during the same decade, the Bishop of Calahorra took an important step towards the clarification and legitimization of the legally vague relationships that had hitherto bound these two highly influential ecclesiastical centres to the Bishopric of Calahorra. The evidence of Pope Celestine III's bull indicates that he may have done the same with respect to San Andrés de Armentia sometime before 1192.

Albelda's new collegiate connection to Calahorra replaced its previous, highly personalized, association with the Bishops of Calahorra, whose tenure of the lordship of the erstwhile monastery as an hereditary episcopal possession had combined monastic and diocesan ecclesiastic authority in a way that had become conspicuously outdated by the second half of the twelfth century. By conferring collegiate status on Albelda, Cascante was able to institutionalize and legitimize his dominance of that

²⁸ Agustín Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Cartularios (I, II y III) de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, Zaragoza, 1978, 44.

²⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 294.

church and its considerable possessions according to the framework dictated by an increasingly powerful current of canonical reform emanating from Rome.³⁰

In the context of the insistence with which the Bishopric of Burgos pressed its claims to the possession of Santo Domingo de la Calzada throughout Cascante's episcopate, it seems eminently possible that Santo Domingo's elevation to collegiate status was also informed by a desire to strengthen its connection to the Cathedral of Calahorra, in this case in the face of a concerted legal attack (below, pp.318-20).

The importance of both Albelda and Santo Domingo de la Calzada within Cascante's diocesan administration is reflected by the bishop's sustained and personal interest in their maintenance and development.

Three documents drawn up between 1167 and 1185 record the bishop's involvement in the defence and management of the possessions of San Martín de Albelda. The first, dated March 18, 1167, records a donation made by the bishop and the chapter of San Martín to the inhabitants of Albelda in gratitude for their contribution to the fortification of the castle at Tajada de Albelda, presumably in the context of Sancho VI of Navarre's occupation of much of the Rioja during the 1160's (above, p.214).³¹ It therefore illustrates Cascante's active interest in the military defence of Albelda's possessions. The other two, dated November 28, 1180, and April 25, 1185, record the bishop's active involvement in the management and development of Albelda's property base.³²

Cascante's promotion of Santo Domingo de la Calzada was of a more dynamic nature. The *Anales Compostellanos* refer not only to Cascante's establishment of a chapter of canons at Santo Domingo, but also of his ceremonial laying in 1158 of the

³⁰ Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, pp.387-403.

³¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 227.

³² *Ibid.*, 277 & 288.

first stone of a new church that was to replace the original shrine erected by Santo Domingo at the beginning of the twelfth century.³³ Alfonso VIII of Castile's confirmation on May 6, 1199, of a gift that had been made to the church of Santo Domingo by '*magister Garsion predicte ecclesie Sancti Dominici fabricatori*', indicates that the church mentioned by the *Anales Compostellanos* had indeed been built sometime before the close of the twelfth century.³⁴

Cascante's sustained involvement in the town's development is also revealed by a royal diploma dated May 10, 1172, which records a substantial landed donation made to Santo Domingo de la Calzada and to the Bishop of Calahorra by the King of Castile. The bishop's continued lordship over Santo Domingo is explicitly stated in this charter, which also implies his direction of the town's economic and social development by emphasizing that the king's donation was made '*ut illud uille populari faciatis*'.³⁵

Disputes

Rodrigo Cascante's territorial drive found its most dramatic expression in his pursuit of the defence, definition, and extension of the territorial reality of his diocese through the ecclesiastical courts. Between 1147 and 1190, the Bishop of Calahorra was involved in no less than seven legal disputes on behalf of his see. This was hardly exceptional in the furiously litigious twelfth century, when rival ecclesiastical institutions of all descriptions dragged bitterly contested disputes over their hitherto extremely vaguely defined territorial, administrative, and judicial borders through an

³³ Sainz Ripa, *Sedes episcopales*, vol.I, p.343, cites: Flórez, *España Sagrada*, vol.XXIII, p.322.

³⁴ Ubieto Arteta (ed.), *Santo Domingo*, 76.

³⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 249.

increasingly broad range of ecclesiastical (and secular) courts.³⁶ This was especially acute in the Iberian Peninsula, where the restoration of territorial bishoprics that accompanied the *Reconquista* provided fertile ground for competition between both churches and the secular powers which dominated them.³⁷ However, both the insistence with which Cascante pursued and defended these diocesan disputes, and the phenomenal resources he dedicated to that process, stand in sharp contrast to the record of his predecessor, Sancho de Funes, and mark him out as the most determined legal defender of Calahorra's territorial interests in the first century-and-a-half after the see's re-foundation.

The briefest of the diocesan disputes fought by Rodrigo Cascante is registered in a document dated 1150, which records a judgement upholding the bishop's visitation rights in the parish of Arnedo after they had been denied him by the Abbot and clergy of Arnedo (the document does not specify who had judged the case, only that it had been heard in the presence of the council of Arnedo and the tenant of the castle of Arnedo).³⁸ This single surviving notice of legal friction between Cascante and the parishes under his diocesan administration provides an interesting glimpse of the insistence with which he enforced his administrative prerogatives over the calahorran secular church.

³⁶ Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, pp.400-9; Ian Stuart Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, Cambridge, 1990, pp.179-208.

³⁷ Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp.23-5; Ricardo García Villoslada (ed.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, Madrid, 1979, vol.II, ch.7: 'Movimiento de reorganización eclesiástica', pp.300-35.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol.II, 152.

Disputes with Monasteries

During Cascante's episcopate, the Bishopric of Calahorra was also involved in legal disputes with both of the two most powerful monasteries in his diocese, San Millán de la Cogolla and Santa María la Real de Nájera. Calahorra's confrontation with the former is described in three documents which record the dispute's final resolution between September 27, 1163, and March 3, 1164.³⁹ The dispute had been provoked by San Millán's revocation of the fiscal control which it had conceded to Cascante's predecessor, Sancho de Funes, over the church of Madriz after the latter's death in 1146, '*contra uoluntatem sui successoris, Roderici episcopi, et totius calagurritane ecclesie*'.⁴⁰ The intensity of the dispute, which had lasted 17 years, is described in one of the documents that records its resolution, which describes it as a '*gravissima iudicorum*'.⁴¹ This dispute, which during its course swelled to involve the tithe of 26 separate parishes, was eventually heard in the court of the Archbishop of Tarragona.⁴² Its resolution, which involved San Millán's renunciation of rights over the parishes of Madriz and Camprovín, and Calahorra's restitution to the monastery of rights over the other 24 churches in question, seems to have represented a lasting solution, as there is no evidence that the case was reopened after 1163. This dispute did not go further than the logical court of first instance, the metropolitan tribunal of the Archbishopric of Tarragona. It is also unique in being the only legal confrontation between Cascante and the major ecclesiastical institutions with which he clashed during this period to be resolved before the bishop's death in 1190. It therefore

³⁹ Ibid., 217-8; Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 404.

⁴⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 218.

⁴¹ Ibid., 218.

⁴² Ibid., 217, Ledesma Rubio (ed.), *San Millán*, 404.

provides the very tamest example of the intense litigation that so profoundly marked Cascante's episcopate.

Dispute with Santa María la Real de Nájera

At the other end of the scale looms the dramatic, protracted, and exceptionally bitter dispute that, in its various manifestations, confronted the Bishopric of Calahorra with the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera for the entire duration of Cascante's episcopate.⁴³ The development of this conflict between 1147 and 1190 provides an extremely thorough illustration of the steadfast determination with which the Bishop of Calahorra pursued the territorial claims of his diocese through the courts. It also reveals the way in which dominant relationships of power at various levels determined its course, which ultimately led to the frustration of Cascante's najeran aspirations.

The core issue of this dispute concerned the legality of the transfer of the royal Navarrese foundation and calahorran episcopal church of Santa María de Nájera to Cluny by Alfonso VI in 1077 (above, pp.68-74). After almost six decades of episcopal acquiescence regarding the matter, Sancho de Funes, who went to Rome in January 1144, '*causa controuersie cluniacensium monachorum*', seems to have been the first Bishop of Calahorra to take up his see's najeran cause.⁴⁴ Although Sancho de Funes

⁴³ For an overview of the entire dispute, see: Pablo Díaz Bodegas, 'La disputa cluniacense – Obispado de Calahorra por la posesión de Santa María la Real de Nájera (1079-1224): Mas de cien años de conflicto jurisdiccional en la Diócesis de Calahorra por una disposición real', *Berceo* 126 (1994), pp.89-119.

