

NOTICE

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Royal power and proprietary churches in the eleventh-century Kingdom of Pamplona

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Abstract: The involvement of eleventh-century kings in ecclesiastical reform initiatives has usually been approached from the standpoint of their relationship with high-standing ecclesiastical institutions and their participation in the struggles for dominance between the cadres of lay and ecclesiastical elites. However, other associated phenomena, such as the increase in the number of grants of proprietary churches and monasteries, may have opened further arenas to royal intervention. This paper addresses the role of the kings of Pamplona as grantors of religious houses, as well as their participation in grants made by other actors, in order to assess the effects of their engagement in the sphere of proprietary churches and how it affected their position within the social and political edifice of the kingdom.

Keywords: proprietary churches, Middle Ages, Gregorian Reform, royal power, Kingdom of Pamplona

0 Introduction¹

Throughout the eleventh century across Western Europe, an increasing number of proprietary churches and monasteries were handed over to major ecclesiastical

¹ Abbreviations: Albelda = Ubieta, *Albelda*; BGD = *Becerro Galicano Digital* (www.ehu.eus/galicano/) [Date Accessed 07/11/2018]; CatPamplona = Goñi Gaztambide, *Pamplona*; CDMRioja = Rodríguez R. De Lama, *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*; Irache = Lacarra, *Irache*; Leire = Martín Duque, *Leire*; Nájera = Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real de Nájera*; RamiroI = Viruete Erdozáin, *Ramiro I de Aragón*; SJP = Ubieta, *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*; SJP-IbarraP = Ibarra y Rodríguez, *Sancho Ramírez*; SPML = García Turza, *San Prudencio de Monte Laturce*. With the exception of Pamplona (Basque *Iruñea*), which for the sake of clarity is rendered in Castilian, Basque forms have been preferred for place names in Basque-speaking areas. When no contemporary form exists, place names have been rendered as they appear in the charters.

institutions by actors of very diverse social standing — partly, though not exclusively, as a response to calls for ecclesiastical reform.² This, like other associated phenomena such as conflicts over tithes, enabled — and sometimes forced — both lay and ecclesiastical actors at all levels of society to renegotiate and redefine their relationships.³ In the case of lay rulers this could affect the scaffolding upon which their power and authority was built. In the earlier period, churches and monasteries, even the most local in nature, had aided in anchoring royal power on the ground and contributed to articulating the social and territorial relationships that were the very material of which polities were made.⁴ Analysing the involvement of the eleventh-century kings and queens in grants of proprietary houses might thus not only provide us with an opportunity to trace royal participation in the processes associated to reform movements beyond the highest political circles in which it has been most frequently situated.⁵ It can enable us to assess the opportunities and constraints for royal action that the wave of eleventh century donations entailed, as well as the impact it had on the construction of royal power more widely.

The purpose of this paper is to consider this problem with regards to one particular case study, the Kingdom of Pamplona. It was partly due to their grants of churches and

² Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 851-82. For an overview of the period see Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change*; Tellenbach, *The church*, 135-252.

³ Eldevik, *Episcopal Power*; Howe, 'The Nobility's Reform'. Cf. Violante, 'La reforme ecclesiastique du XIe siecle'.

⁴ Cf. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 79-134; Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*; De Jong, 'Ecclesia and the early medieval polity'; Innes, *State and Society*, 13-50; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 292-305, 321-6, 340-5; Shapland, 'Palaces'; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 263-82.

⁵ Cf. Miller, 'Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture', 25-28, esp. ns. 2 and 3.

monasteries, as well as their ties to ecclesiastical reformers and their alleged role in the adoption of the Benedictine rule in their realm, that the eleventh-century kings of Pamplona were portrayed as key vectors in the introduction of reform in the north of the Iberian Peninsula well before papal intervention began to be felt more intensely.⁶ While the scantiness and dubious nature of the available evidence for the two latter aspects have already led scholars to nuance that view,⁷ royal involvement in the sphere of proprietary churches and monasteries remains to be more thoroughly explored — something which can also be said of other Iberian monarchs more generally.⁸ Two