⁴⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 134. Díaz Bodegas argues that a papal bull issued by Pascual II in 1109, in which the pope confirmed the territorial extension of the Bishopric of Calahorra and specified that this comprised Alava, Vizcaya, Nájera, both Cameros (Camero Viejo and Camero Nuevo), in fact constitutes a ruling of this dispute in Calahorra's favour and a papal rejection of the claims of Santa María la Real de Nájera to control the lands associated with that church, which occupied a significant proportion of Calahorra's province: Pablo Díaz Bodegas, *La diócesis de*

must certainly be credited with initiating the dispute over Santa María la Real, he did so very late in his life and the issue does not surface in any of the other sources relating to his episcopate (from Rome he brought back a generalized papal confirmation of the territory of his see, but no specific pronouncements concerning the church in Nájera).⁴⁵

The energy with which Rodrigo Cascante championed Calahorra's najeran cause was therefore entirely unprecedented. Between 1147 and 1190, this conflict evolved through various phases of escalation and complication, during which a substantial number of additional charges were added to Calahorra's permanent core claim against Nájera, and Cascante's episcopate saw the involvement in the dispute of three peninsular archbishops, one papal legate, three popes, the Lord of Vizcaya, and three Kings of Castile. Among the few constants in this conflict during this period were the Bishop of Calahorra's identification of the papal courts as those most likely to produce a judgement in his favour, and those same courts' inability to do so in the face of the Crown of Castile's enduring support of Santa María la Real's possession by Cluny.

Between 1148 and the spring of 1155, the dispute was relatively muted. At the beginning of this period, and as one of the first acts of his episcopate, Rodrigo Cascante visited the court of Pope Eugenius III in Reims, where he obtained a bull reaffirming the extension of papal protection to the Bishopric of Calahorra and confirming the territorial extension of the diocese.⁴⁶ The motive for Cascante's early visit to the pontiff is not recorded in our sources, but his consecration as bishop the

Calahorra y La Calzada en el siglo XIII (La sede, sus obispos e instituciones), Logroño, 1995, pp.93-95. However, this seems unlikely considering the common and extremely generalized nature of this papal privilege, which was in fact a standard document issued to many twelfth-century prelates who, like the Bishop of Calahorra in 1109, visited the papal court.

⁴⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 135.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 148.

previous year by his metropolitan in Tarragona rules out his investment by Eugenius III.⁴⁷ In the light of his predecessor's precursory pursuit in 1144 of legal support from Rome for Calahorra's najeran claims, it seems probable that his journey was also motivated by a desire to secure the support of the papacy for a calahorran campaign against Nájera's cluniac occupation.

The bishop's procural of only the most generalized of papal privileges at Reims provides a likely early indication of a pontifical avoidance of this awkward issue that was to become entirely characteristic of Rome's handling of this conflict during the first three decades of Cascante's episcopate. Although successive popes do seem to have sympathized with Calahorra's cause before 1179, none risked rocking the boat with Cluny, an important bastion of support for the Reform Papacy, or the Crown of Castile, by openly recommending Santa María la Real's restitution to the bishopric.⁴⁸ In fact, all three popes to whom Cascante brought his najeran claims between 1147 and 1179 effectively dodged the uncomfortable issue, either by diverting attention towards complaints that were peripheral to the core of the dispute, or by simply ignoring the issue and supplying the Bishop of Calahorra with yet another general confirmation of the territorial extension of his see (Rodrigo Cascante collected three of these between 1147 and 1179).⁴⁹

Three royal charters obtained by the monks of Nájera from Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile and the Castilian *Infante* Sancho between 1147 and 1155 indicate their own active engagement during this initial phase of the dispute in strengthening their hold on both Nájera's original endowment, as well as those possessions that had

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 145: Rodrigo Cascante was consecrated in Tarragona during the first half of 1147.

⁴⁸ Robinson, *Papacy*, pp.211-4 & 224-7.

⁴⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 148 & 216; vol.III, 298. The last of these, which records the confirmation of Calahorra's diocesan boundaries by Pope Clement III in 1188, also refers to a similar confirmatory bull issued to Calahorra by Pope Hadrian IV, which has not survived.

subsequently been added to the monastery's holdings.⁵⁰ One of these, which records the grant made by Alfonso VII to Santa María de Nájera on January 30, 1149, of one tenth of the toll of Logroño '*per petitionem domni Boson, Cluniacensis ecclesie camerarii et prioris Naiarensis ecclesie*', indicates both the high level of patronage that Santa María de Nájera received from the Leonese-Castilian Crown, and the solidity of the riojan monastery's links to Cluny.⁵¹ The other two, one issued by Alfonso VII in February 1151, and the other by his son Sancho in July 1153, record royal confirmations of Nájera's possessions, both those that had been included in Santa María's original endowment, and others that the monastery had acquired subsequently.⁵² They provide a clear indication of Leonese-Castilian royal support of Nájera's cluniac monks in the face of Calahorra's legal claims.

The conflict entered its second and most convoluted phase in the spring of 1155, when the bishop took advantage of a council hosted by Cardinal Hyacinth in Calahorra to state his case to the papal legate. The bishop's plea certainly seems to have made a profound impression on the cardinal, who subsequently wrote to Pope Hadrian IV, describing Alfonso VI's gift of Santa María la Real to Cluny in the most emotive of terms: '*Quod factum tam enorme ita uniuersis Hispanorum finibus insonuit, quod fama hec nulla poterat temporum uetustate deleri*'.⁵³ His letter also communicated Cascante's request to have the case heard in Rome: '*Ad instantiam igitur Calagurritani episcopi...Sanctitati uestre scribimus supplicantes, quatenus utraque parte ad presentiam uestram conuocata, causa hec sub uestro examine finem*

⁵⁰ Ibid., vol.II, 149, 158, & 172.

⁵¹ Ibid., 149.

⁵² Ibid., 158 & 172.

⁵³ Ibid., 179.

debitum sortiatur'.⁵⁴ The initiative for reviving the dispute clearly lay with the Bishop of Calahorra.

The pope responded on April 30 of 1155 or 1156 by summoning Raymond, the Prior of Nájera, to attend the hearing at which his judge-delegate, the Archbishop of Toledo, was to address a list of calahorran complaints. The papal summons does not focus on Calahorra's central claim to Nájera's original endowment. Instead it details four specific, more recent, and, in the light of Santa María la Real's exempt status as a Cluniac priory and Alfonso VII's previous donation to Nájera of the tithe of Logroño's toll, far from indefensible, charges against the prior. These were that he had destroyed the altar of the church of San Lazaro (which Nájera also claimed) and violently expelled the deacon and community of lepers who had been installed there under Calahorra's authority; that he was withholding from Calahorra the tithe of the toll of Logroño; and that he actively encouraged his chaplains' disobedience to the bishop. He also stood accused of accepting calahorran excommunicates for burial.⁵⁵

The immediate reaction of Raymond, the Prior of Nájera, to Cascante's petitioning of Cardinal Hyacinth in 1155 provides an unambiguous illustration of his appreciation that the strength of his position depended primarily on the support of the Castilian Crown. Thus on November 25, 1155, he elicited from Alfonso VII the most comprehensive royal confirmation of Nájera's holdings that the monastery had ever acquired. This document explicitly evokes Santa María's royal foundation and extends royal protection to all those possessions '*quas rex Garcias in sua prima fundatione uobis concesserat*' which covered '*omnes ecclesias et clericos ipsius*

⁵⁴ Ibid., 179.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 176; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 63. Although Rodríguez de Lama has dated this document 1154-1156, I agree with Cantera Montenegro's dating of 1155-1156, as it was most probably issued in reaction to Cardinal Hyacinth's previous missive which post-dated the legatine council he hosted in Calahorra in March of April 1155.

ciuitatis Naiare', tithes included, and another 20 churches which are individually listed, as well as '*ceteraque omnia que ab antecessoribus meis regibus uobis concessa sunt*'.⁵⁶

The resulting strength of his position might explain Raymond's refusal to take part in the Archbishop of Toledo's attempted trial of this case, which is reported in another papal missive, this one addressed to the Prior of Santa María la Real by Pope Alexander III in 1162.⁵⁷ In this letter, the charges that Raymond was in the practice of administering the sacraments to those, both living and dead, who had been excommunicated by Cascante; that he had robbed the Church of San Lazaro of its ornaments; and that he had violated a past agreement made between Nájera and Calahorra over episcopal visitation rights in Logroño, were added to the growing list of Calahorran complaints against the prior, and were accompanied by pontifical orders to dig up all the interred excommunicates, cease violating Cascante's excommunications, and return all oblations received from excommunicates. Nowhere does it mention Calahorra's claims to the Monastery of Nájera or its original endowments.⁵⁸

It seems that Rodrigo Cascante was able to capitalize on this decree, albeit in a limited manner. A document of 1162/3 thus records Nájera's restitution to the Bishop of Calahorra of his visitation rights in the church of Santa María de Valcuerna, in Logroño.⁵⁹ However, even this modest calahorran victory was only achieved in conjunction with an unprecedented ebb in Santa María la Real's royal backing, caused in the first place by the *Infante* Sancho's adoption of the Bishopric of Calahorra as the

⁵⁶ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 225.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 210. Although the date of this document is not entirely certain, that of 1162 which has been suggested by Rodríguez de Lama fits well with the development of this dispute.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁵⁹ Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 68.

ecclesiastical cornerstone of his riojan power-base between 1152 and 1157, and subsequently by the debilitation of the Castilian Crown itself during the civil war that followed the accession of Alfonso VIII in 1158.

Santa María la Real received six donations or confirmations of its possessions from the Crowns of Leon-Castile and Castile between 1147 and Sancho III's death in August 1158. By far the most important of these were the three that were issued by Alfonso VII between 1149 and 1155. On the other hand, the concessions of the *Infante* Sancho to the najeran monastery were much less weighty, especially after the start of his 'riojan reign' in 1152. It is significant that neither of the two limited concessions made by the Castilian *Infante* to the monastery after 1154 were directly linked to any of the issues contested by Calahorra and Nájera. The first, granted on August 30, 1156, was a donation of property situated in Santofña, Asturias, which lay far outside of Calahorra's diocese. It was timed to accompany the internment of Blanca, Sancho's queen and the daughter of García Ramírez of Nájera, in the pantheon of the Navarrese royal dynasty in Santa María de Nájera, and was surely inspired rather by a desire to honour the late queen, than in reaction to Calahorra's claims over Nájera.⁶⁰ The second, through which Sancho donated to Santa María de Nájera the royal estate of Nestares, situated next to the monks' existing estate of Torrecilla en Cameros in the central Rioja, was made on July 30, 1158. Both its summer date, and the king's assertion that '*hoc facio pro remedio anime mee, et mulieris mee uenerabilis regine domne Blange bone memorie quam in predicta ecclesia Naiarensi sepelire feci*', indicate that this concession also had more to do

⁶⁰ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 193.

with the second anniversary of his queen's death than with Nájera's confrontation with Calahorra.⁶¹

Explicit support of Cluny's possession of Santa María de Nájera was clearly incompatible with Sancho's forceful promotion of the Bishopric of Calahorra as the ecclesiastical centrepiece of his riojan government. On the other hand, there is no evidence that he openly contradicted the pro-cluniac stance taken on this matter by his father, Alfonso VII, on whom his power in the Rioja ultimately depended. Instead, the Castilian *Infante* seems to have followed Rome's example and avoided involvement in the matter.

In this context, the timing of Rodrigo Cascante's appeal to Cardinal Hyacinth in 1155 seems to reflect the prelate's desire to press the advantage, however limited it may have been, that resulted from his close political association with the *Infante* Sancho's 'Kingdom of Nájera'. The creation of political circumstances during the central 1150's that favoured Calahorra's pursuit of its najeran claims is also reflected by fact that the cardinal's missive to the pope regarding the matter is in fact the only surviving document from the period 1147-1179 in which the central issue of the dispute is broached by a papal representative. However, Pope Hadrian IV's guarded response to Cascante's petition reveals that, even in the benevolent climate generated by Calahorra's proximity to the *Infante* Sancho's riojan regime, this issue remained too prickly for the papacy.

The three donations received by the Monastery of Santa María la Real between August 1165 and January 1169 from Alfonso VIII of Castile marked the renewal of the Castilian Crown's support for Nájera in the context of its own

⁶¹ Ibid., 205.

rehabilitation.⁶² The first two were made not only '*pro anima matris mee, cuius corpus requiescit in ecclesia beate Marie de Naiera*', but also '*pro bono seruitio quod mihi fecistis et facitis*', an indication that the alliance between Nájera and the Crown of Castile may in fact have been strengthened as a result of the monastery's support of the Castilian regency government during the difficult years of Alfonso VIII's minority.⁶³ The later of the two, dated October 6, 1165, is addressed to '*Raimundo priori Naiarensi atque camerario Cluniacensi*', and thus reflects the Castilian Crown's endorsement of Nájera's close ties with Cluny.⁶⁴ No royal Castilian patronage came the Bishopric of Calahorra's way between 1165 and 1169, and neither is there any indication that its dispute with Nájera was kept alive during that period. It seems that, with Cluny and the Crown of Castile once again firmly aligned against his claims over Santa María la Real, the Bishop of Calahorra let the issue lie.

It was in this context that a sideline to the conflict developed, which erupted onto the documentary record in the most dramatic manner when Pope Alexander III wrote to the Archdeacon of Santiago and his suffragans on August 31, 1169, concerning, among other transgressions, a 'diabolical fraud' committed by Raymond, the Prior of Santa María de Nájera. The pontiff related how Raymond, whom he also accused of simony, had falsified letters from the Archbishop of Tarragona ordering the deposition of the Abbot of San Millán de la Cogolla and his replacement by Raymond. He also accused the Prior of Nájera of sending 'false messengers' to Alfonso VIII of Castile to persuade the king that the Abbot of San Millán had stepped down of his own accord, and that the monks of Cogolla, with the backing of the Bishop of Calahorra and Count Lope Díaz de Haro, had invited Raymond to take over

⁶² Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 69-71.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

the abbacy. He further related how, '*comitis Lupi fretus auxilio et fauore*', Raymond had invaded the monastery of San Millán and violently ejected its abbot and monks, and how, on hearing of these events ('*tanta malitia et iniquitate comperta*'), the Bishop of Calahorra and Archbishop of Tarragona had excommunicated Raymond '*cum fautoribus suis*' (presumably a reference to Lope Díaz de Haro). The pope then recounted how Raymond had refused to respect this sentence of excommunication, and that not even the Abbot of Cluny had been able to bring him to heel. Finally, he enjoined the Archbishop of Santiago and his suffragans to bring all their weight to bear on the errant prior in order to persuade him to return to his own monastery within three months. Failing this, he empowered them to publicly excommunicate Raymond and request that the secular powers within their provinces banish him from their lands.⁶⁵

The strategy employed by Pope Alexander III in his attempt to see this evidently thorny matter resolved without either offending Alfonso VIII or putting the Castilian Church in an awkward position is extremely revealing. It seems most unlikely that the king would not have been aware of what had transpired in San Millán de la Cogolla sometime before August 1169, or that it would have been possible for 'false messengers' to dupe him as reported while the pope in distant Rome had access to accurate information concerning the matter. This seems even less plausible in the light of the involvement in the affair of Count Lope Díaz de Haro, whose status as a great Castilian curial magnate in the late 1160's was second only to a few members of the Lara family, and who in 1169 held the tenancies of Nájera, Soria, Bureba, and Old Castile from Alfonso VIII.⁶⁶ On the contrary, it seems that the

⁶⁵ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 237.