⁶ Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino*, Vol. 2, 887-913; Lacarra, *Historia política*, 220-1, 243; Orlandis Rovira, 'Los monasterios familiares', 26-9; Orlandis Rovira, *La iglesia*, 325-7; Pérez de Urbel, *Sancho*, 297-300. Cf. also Bishko, 'Fernando I'; Henriët, 'Cluny and Spain'. For a regional approach to churches and monasteries in the kingdom see Durán Gudiol, *La iglesia de Aragón*; Jimeno Aranguren, *Terras a suis reperitur semper esse possessas*; Martínez Díez, *Monasterios*. For a general approach to proprietary churches in the Iberian Peninsula see Faci Lacasta, 'La iglesia propia'; Orlandis Rovira, *La iglesia*, 342; Fernández Conde, *La religiosidad medieval en España*, 326-7. For earlier works, mainly from the perspective of the legal sources, see Torres López, 'La doctrina de las "iglesias propias"'; Torres López, 'El origen del sistema de "iglesias propias"'; Bidagor, *La Iglesia propia*; cf. Rodríguez Gil, 'Consideraciones'. An increase in the number of donations of proprietary churches is attested in most parts of northern Iberia. See Martínez Sopena, 'Monasterios particulares', 330; Orlandis Rovira, 'Los monasterios familiares', 36; Pérez, 'Proprietary churches'; 5-6 — though cf. Mattoso, *Le monachisme ibérique*, 339. On the role of monasteries and churches in the processes of social and territorial aggregation and polity building in the area see Diez Herrera, 'La agregación de monasterios'; Peña Bocos, 'Ecclesia y Monasterium'; Martín Viso, 'Monasterios y redes sociales'.

⁷ Cf. Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, 'Monjes y obispos', 194-5, 204-6; García de Cortázar, 'Monasterios hispanos', 261-73, 280-2; García de Cortázar, 'Los monasterios'.

⁸ To date, most studies have focused on aristocratic and other forms of lay ownership and patronage. The available works are too numerous to be cited here. For an overview see Barton, *The aristocracy*, 185-220; Martínez Sopena, 'Aristocracia, monacato y reformas'; Pérez, 'El control de lo sagrado'. See also Quirós Castillo and Santos Salazar, 'Founding and Owning Churches'. Local communities as owners of churches are scarcely attested, in

issues seem particularly important in this regard. The first refers to the nature of royal grants.⁹ While the houses they donated and the beneficiaries of their grants have already been identified, what the kings actually transferred when they donated a church or a monastery has not been sufficiently explored. This is key to provide an adequate assessment of the implications of royal donations in the context in which they were made. The second refers to royal involvement beyond the grants made by the kings. The terms in which religious houses were founded, managed, and eventually donated defined sets of relationships and practices in which different actors including not only the founders, donors, and recipients, but also other third parties could engage.¹⁰ Were the kings also able to intervene in these contexts, and if so how? Exploring these two issues shall provide us with a better characterisation of the extent of royal initiatives in relation to proprietary churches and monasteries and how they may have contributed to shape and transform royal power in eleventh-century Pamplona.

In order to address these questions we will concentrate on the reigns of Sancho García III (1004-1035), regarded as the first monarch to introduce the spirit of reform, and of his successors García Sánchez III (1035-1054) and Sancho Garcés IV (1054-1076), after whose death the realm was partitioned between the rulers of Castile and

contrast to other regions like Catalonia. Cf. Loring García, 'Nobleza e iglesias propias', 100-5; To Figueras, 'El marc de les comunitats pageses'.

⁹ The nature of ownership of and patronage over churches has been central to the debate since U. Stutz's seminal work. See Stutz, 'The proprietary church'. For an early critique see La Tour, *Les Origines Religieuses*, esp. 175-6 and 198-202; Dopsch, *The economic and social foundations*, 279-282. For a more recent assessment see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 755-9.

¹⁰ Cf. García Gallo, 'El Concilio de Coyanza', 416-580; Orlandis Rovira, 'Los monasterios familiares', esp. 37-9; Martínez Sopena, 'La Reforma de la Iglesia'; Pérez, 'Proprietary churches'.