⁶⁶ Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Alfonso VIII, Rey de Castilla y Toledo*, Burgos, 1995, pp.259-60; Julio González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, Madrid, 1960, vol.I, pp.301-3.

king knowingly decided not to intervene in the usurpation of San Millán after its orchestration by one of his most important noble supporters. By laying the blame for Alfonso VIII's acquiescence in the matter at the door of 'false messengers' the pope attempted to avoid an open confrontation with the Castilian king. The pope's evident desire to avoid antagonizing Alfonso VIII reveals his perception of the extent of the king's power over the Castilian Church, and the importance of securing his cooperation in order to be able to proceed effectively against Raymond. This is also reflected by the pope's choice of the Archbishop of Santiago and his suffragans as his Iberian delegates in this affair. His invitation to the representatives of the Leonese Church to intervene in such a clearly Castilian affair thus reflects a papal perception of the futility of asking Castilian ecclesiastics to intervene effectively in a matter that would confront them with the interests of their king.

In the event, the pope did succeed where the Bishop of Calahorra and the Archbishop of Tarragona had failed, and, in 1169 or 1170, Alfonso VIII pronounced an edict of exile against the Prior of Santa María la Real de Nájera. However, it is worth noting both that Alexander III did not move against Raymond before receiving the knowledge that the Abbot of Cluny had withdrawn his support of his riojan prior, and that his judgement was only enforced once it had received the active backing of the King of Castile.

The lull in this dispute that followed Raymond's dramatic expulsion from Castile held for almost the entire decade of the 1170's. These years witnessed the total immersion of the Bishopric of Calahorra in Castile's military campaign to push back its north-eastern borders with Navarre (above, p.219). They also saw an associated shift in patterns of royal patronage, as Alfonso VIII's generosity towards Calahorra rapidly overtook his patronage of Santa María de Nájera: between 1170 and 1179, the

Bishopric of Calahorra received three important royal Castilian donations (above, p.220), while Santa María de Nájera received only two royal confirmations of its possession of two properties of limited relevance.⁶⁷

In the absence of any great royal display of support for the monks in Santa María la Real during this period, the most convincing explanation for the Bishop of Calahorra's inaction regarding this conflict during the 1170's seems to lie in his active collaboration with the Crown of Castile in the recovery of its riojan borderlands, and the re-establishment of its authority over the Basque provinces of Alava and Vizcaya. Cascante seems to have sacrificed his territorial ambitions with respect to Nájera to the alternative territorial goal, which during the 1170's seemed to be both politically straightforward and more feasibly attainable, of extending his diocesan administration into Alava and Vizcaya.

This hypothesis is supported by the timing of Cascante's revival of his najeran claims at the Third Lateran Council in Rome in April 1179: this coincided with Alfonso VIII's negotiation of a truce with Navarre that entailed Castile's loss of influence over all of Vizcaya and most of Alava, thereby abruptly removing the political basis of the Bishop of Calahorra's territorial expansion into his see's Basque provinces (above, pp.229-31).⁶⁸

After Lateran III, Pope Alexander III commissioned the Bishops of Pamplona and Palencia to judge '*causam ipsam tam super ecclesie Sancte Marie, quam super*

⁶⁷ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 239-40, 242, & 249; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 76. The authenticity of another charter of Alfonso VIII, dated March 14, 1175, containing a comprehensive royal confirmation of Santa María la Real's possessions, has been rejected by both Cantera Montenegro and Rodríguez de Lama: Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 262; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 75.

⁶⁸ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol.II (Documentos), 321; Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 270.

aliis querelis'.⁶⁹ By addressing the matter so directly, the pope revealed a novel willingness on the part of the papacy to tackle the central issue of Santa María la Real's transfer to Cluny. However, nothing seems to have come from this initiative and there is no evidence that the pope's judges-delegate took up the case.

When the dispute was revived for one last time by an aged Rodrigo Cascante, who sent an appeal to Pope Clement III in the 41st year of his episcopate in May, 1188, the Papacy once again responded with a resolve that contrasted strongly with the manner in which it had tiptoed around this issue from 1144 to 1179. On May 17, 1188, Clement III thus commissioned the Bishop of Tarazona, the Dean of Burgos, and the Prior of Tudela to investigate the Bishop of Calahorra's accusations that the Prior of Nájera was denying the bishop's rights concerning the appointment of priests in some parish churches belonging to Calahorra, failing to respect his interdict, and withholding tithes and other episcopal dues.⁷⁰ On this occasion, the pope did not specify either the number or the names of the parishes that Nájera had allegedly usurped. However, the likelihood that these included those churches with which Santa María la Real had been originally endowed by García III of Navarre is revealed by an undated document that was kept together with Clement III's commission in Calahorra's cathedral archive, and therefore probably belonged to the dossier with which Cascante had supported his 1188 appeal to Rome. This document contains a list of 39 churches, including '*Sancta Maria de Nagera cum pertinentiis*', under the heading: '*Conqueritur calagurritana ecclessia de ecclessia Nagerensi, quia non*

⁶⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 269.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 299.

permittit episcopum calagurritanum percipere episcopalia in quibusdam ecclesiis [sic] quarum nomina hec sunt.⁷¹

Despite the support that Rodrigo Cascante was able to elicit from the Papacy in 1179 and 1188, Pope Celestine III's reminder, issued in 1192 to the Iberian judges-delegate appointed by his predecessor, that they should correct the Prior of Nájera's abuses against the churches of Calahorra, indicates that the dispute between the Bishopric of Calahorra and Santa María de Nájera remained resolutely unresolved two years after the end of Cascante's episcopate in 1190.⁷² The bishop's failure to secure a favourable judgement of this case can be directly attributed to the strength of the cluniac and royal interests that opposed him in this matter, and the limitations of the machinery of papal justice when it came to confronting them.

On the other hand, the conviction with which Rodrigo Cascante attempted to overturn a royal decision concerning the najeran church that had remained unchallenged by a long succession of cowed Bishops of Calahorra between 1077 and 1144 is remarkable in its own right, and provides a powerful illustration of the way in which this bishop energetically utilized the increasingly long arm of papal justice and influence in the pursuit of a forceful territorial agenda of his own.

Disputes with Neighbouring Bishoprics

Like many of his twelfth-century episcopal colleagues, Rodrigo Cascante dedicated considerable energy to the task of hammering out the previously vague and

⁷¹ Ibid., 334; Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 88. Rodríguez de Lama and Cantera Montenegro both propose a date of 1193 for this document, which is based on the erroneous assumption that the papal commission to the Bishop of Tarazona, Dean of Burgos, and Prior of Tudela to judge the dispute between Calahorra and Nájera with which it had been kept in the cathedral archive was issued in that year, and not 1188. Rodríguez de Lama, footnote 1 to aforesaid document.

⁷² Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real*, vol.II, 86.

incomplete geographical boundaries of his see.⁷³ This, quite typically, involved him in acrimonious disputes with neighbouring bishoprics which were processed at noisy length by the papal courts. Under Cascante's leadership, the Bishopric of Calahorra clashed with three of its four diocesan neighbours, in convoluted legal conflicts that all outlasted his own episcopate.

Dispute with Burgos

The longest of these was a conflict with the Bishopric of Burgos which Cascante inherited from his predecessor, Sancho de Funes (above, pp.173-5). Cascante was confronted with the dispute, which revolved around Burgos' claim to Santo Domingo de la Calzada, in the very first year of his episcopate, when he was summoned on June 28, 1147, by Pope Eugenius III to a hearing of the case by the Bishops of Palencia and Segovia.⁷⁴ A donation made by Alfonso VIII of Castile to Rodrigo Cascante in his capacity as Lord of Santo Domingo in 1172 indicates that Calahorra remained secure in its possession of the border church long after that initial hearing.

However, the Bishop of Burgos' renewed efforts in the mid-1180's prompted another papal summons ordering the Bishop of Calahorra to defend his claim to Santo Domingo before the Bishops of Osma and Sigüenza.⁷⁵ Yet another summons served on Cascante between 1182 and 1185, by a third set of papal judges-delegate, the Bishops of Segovia and Avila, reflects the growing complexity and intractability of

⁷³ García Villoslada (ed.), *Iglesia*, vol.II, ch.7: 'Movimiento de reorganización eclesiástica', pp.300-35

⁷⁴ Luciano Serrano, *El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII*, Madrid, 1936, vol.III (Documentación), 108.

⁷⁵ José Manuel Garrido Garrido (ed.), *Documentación de la Catedral de Burgos (1184-1222)*, Burgos, 1983, 26.

the dispute, which had by then expanded to include Burgos' claims over the border parishes of Ibrillos, Miranda del Ebro, and Barakaldo, as well as Santo Domingo de la Calzada.⁷⁶ A papal bull that narrowly post-dates Cascante's episcopate, dated April 22, 1192, and which specifies the Bishopric of Calahorra's possession of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, indicates that Rodrigo Cascante had most probably been successful in securing that particular church for his diocese before his death in 1190.⁷⁷ However, the broader question of administrative rights over the other border churches that had been added to Burgos' wish-list by the 1180's was not resolved until 1229.⁷⁸

The evolution of this dispute between 1147 and 1190 provides a good reflection of the increasingly insistent emphasis on geographical criteria that accompanied the definition of diocesan boundaries in twelfth-century Iberia. The dispute with Burgos that Cascante had inherited on becoming Bishop of Calahorra had thus centred exclusively on one particularly important religious foundation that happened to be situated on lands which the Bishopric of Burgos had rather solid claims to administer: no Bishop of Calahorra ever contradicted the claim that Santo Domingo de la Calzada was situated in Burgos' diocesan territory; instead, Calahorra based its claim to administer the disputed church firmly on the precedent that had been set when Santo Domingo's original ecclesiastical foundation had been consecrated by a Bishop of Calahorra. By the mid-1180's, this dispute had been transformed into a conflict over a string of parishes that eventually defined a continuous geographical border between the two sees (see map 6).

This case also reflects the influence of secular politics on the development of twelfth-century Iberian ecclesiastical disputes. Although no Castilian kings became

⁷⁶ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 283.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 328.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol.IV, 93.

directly involved in the dispute between Calahorra and Burgos during the episcopate of Rodrigo Cascante, their support of Calahorra's possession of Santo Domingo extended from well before the beginning of Cascante's episcopate (above, pp.172-5) at least until the date of the Alfonso VIII's grant to Santo Domingo and the Bishop of Calahorra in 1172.⁷⁹ During that period, Burgos only made one, short-lived and unsuccessful, attempt to wrest Santo Domingo from Calahorra, in 1147.

However, in the context of a distinct cooling of relations between the Bishop of Calahorra and Alfonso VIII in the 1180's (above, pp.225-9), it seems that the King of Castile also grew lukewarm in his support of Calahorra's position in Santo Domingo. Thus when Alfonso VIII extended a privilege to the inhabitants of Santo Domingo on May 15, 1187, it was the first time that neither the bishop nor any representative of the Diocese of Calahorra was specified among the recipients of a royal grant to that town. This charter also included a royal confirmation of the right to erect bakeries in the town, which had been previously granted to the inhabitants of Santo Domingo by Rodrigo Cascante. This confirmation might be interpreted as a subtle attack by Alfonso VIII on the Bishop of Calahorra's position in Santo Domingo, as it essentially undermined the independence of his lordship over the town.⁸⁰ Even though the Bishopric of Burgos ultimately failed in its bid to gain control of this *camino* town, it is interesting to note that the forceful revival of its legal challenge to Calahorra's possession of Santo Domingo in the mid-1180's coincided precisely with this period of reduced royal Castilian support for Calahorra's position there.

⁷⁹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.III, 249.

⁸⁰ Miguel Vivancos Gómez (ed.), *Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (954-1254)*, Burgos, 1988, Charter dated June 10, 1187.

Disputes with Pamplona and Tarazona

The first sign of the conflict between the Bishoprics of Calahorra and Pamplona comes in a papal letter dated 1154–1156, in which Pope Hadrian IV appointed the Bishops of Tarazona and Osma to judge the merits of a challenge that had been made by Cascante at the papal courts concerning Pamplona's administration of nine (unspecified) parishes.⁸¹ In 1157, the Bishop of Osma filed a report on the case that provides a thorough account of Rodrigo Cascante's untiring pursuit of his claims over the disputed churches in the face of the Bishop of Pamplona's dogged avoidance of the issue.⁸²

This report first describes the initial hearing of the case which Cascante attended with his legal team (*'cum clericis suis'*) only to be presented with the written excuses of the Bishop of Pamplona, who claimed that illness and his condition as a hostage of the Count of Barcelona prevented him from acting on any matters pertaining to his diocese, and threatened to appeal to Rome against any decision the court might come to in his absence.⁸³ It also describes the Bishop of Calahorra's outrage at these excuses, which he refuted by stating that his opponent was neither too sick to ride out daily with the count who held him hostage, nor was his authority over the Bishopric of Pamplona too weak for him to continue collecting episcopal taxes. It then goes on to list four occasions on which the Bishop of Pamplona failed to attend

⁸¹ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 175.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 194. This document is dated 1156/7 by Rodríguez de Lama. I have revised this to 1157 on account of its reference to the Bishop of Pamplona's presence at the court of the Count of Barcelona (see following footnote).

⁸³ The Bishop of Pamplona was held hostage at the court of Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona, between January 1157 and June 1158 in the context of an ongoing conflict between Navarre and Aragon-Barcelona: Juan Francisco Elizari, *Sancho VI el Sabio, Rey de Navarra*, Iruña, 1991, pp.63-5 & 73-7.

hearings of the case by the Archbishop of Tarragona, and one on which he ignored a summons to a trial of the affair by the Papal Legate Cardinal Hyacinth.⁸⁴

Pope Celestine III's appointment of new judges-delegate to the case on April 18, 1192, two years after Cascante's death, reveals that this dispute was still unresolved more than 30 years later. The pope's identification in 1192 of three of the nine disputed churches as Oyón, San Vicente de la Sonsierra, and Mendavia, all of which are situated along the northern bank of the Ebro, which was controlled by Navarre from 1163 to 1172 and again after 1179, indicates that the Navarrese Bishopric of Pamplona may have been pushing for the extension of its diocesan interests to coincide with the secular borders of Navarre (see map 6).⁸⁵

The object of Cascante's dispute with Tarazona was the monastery of Fitero, which lies some 30km south-east of Calahorra in the Alhama river valley, and the nearby estate of Corella (see map 6). It began some 20 years after his conflict with Pamplona, and all we know of it is recorded in an appeal that the Bishop of Calahorra sent to Pope Urban III sometime between 1185 and 1187. Cascante opened his appeal with the claim that Fitero and Corella were '*in nostra diocesis, ut nos tenemus, Tyrassonensis dicit in sua, quia est sicut in limite episcopatum*', and went on to relate how his predecessor, Sancho de Funes, had consecrated the original foundation of Raymond, Abbot of Fitero, in Nincebas, and that that foundation had been translated to its present location in Fitero, where '*monachi nobis et ecclesie nostre fuerunt obedientes*', under his own supervision. He then recounted how the Archdeacon of Tarazona '*cum multitudine pedituum et armata manu uenit ad Fiterum*', and that when the congregation of Fitero refused to pledge obedience to him, he seized their

⁸⁴ Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática*, vol.II, 194.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, vol.III, 327.

livestock and violently ejected them from the monastery, upon which the monks '*ad Calagurritanam ecclesiam tamquam ad suam matrem uenerunt*'.⁸⁶

These events probably unravelled in the late 1170's, as Rodrigo Cascante also related in his letter that he had taken advantage of his attendance of Lateran III in 1179 to raise the issue at the papal courts, and that this had resulted in Pope Alexander III's delegation of the case to the Archbishop of Tarragona. The Bishop of Calahorra further lamented the archbishop's failure to address this issue '*usque ad presentum annum*' (i.e. 1185-1187), and stated that when the archbishop did finally convene a court to try the case, he ruled it in Tarazona's favour '*ex insperato*'. Cascante had demanded a retrial, and the Archbishop of Tarragona had agreed to send his archdeacon to preside, but when the Bishop of Calahorra had appeared at the appointed place and the appointed time with 90 '*ueracis testimonii testes*', he found that Tarragona's judge-delegate had failed to show up, and concluded that '*ab archiepiscopo fuimus delusi*'. A further attempt to attain a more favourable ruling from another judge appointed by the Archbishop of Tarragona was, according to Cascante, scuppered by the diversionary tactics of the Bishop of Tarazona, who brought up a '*uanissimam questionem super quasdam nostri episcopatus uillas*', and the judge's biased handling of the trial, at which only the testimony of Tarazona's witnesses was accepted.⁸⁷