Aragon, and direct papal influence became effective.¹¹ Our enquiry will be largely confined to the core areas of the kingdom — those that correspond largely to present-day Navarre, La Rioja, and eastern Castile — as they are the ones that remained under the control of the kings of Pamplona throughout most of this period. It is important to note that even within this confined space, conditions on the ground may have varied depending on local and regional specificities, and consequently that the capacity of the kings to intervene and the strategies they unfolded might have differed from one place to the next.¹²

The most significant source of information on these matters are the collections of charters preserved by the main ecclesiastical institutions in the area. All of them have been edited, although the quality of the editions is very irregular. Most important among them are those of San Salvador de Leire, Santa María de Irache, San Millán de la Cogolla, and the Cathedral of Pamplona.¹³ Despite our focus on the core of the kingdom, we have also considered the collection of San Juan de la Peña, in Aragon, as it stood as one of the main abbeys and had significant interest throughout the realm. For the purpose of this article we have focused on charters recording or referring to the transaction of churches and monasteries. References to lesser houses can also be found in boundary clauses and, more sporadically, in other sections of the charters, but these rarely provide any details on their ownership or past history and have thus been omitted. We have counted a total of 230 charters dated to this period, 21 of which correspond to later forgeries and have therefore been left out. Most of the charters deemed as

¹¹ For an overview of the history of the kingdom see Lacarra, *Historia política*; Larrea, *Navarre*. On the relationships between the Iberian kings and the papacy see Deswarte, *Une chrétienté romaine*.

¹² Cf. Loring García, 'Nobleza e iglesias propias', 105-11; Larrea, 'Acción política', 82-103.

¹³ Works on these monasteries are reviewed in Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, 'Dominios monásticos'.

authentic, or regarded as bearing contemporary information in spite of later interpolations (89% of all extant charters), have been preserved as later copies, mostly in cartularies, and must thus be handled with care. The churches and monasteries so identified (236 total) represent but a fraction of all the existing houses at the time. Given the strong relationship that existed between the ecclesiastical institutions in which the charters have been preserved and the kings of Pamplona, these charters are well suited as a window on royal involvement in the sphere of proprietary churches, while also providing information about the participation of other sectors of society. Thus, and in order to provide a context for an adequate appreciation of royal involvement, we will first characterise lay foundations and grants of proprietary houses, and devote the second part of the article to analysing royal initiatives.

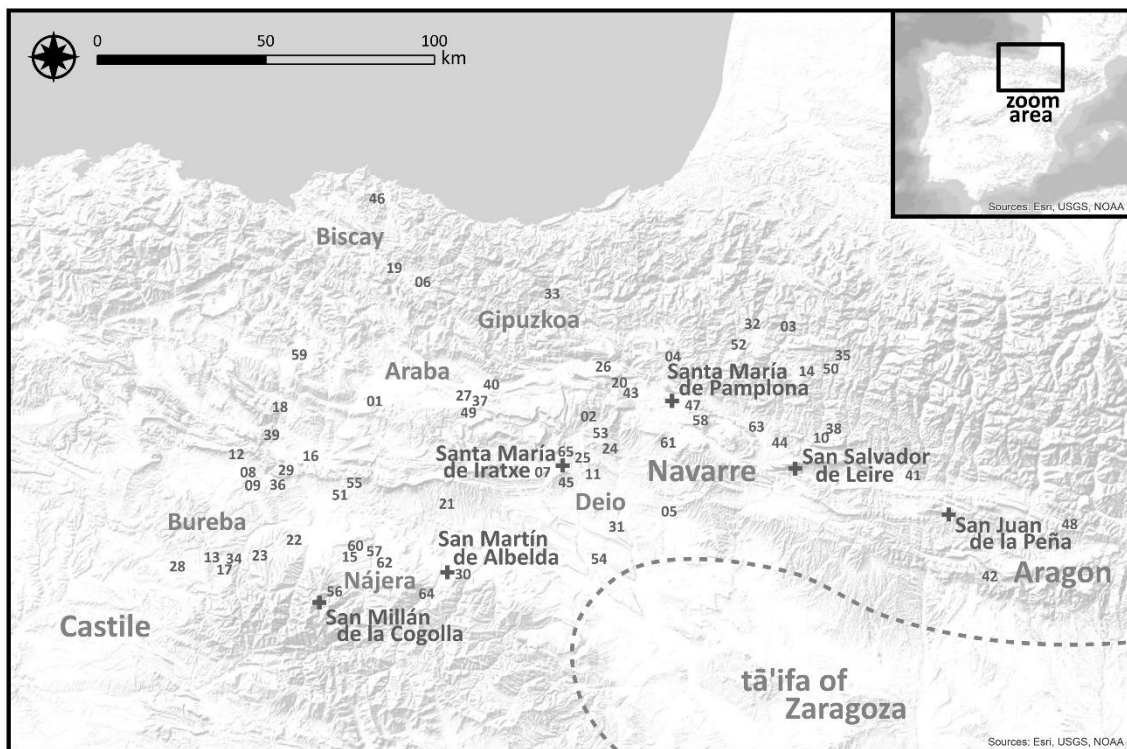


Figure 1 (caption at the end of the paper).

1 Proprietary churches in the eleventh-century kingdom of Pamplona

Proprietary churches and monasteries in the kingdom of Pamplona, just as in other regions at the time, are often difficult to characterise. Their nature cannot always be discerned. This is partly due to the ambiguity of the terms with which scribes refer to them in the charters, as the distinction between *ecclesia* and *monasterium*, when there was any, is usually far from evident.¹⁴ Furthermore, the texts frequently provide us with few details about their patrimonies or the relationships in which they were entangled.¹⁵ Those that appear in the record were in the hands of owners and patrons of very diverse social standing. Their churches and monasteries ranged from the different lesser houses that could populate a locality, to major monasteries with vast patrimonies; in between, there was a wide variety of monasteries articulating ecclesiastical patrimonies at a supralocal level.¹⁶ Cases in which the donation of a church is presented as the initiative of the religious community, such as the donation of San Juan en La Degollada to San Millán de la Cogolla, are rare.¹⁷ The same can be said of those in which the foundation

¹⁴ Fernández Conde, *La religiosidad medieval en España*, 276-7; Loring García, 'Nobleza e iglesias propias', 90-3.

¹⁵ Details are exceptionally found in inventories such as those of San Millán de Hiniestra (BGD382 (1035?)) and San Clemente de Bureba (BGD448 (1070?)); or in charters with boundary clauses, such as in one referring to the monasteries of San Miguel de Pedroso, San Salvador de Vallejóvit and San Mamés de Puras (BGD303 (1049)).

¹⁶ E.g. in Aspurz there were at least two centres, a dependency of Santa María de Arboniés, which was itself a proprietary monastery (Leire69 (1063)) and Santa Columba (Leire72 (1064)). Domna Goto López had shares in three different churches in *Villa de Eguileor* (BGD561 (1076)). Further monasteries with patrimonies and dependencies in different localities were, for example, Santa María de Landa (Leire91 (1071)) and Santiago de Lancrediz (BGD546 (1075)).

¹⁷ BGD138 (1028).

or restoration of a church is presented as the initiative of a major abbey.¹⁸ Most frequently, it is individuals of both lay or ecclesiastical standing who appear in control of proprietary churches and monasteries, acting either in their own interest or in that of the family groups to which they belonged.

Beyond their strictly religious functions, for the aristocracy churches and monasteries could function as assets, as well as managerial centres within larger estates. That was the case of the several churches that Oveco Díaz sold to Queen Jimena in 1028, together with many other properties.¹⁹ For some aristocratic families, however, monasteries could also fulfil a more central role in their social and political strategies, as was the case of San Prudencio del Monte Laturce. The monastery was founded in or before 950, when the community entered the orbit of the abbey of Albelda.²⁰ Its collection of charters is problematic, for most extant documents have only been preserved as later copies, sometimes in translated versions.²¹ Apparently, it was placed under the patronage of Domna Mencía, a sister of King Sancho Garcés IV, and her descendants. According to one of the few original charters in the collection, in 1058 her sons, Jimeno and Sancho, received the monastery from Bishop Gomesano of Calahorra, to whom they gave in exchange San Miguel de Ekora — which they had in turn received from their uncle Sancho Garcés IV.²² In 1064, Sancho Garcés IV confirmed Jimeno's rights over San Prudencio and granted other lesser houses to the monastery.²³

¹⁸ Irache52 (1072).