The behaviour of Cascante's metropolitan, the Archbishop of Tarragona, with respect to Calahorra's dispute with Tarazona is best understood in its secular political context. The Aragonese archbishop clearly wanted to avoid this difficult case, in which the stronger claims of Calahorra, a diocese that remained clearly Castilian in its

⁸⁶ Ibid., 290.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

fundamental political alignment despite its disengagement from Castilian royal politics in the 1180's, had been violently challenged by Tarazona, another of his suffragan sees, and one which was unambiguously associated with the Kingdom of Aragon. His judgement of the issue in Tarazona's favour when he was finally induced to try the case in the late 1180's, although surprising from a purely legal point of view (if even the unadorned skeleton of Cascante's version of events is to be believed), becomes more comprehensible when considered as the promotion by the supreme representative of the Church in Aragon of the territorial ambitions of his Aragonese suffragan, at the expense of a diocese that stood firmly within the Castilian Church. It also takes on a new significance when considered in the context of the struggle between Aragon and Castile for control of the Alhama valley that developed during the 1180's.⁸⁸

The convoluted histories of these two disputes illustrate the intractability of the border-disputes in which so many twelfth-century Iberian bishoprics became embroiled, which was determined by the incompatibility of long-standing and widely accepted administrative precedents with either traditional geographical boundaries, or contemporary geopolitical realities, or both. Calahorra's territorial conflicts with both its Navarrese neighbour, Pamplona, and its Aragonese neighbour, Tarazona, also illustrate the way in which such disputes were generally decided (or left unresolved) along lines dictated by secular political boundaries.

Apart from reflecting the predominant secular interests that dictated the outcome of the majority of diocesan boundary disputes in twelfth-century Iberia, Calahorra's disputes with Pamplona and Tarazona also provide two very colourful illustrations of Rodrigo Cascante's personal dedication to the defence of the territorial

⁸⁸ González, *Reino de Castilla*, vol I, pp.820-6; Elizari, *Sancho VI*, pp.189-91.

claims of his diocese in the ecclesiastical courts. The Bishop of Calahorra thus made two visits to the Papal Curia and appeared at no less than nine separate legal hearings in the context of these two disputes. His production of 90 witness-statements to support his case against Tarazona indicates a particularly high level of legal preparation, and the thorough precision with which he put forward and reported legal arguments and counter-arguments during the course of both of these disputes reveals the Bishop of Calahorra to have been a seasoned legal practitioner. Indeed, even his evident ability to keep these two disputes going through such a long and presumably exhausting succession of frustrated appeals reveals a deep knowledge of the workings of the ecclesiastical courts and a notable determination to put them to work in his favour.

Conclusions

In the age of the lawyer-popes, Rodrigo Cascante was a legally-minded bishop whose relentless drive to extend, regularize, and formalize the diocesan administration of the Bishopric of Calahorra had seen no parallel. He restructured his cathedral chapter along strictly hierarchical lines, tightened up the administration of common capitular property and the award of canons' benefices, and undermined its connections with its secular urban surroundings; he oversaw the establishment of Calahorra's first recorded episcopal legal court, and the first documented reference to a diocesan synod in Calahorra also dates from his episcopate; he extended the administrative capacity of his see over many different areas of diocesan religious life, and formalized its hold on Albelda, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and (probably also) Armentia by establishing these as collegiate churches of the Cathedral of

Calahorra; he enforced his administrative superiority over the monastic church within his diocese, and was energetically engaged in the clarification of Calahorra's jurisdictional and territorial boundaries through litigation; he was also the first Bishop of Calahorra to establish ties with his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Tarragona.

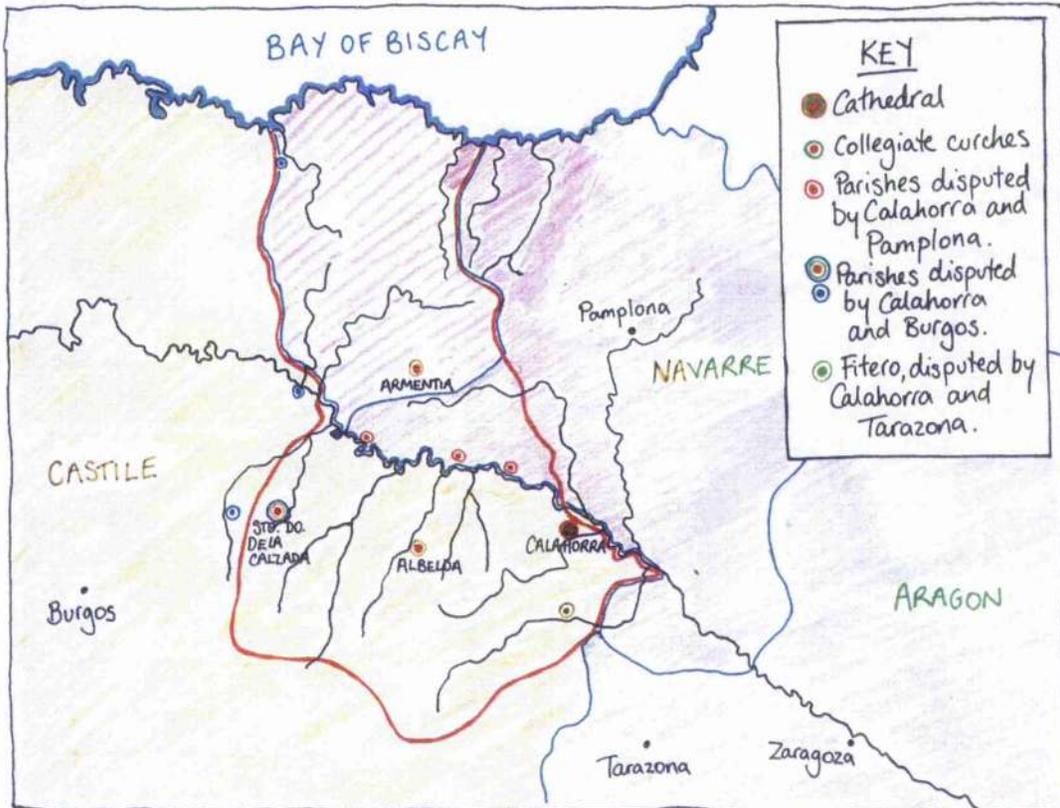
This comprehensive catalogue of administrative reforms reflects the growing jurisdictional power of an ascendant, emphatically hierarchical, and territorial secular church under the influence of the Reformed Papacy in the second half of the twelfth century.⁸⁹ However, Cascante's deviation from the papal ideal in certain areas of this development reveal that far from being simply dictated by the increasing weight of Roman Canon Law, his program of administrative reform primarily served an agenda that was both forcefully territorial, and notably personal.

The bishop's 'de-territorialization' of his archdeacons and the fluctuations in the intensity and nature of his association with Tarragona, both dictated by independent episcopal political criteria, best reveal the existence of this agenda. It is further highlighted by Cascante's attempts to extend his territorial interests in Alava and Vizcaya, and the extent to which these interests defined his relationships with the secular powers that surrounded his see. With respect to the latter, it is worth remembering that even the dramatic capitular reforms pushed through at the beginning of Cascante's episcopate were to a large degree dictated by the demands of a Castilian secular power on whose support his Basque project relied. It is also worth noting that the elevation of Albelda and Santo Domingo de la Calzada to collegiate status, the formal submission of the Abbot of San Millán de la Cogolla to the authority of the Bishop of Calahorra, and the high-point of Calahorra's attempts to

⁸⁹ Peter Linehan has noted the intense involvement of the Castilian episcopate in the imposition of 'order and authority...in the ecclesiastical and the secular spheres alike' in the second half of the twelfth century, and the increased activity of Castilian practitioners of Roman Law during the 1180's: Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford, 1993, pp.180 & 307.

reclaim Santa María la Real de Nájera also all occurred in the mid-1150's when Rodrigo Cascante's see was in the political limelight that radiated from the Leonese-Castilian 'Kingdom of Nájera'. They therefore provide a far sharper reflection of the administrative advantage pressed by a bishop in the context of a decidedly favourable political climate than of the influence of Rome on the evolution of a twelfth-century Iberian see.