¹⁹ Including San Julián, in Miranda de Ebro, San Martín de Bachicabo and Santa Cruz de Bozó (BGD498 (1028); BGD538 (1028)). See also BGD307 (1028); BGD557 (1028). Cf. Pérez, 'El control de lo sagrado'.

²⁰ García Turza, 'El monasterio de San Prudencio', 139-42.

²¹ SPML, 11-4.

²² SPML5 (1058). See also SPML6 (1058).

²³ SPLM8 (1064); SPLM9 (1065).

San Prudencio would receive further donations from Domna Mencía and her descendants, as well as from Sancho Garcés IV at the instance of Jimeno,²⁴ and exchanged dependencies with the monks of Albelda.²⁵ Notwithstanding the difficulties posed by the charters, the overall impression is that during these decades the monastery played a central, though not necessarily exclusive role in the articulation of the family as a group, as well as in its reproduction over time.

Monasteries could also enable lesser aristocrats to advance and negotiate their social and political position, as is best illustrated by San Salvador de Olazabal, in Gipuzkoa. Its first appearance occurs in a charter dated 1025, though probably composed at a later date on the basis of documents extant at the time but which have not been preserved.²⁶ It records the donation of San Salvador to San Juan de la Peña by *senior* García Aznar and Domna Gayla, and refers to donations previously made by two of their sons. The little we know about this family suggests that they were — or rather had become — relevant landowners in Gipuzkoa. Domna Gayla, for her part, owned another monastery dedicated to Santiago in Lakidain, near Pamplona, perhaps an indication of her high standing.²⁷ Also, they were seemingly trying to build or reinforce their ties to the monarchy. García Aznar appears as royal delegate (*tenente*) in Gipuzkoa, while their daughter, Domna Blasquita, married Sancho Fortuniones, a major

²⁴ SPML3 (1057) — later confirmed by her brother Ramiro (SPLM13 (1072); SPLM7 (1063); SPLM9 (1065); SPML11 (1068); SPML12 (1068).

²⁵ SPML10 (1067).

²⁶ Martínez Díez, *Guipúzcoa*, doc. 6 (1025). See Larrea, 'Acción política', 86-7. For a recent study of the contents of the charter see Lekuona Ilundain, *Gipuzkoako lehen agiriatarako hurbilketa*.

²⁷ SJP96 (1048).

magnate at the time.²⁸ The donation of San Salvador de Olazabal to San Juan de la Peña, a monastery that was closely linked to royal power, may represent a further attempt to strengthen their position.

Domna Gayla eventually asked the abbot of San Juan de la Peña to send one of his monks to serve Olazabal, which he did. The monk, a man by the name of Sancho, had founded a monastery dedicated to Santa Eufemia in Biniés (Aragon), which he had then granted to San Juan de la Peña. Once in Gipuzkoa, he sought to regain control over his foundation and transfer it to San Salvador, something which the abbot of San Juan de la Peña contested. An agreement was finally reached and Santa Eufemia returned to the hands of San Juan. After Domna Gayla's death, however, Domna Blasquita and her husband tried to recover Santa Eufemia again. Abbot Blasco conceded to this on the condition that after their death they would return the monastery to San Juan — as Domna Blasquita ultimately did.²⁹ Interestingly, in those years she also confirmed her parents' grant of San Salvador and, together with her husband, donated to the abbey a series of properties they had received from Sancho Garcés IV.³⁰ This occurred at a time in which other magnates were beginning to exert an increasing pressure on the king — a prelude to his ultimate fall — and realign their allegiances towards major political actors beyond the territories under royal control, which was the case with San Juan de la Peña at the time.³¹ Ultimately, Domna Blasquita seems to have resorted to the rights she

²⁸ He appears as *tenente* in San Esteban de Deyo, one of the main castles of the realm, in several charters between 1052 and 1068 (Albelda39; Irache15, 16, 17, 18; Leire50, 53, 62; Nájera13). His patrimony was scattered throughout the kingdom (CDMRioja14 (1052); CDMRioja17/RamiroI-102/SJP126 (1056); Leire150 (1095)).

²⁹ RamiroI-61 (1049); SJP98 (1049)/Martínez Díez, *Guipúzcoa*, doc. 9 (1049); RamiroI-61 (1084).

³⁰ SJP126 (1056); SJP175 (1056/1064?).

³¹ Larrea, *Navarre*, 461-4.

could still claim over San Salvador de Olazabal as a tool to renegotiate her relationship with the abbey.

At a lesser scale, grants are most frequently presented as individual initiatives, though sometimes they might have responded to the strategies of wider family groups. Domna Blasquita, for example, sought the consent of her relatives before donating the monastery of Santa María de Ballarán to San Juan de la Peña.³² Some churches and monasteries had been in the hands of the same family group for generations before they were donated to a major abbey. For example, San Juan Bautista de Jaurrieta had been founded by Eriz Akutiz on land he had received from his uncle, Mancio Sanz. Eriz gave it to his nephew, Eriz Aznar, who was the brother of Mancio and Sancho, father of Aznar. Eriz gave it to Sancho, who in time gave it to Mancio. He, together with his nephew Aznar, donated it to the monastery of Leire in 1068 at a meeting before the men from the nearby villages of Ezkarotze, Orontze and Espartza.³³ Nonetheless, foundations were still being created at the time, even if the centres were then donated to major abbeys soon after they were founded. For example, a prior named Sancho, a man named Jimeno, a priest named Dakus, and a monk named Vancius founded the monastery of Santa Eulalia on lands they had received from their ancestors, and donated it to San Juan de la Peña in 1033.³⁴ The charters never specify whether this preference for donations to major abbeys, as opposed to long-term family ownership, is a reflection of reform spirit, and indeed, this is not the only motivation we should consider.

In social terms, the interest in founding and donating churches and monasteries can be assessed at two different levels. On the one hand, there was an element of

³² SJP68 (1036).

³³ Leire84 (1068).

³⁴ SJP58 (1033). Similarly in Leire36 (1046); Leire52 (1057); BGD462 (1063).

prestige. These acts were performed in public meetings attended by several people, even entire local communities, thus providing an occasion for display that could enable local elites to build, reproduce, or reinforce their social and political position.³⁵ A priest by the name of García donated the church of Santa María de Badoztain to the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla before the local *concilium*.³⁶ Jimeno Galíndez rebuilt the church of Uli, in the Valley of Longuida, which he then asked the bishop to consecrate, before donating it to Leire in an assembly attended by the local *plebs*.³⁷ We may wonder whether in some instances this might reflect that the acquiescence of the local community was itself a necessary requisite, while still allowing for certain individuals to present themselves as local leaders. A charter dated to 1056 tells us that Fortunio, who like his grandfather had been appointed as priest of the church of Santa María, had to ask for the consent of the local community before donating it to Irache.³⁸ Similarly, Jimeno Garcés is said to have acted together with all the residents of Oco (*omnes vicinos de Oco*) in donating the church of San Ginés to San Juan de la Peña.³⁹ The impact of such occasions sometimes transcended the local realm, as people from other localities could also be present. The monastery of San Salvador y San Miguel de Itzaltzu, in the Valley of Salazar, was donated to Leire before a meeting attended by

³⁵ Carvajal Castro, 'Local meetings and meeting places'.

³⁶ BGD621 (1037).

³⁷ Leire47 (1052).

³⁸ Irache15 (1056).

³⁹ SJP-Ibarra-P28 (1069). The copy of this charter preserved in the late eleventh-century cartulary known as the *Libro Gótico* (Biblioteca de la Universidad de Zaragoza, Ms-417) reads *Oko*, surely referring to Oco, in Navarre. The provenance of some of the sureties and witnesses, who came from nearby villages like Leartza (*Laarsa*), Etaiu (*Etayo*), Abaigar (*Abgar*), Legaria (*Legaria*), and Murieta (*Murieta*), supports this interpretation. We thank J.J. Larrea for directing our attention to this charter and for noting the problem posed by Ibarra's identification of the location as Oto.

people from several nearby towns,⁴⁰ while the foundation of the church of Santa María de Ezkarotze resulted from the initiative of individuals from different localities of that same valley.⁴¹