Under Rodrigo Cascante, the Bishopric of Calahorra 'came of age' in two senses. On the one hand, its institutional consolidation and internal reformation were dynamically pursued in the context of its centrality to the north-eastern frontier-politics of the Crowns of first Leon-Castile and then Castile. In a related development, the Bishop of Calahorra emerged as a notably autonomous and emphatically territorial power in the borderlands he administered, who used his alliance with the Crowns of Leon-Castile and Castile to pursue his own regional and diocesan interests with a confidence that his predecessors had entirely lacked. When Castile ceased serving those interests, he revealed his maturity as a frontier politician by using his Aragonese metropolitan connection to distance his diocese from the Castilian Church and Crown.



Map 6: Collegiate churches and parishes disputed with Burgos, Pamplona, and Tarazona under Rodrigo Cascante.

CONCLUSIONS

The Bishopric of Calahorra developed spectacularly between its re-foundation in 1045 and the death of Bishop Rodrigo Cascante in 1190. At the beginning of that period, it represented little more than a name to identify the power of a great ecclesiastical magnate whose diocesan authority was indistinguishable from his influence over the regional monastic church, and who had no fixed episcopal seat (let alone a functioning cathedral), no metropolitan, and no institutionalized body of clergy to serve his administration, which itself had no clearly identifiable geographical or legal limits. By its end, Calahorra had become a decidedly territorial institution with geographical boundaries that were in the final stages of their precise definition, an increasingly comprehensive and emphatically secular diocesan administration that was centred on a well-developed cathedral to which the monastic church in the Rioja was increasingly subject, and which occupied a clearly identifiable place within the Iberian secular church hierarchy.

The general direction of this evolution was in line with, and certainly informed by, the development of the secular branch of the Western Church as a whole during this period, which saw its steady disentanglement from the monastic Church and its establishment as a highly territorial and hierarchical institution under the increasingly dominant influence of the Papacy. Calahorra's transformation also occurred within the more specific framework provided by the Leonese-Castilian Church, which developed under the forceful direction of strong kings whose authority relied heavily on their control of major ecclesiastical institutions.¹ Those kings took advantage of

¹ I refer here to the Leonese-Castilian Church, and not the Churches of Castile, Navarre, or Aragon, as the periods during which Calahorra was most comprehensively integrated into a network of bishoprics

the increasingly comprehensive organizational and territorial direction in which the Western Church as a whole developed during the twelfth century by shifting the focus of their ecclesiastical policy from the great monasteries to the Leonese-Castilian bishoprics, which they adopted and promoted as the primary instruments in the consolidation and extension of their own increasingly institutionalized power.

Dazzling as it may have been, Calahorra's evolution during the first 150 years after its restoration was significantly slower than that of the majority of its contemporary Iberian bishoprics. Not only was the see unique in its inability to establish a fixed and central episcopal seat during the first 60 years after its re-foundation, but it also lagged behind its Iberian contemporaries in other significant aspects of its early development. Thus while the church councils of Coyanza (1055) and Compostela (1056 & 1063) ruled on the composition and function of diocesan chapters, which had been in evidence in the Diocese of Oviedo as early as 1044, in Palencia by 1084, and in the Bishopric of Coimbra on its resurrection in 1086, there is no evidence of a stable chapter in Calahorra before the start of the episcopate of Sancho de Grañón in 1109.² Similarly, while increasingly organized diocesan administrations throughout the Iberian Peninsula began to establish a clear distinction between the property of their chapters and that of their bishops in the opening decades of the twelfth century (Palencia in 1100; Salamanca on its restoration in 1102; Oviedo

with a strong royal association were defined by its integration into the dominions of the Crown of Leon-Castile.

² Alfonso García Gallo, 'El Concilio de Coyanza: Contribución al estudio del derecho canónico en la Alta Edad Media', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 20 (1950), pp.275-633; Soledad Suárez Beltrán, *El Cabildo Catedral de Oviedo en la Edad Media*, Oviedo, 1986, p.38; Derek Lomax, 'Don Ramón, Bishop of Palencia (1148-84)', Jordi Maluquer de Motes (ed.), *Homenage a Jaime Vicens Vives*, Barcelona, 1965, vol.I, p.286

in 1106, León in 1120; and Zaragoza in 1122, to name a few examples), the same did not occur in Calahorra before 1257.³

The same distinction can be made between Calahorra and much of the Iberian secular Church between 1150 and 1200. While the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela supported some 50 canons during that period, the Bishop of Palencia set the limit of his chapter at 60 canons in 1151, and the more modest see of Lugo had 30 canons in 1173, the maximum number of canons recorded in the Cathedral of Calahorra under Rodrigo Cascante (1147-1190) was 13.⁴ This contrast indicates not only Calahorra's delayed institutional evolution, but also its relative poverty, as it is generally accepted that the size of twelfth-century Iberian chapters was directly related to their economic capacity.⁵ Finally, another indication of the speed with which Iberian cathedrals stepped into line with the Roman reform of the twelfth-century secular Church is provided by the date of the replacement of their priors with deans.⁶ This had occurred in Santiago de Compostela by 1121, in Orense by 1142, in

³ António López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1908, vol.III, pp.207-8; José Luis Martín Martín, *El cabildo de la catedral de Salamanca (siglos XII-XIII)*, Salamanca, 1975, pp.52-3; Suárez Beltrán, *Oviedo*, p.45; Carlos Estepa Díez, *Estructura social de la ciudad de León (siglos XI-XIII)*, León, 1977, p.227; María Rosa Gutiérrez Iglesias, *La mesa capitular de la Iglesia de San Salvador de Zaragoza en el pontificado de Hugo Mataplana*, Zaragoza, 1980, p.16; Pablo Díaz Bodegas, *La Diócesis de Calahorra y La Calzada en el siglo XIII (La sede, sus obispos e instituciones)*, Logroño, 1995, p.55.

⁴ López Ferreiro, *Santiago*, vol.IV, p.47; Lomax, *Don Ramón*, p.286; Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, *Iglesia castellano-leonesa y Curia romana en los tiempos del rey San Fernando*, Madrid, 1945, pp.194-5.

⁵ Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1978, p.146.

⁶ Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez, *La Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela en la Edad Media: El Cabildo Catedralicio (1100-1400)*, Santiago de Compostela, 1996, p.57.

Salamanca by 1173, and in Avila and Burgos by 1175 and 1185 respectively.⁷

Calahorra's first dean did not make it onto the documentary record before 1207.⁸

Calahorra's tardy development was predominantly determined by its geographical location in the highly volatile political frontier zone that separated Christian and Muslim Iberia, and the northern Christian kingdoms of Navarre, Leon-Castile, Castile, and Aragon at different times during this period. Its original developmental handicap resided in the absence in the Bishopric of Calahorra of a stable episcopal seat around which its diocesan administration could be constructed. This was initially determined by the marginality and poverty of its legitimate cathedral, which derived from the location of the city of Calahorra on the vulnerable front line of Navarre's expansion into the Taifa Kingdom of Zaragoza. It was subsequently exacerbated by the intense involvement of the see in the politics of Navarre's fluctuating borders with Castile, as the changing dictates of the frontier resulted in the Bishop of Calahorra's adoption of three different diocesan centres in notably quick succession between 1046 and 1060.

The collapse of that frontier and the assimilation of Calahorra's riojan heartlands by the Kingdom of Leon-Castile in 1076 was extremely detrimental to the borderland diocese, as its former pre-eminence within the Crown of Navarre was punished by Alfonso VI, who destroyed its embryonic administrative structures and appointed a series of hand-picked Bishops of Calahorra who were kept on a restrictively tight leash at the royal court.

⁷ Ibid., pp.56-7; Emilio Duro Peña, 'Las antiguas dignidades de la cathedral de Orense', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 1 (1964), pp.289-330; Martín Martín, *Salamanca*, p.23; Juan Ramón López Arévalo, *Un cabildo catedral de la Vieja Castilla: Avila. Su estructura juridical, Siglos XII-XX*, Madrid, 1966, pp.81-2; Hilario Casado Alonso, *La propiedad eclesiástica en la ciudad de Burgos en el siglo XV: el Cabildo Catedralicio*, Valladolid, 1979, p.31.

⁸ Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama (ed.), *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, Logroño, 1992, vol.I, p.64.

However, there were also some very particular advantages to Calahorra's frontier condition, which became apparent during those periods when the borders on which it perched cooled down and the attention of the powers that otherwise competed so furiously for control of the Rioja turned their attentions elsewhere. An initial indication of this is provided by the quiet endurance of Sancho (1081-1087), the only Bishop of Calahorra not to be appointed by Alfonso VI during the closing decades of the eleventh century, on the very eastern lower riojan periphery of the king's political vision, while his royally-appointed episcopal rival Pedro (1081-1085) accompanied the royal court.

This aspect of the see's borderland condition came to the fore under Bishops Sancho de Grañón (1109-1116) and Sancho de Funes (1118-1146), who built up a strong and highly independent cathedral in Calahorra in the permissive context provided by the civil war in Leon-Castile (1110-1117), and the subsequent preoccupation of Alfonso I of Aragon (whose occupation of the Rioja in 1110 had been a by-product of that conflict) with the massive southwards expansion of his Kingdom into and beyond the lower Ebro valley (1118-1134). During this period, the Bishops of Calahorra maintained a decidedly low political profile, took up contact with the Papacy, and associated themselves primarily with the establishment of an autonomous and notably local, if small and relatively poor, chapter in the Cathedral of Calahorra. The extension of their territorial diocesan administration was modest by comparison with the cathedral's development, as it depended to a large extent on their limited co-operation with the Crowns of Leon-Castile and Aragon.

Under Rodrigo Cascante (1147-1190), the Diocese of Calahorra came full circle, as it once again became central to the frontier politics of a strong crown. As a result, a program of rapid and royally-promoted institutional reform determined the

see's development of a rigidly hierarchical cathedral and supporting capitular institutions. Cascante's episcopate also witnessed the expansion and definition of Calahorra's territorial administration on a massive scale under the forceful direction of a highly ambitious and political bishop.

Although it had come full circle in this sense, the Bishopric of Calahorra's position in the second half of the twelfth century differed from that it had occupied under the Navarrese Crown between 1045 and 1054 in two fundamental ways. The first concerned its political authority and the personal power of its bishop, as neither the Bishop nor the Bishopric of Calahorra ever regained the political and ecclesiastical pre-eminence in which they had basked under García III of Navarre. On the other hand, by the closing decades of the twelfth century the Bishop of Calahorra displayed a degree of political autonomy in the face of a strong royal authority that was entirely unprecedented in the post-re-foundation history of the see. Rodrigo Cascante harnessed the forces of the aggressively expansionist Crowns of Leon-Castile and Castile and an ascendant and supra-political secular ecclesiastical hierarchy to the pursuit of his own program of institutional reform and administrative extension. As a result, he was able to bring the Cathedral of Calahorra firmly within his own control, and to establish his authority over the church in his diocese in a manner that had been far beyond the scope of his predecessors. The latter process was particularly visible in his unprecedented (if to a large degree temporary) administrative expansion into Calahorra's Basque provinces. When the Crown of Castile ceased serving Cascante's diocesan interests, the bishop displayed the strength of his political position in using the leverage provided by his inclusion in the increasingly cohesive and emphatically Aragonese Archiepiscopal Province of Tarragona to distance his see from the Castilian Church and King. Under Rodrigo

Cascante, the Bishopric of Calahorra thus came of age as a territorial frontier power in its own right after more than a century of precarious borderland existence.

Although Calahorra's development between 1046 and 1190 was certainly influenced by its wider ecclesiastical and peninsular contexts, it displayed marked characteristics that were specifically related to, and heavily influenced by, its location on a secular frontier between the Christian kingdoms of northern Iberia. The effects of its frontier condition on its political and institutional evolution were neither constant nor uniform, but changed in relation to the see's political context, the strength and reach of the supra-political ecclesiastical framework to which it had access, and the agenda and abilities of individual bishops. Because Calahorra was subject to such enormously different combinations of these three factors during the first 150 years after its re-foundation, it is possible to draw some general conclusions about the different roles they played in affecting the see's development.

In the first phase of Calahorra's eleventh- and twelfth-century evolution, the convergence in the see of a strong and benevolent royal authority, a local and highly influential bishop, and the absence of a supra-political secular ecclesiastical framework, gave rise to the total identification of the interests of the first two with overwhelmingly positive consequences for the personal power of the Bishop of Calahorra, and decidedly negative ones for the institutional development of his diocese. In its second phase, a strong and hostile royal authority combined with weak and distant bishops and the negligible influence of the secular Church beyond Leon-Castile, created a situation that had exceptionally negative effects on every aspect of the see's evolution. When Calahorra was subject to weak royal authority and governed by committed local bishops who had recourse to an increasingly coherent secular ecclesiastical hierarchy in the third phase of the period under discussion, the

result was the establishment in the see of markedly autonomous diocesan institutions and the modest emergence of the independent political capacity of its bishops. In the final phase of Calahorra's evolution before 1190, a (predominantly) strong royal authority, a highly capable and ambitious bishop, and the increasingly far-reaching influence and administrative structures of the western secular Church, converged on the see to create conditions that clearly favoured the extension of Calahorra's institutional and political autonomy.

This brief overview of the effects of different combinations of factors on Calahorra's development between 1046 and 1190 clearly reveals the predominant influence of secular politics on the see's wildly fluctuating developmental fortunes. However, the coincidence between the initial emergence of Calahorra's autonomous tendencies and its bishops' establishment of contact with the Papacy is noteworthy, as is the fact that even when faced by the re-assertion of a strong royal authority in the Rioja in the last of the phases outlined above, the Bishop of Calahorra was able to extend the political and institutional independence of his see while enjoying frequent recourse to an increasingly dominant secular ecclesiastical hierarchy. Although the pace of Calahorra's institutional and political evolution in the first 150 years after its restoration was doubtlessly predominantly determined by its political context, its autonomous direction was above all dependent on the ability of committed bishops to harness the influence of an increasingly powerful supra-political secular ecclesiastical administration to their pursuit of an independent diocesan agenda.

Our understanding of the effect of the frontier on the development of those secular ecclesiastical institutions that were situated on the borders between the Christian kingdoms of medieval Iberia is still in its infancy. It could be expanded through the study of other northern peninsular frontier bishoprics with which

Calahorra's development could be usefully compared (for example Albarracín, Tarazona, Osma on the borders between Castile and Aragon; Palencia, Salamanca, and Plasencia on the frontier between Castile and Leon; and Tuy and Zamora on the borders between Leon and Portugal). Another possible direction for future investigation lies in the comparison of the development of northern Iberian frontier bishoprics with the emergence of a particularly autonomous and politically adept frontier nobility in the north of the peninsula, and an investigation into the relationship between the two phenomena.⁹ It is hoped that the analysis of Calahorra's eleventh- and twelfth-century development that has been attempted in this thesis might provide a model that can be usefully extended, modified, or refuted by anyone wishing to take up these, or other related, lines of enquiry.

⁹ For example, the nobility of the frontiers of Leon and Castile has recently been analyzed in: Anna Rodríguez López, *La consolidación territorial de la monarquía feudal castellana: expansión y fronteras durante el reinado de Fernando III*, Madrid, 1994; Ignacio Alvarez Borge, *Monarquía feudal y organización territorial: Alfoces y merindades en Castilla (siglos X-XV)*, Madrid, 1993, and *Poder y relaciones sociales en Castilla en la Edad Media: los territorios entre el Arlanzón y el Duero en los siglos X al XV*, Valladolid, 1996; Carlos Estepa Díez, *Las behetrías castellanas*, Madrid, 2003; and Cristina Jular Pérez-Alfaro, *Los adelantados y merinos mayores de León (siglos XIII-XV)*, León, 1990.

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