The prestige attached to these churches and monasteries is sometimes evidenced by the donations they received from other parties on the occasion of their foundation, consecration, or donation to a major abbey. These reflect the will of other actors to participate in the networks of relationships articulated around these centres. Several *uillulis* were granted to Santa María de Muniain, which a priest named Amusko would later donate to Irache on the day of its consecration.⁴² This might have also been the case of San Antolín de Ribarredonda, which was granted to San Millán with the entire endowment it had received upon its consecration.⁴³ The charter recording the donation of San Clemente de Bureba to San Millán de la Cogolla confirms that the endowment of the former corresponded not only to the grants made by its owners, but also to donations made by other individuals on the occasion of its consecration.⁴⁴

On the other hand, grants of churches and monasteries to major abbeys were a means to forge client relationships with powerful ecclesiastical lords, or even to enter their religious communities.⁴⁵ Importantly, they did not necessarily entail a complete loss of control over the churches or monasteries that were donated, as the terms on which the grants were made could reserve certain rights for the donors.⁴⁶ Sometimes

⁴⁰ Leire26 (1034).

⁴¹ Leire36 (1046).

⁴² Irache9 (1040-1046).

⁴³ BGD426 (1058). See also BGD374 (1073); Leire47 (1052).

⁴⁴ BGD447 (1042). Similarly in BGD462 (1063); BGD462 (1063).

⁴⁵ E.g. BGD621 (1037); Leire48 (1055); BGD426 (1058); BGD462 (1063); Irache17 (1060); Irache19 (1061); Irache25 (1063); BGD625 (1064). Cf. Orlandis Rovira, 'Traditio'.

⁴⁶ Orlandis Rovira, 'Los monasterios familiares'; García de Cortázar, 'Los monasterios', 256.

they were to hold them until their death. A priest called Fernando and another called Munio respectively granted San Antolín de Ribarredonda and San Miguel de Zuhatsu to San Millán de la Cogolla, both of them on the condition that they would remain in control of their monasteries for as long as they lived.⁴⁷ In exchange for this they might have been obliged to pay a rent. For example, an abbot by the name of Zorraquin remained in control of the monastery of San Román after he donated it to Irache, though he was expected to pay a rent worth seven *açatas* for as long as he held office.⁴⁸ Sometimes the former owners may have been able to appoint the clerics for these houses, as in the case of Fernando Fáñez with San Facundo de Cascajares, which he had donated to San Millán de la Cogolla in 1072.⁴⁹

It is difficult to determine whether subsequent generations maintained the arrangements made by the original donors, although this might have sometimes been the case. In 1070 a man named Velasco donated San Juan de Serve to San Juan de la Peña. Velasco had received the church from his uncle, Abbot García, with the commandment that he should serve the abbey with it. It seems that first the uncle and then the nephew — a pattern of succession also found in other proprietary houses⁵⁰ — had both held the church under the authority of San Juan de la Peña.⁵¹ Different members of a family group, however, could have different interests and hold different views with regards to the fate of these proprietary centres. Tello Muñoz expelled the monks that inhabited the monastery of San Pelayo, in La Hoz de la Morcuera, thus perhaps reacting against the decision of his father, Munio Téllez, to give San Pelayo to San Felices, of which it had

⁴⁷ BGD426 (1058); BGD560 (1051).

⁴⁸ Irache23 (1062).

⁴⁹ BGD464 (1072).

⁵⁰ Leire69 (1063); BGD616 (1064); Leire84 (1068); SJPIbarra-P33 (1070).

⁵¹ SJP-IbarraP33 (1070).

originally been a dependency in the past.⁵² In 1070 Fortunio Aznáriz promised that he would no longer claim the right to dwell in the monastery of Zuhatzu, but rather would declare that he was there under the authority of the bishop of Pamplona, to whom his brother Jimeno Aznáriz had granted the house two years before.⁵³ The charter is presented as a victory for the bishop, though it also reveals a certain capacity on the part of Fortunio to assert his rights over the monastery and negotiate his position in relation to it.

This brief assessment enables us to highlight three different, though related, aspects. First of all, even if they sometimes resulted from individual initiatives, the foundation, management, and fate of proprietary churches and monasteries sometimes responded to the interests of wider social groups, whether kin groups or local communities. Second, and partly because of this, acts concerning these centres were public and needed to be socially sanctioned. These occasions provided founders and owners with opportunities to build and reproduce their prestige — and with it their social and political position. For other actors, they gave them the chance to intervene in the configuration of the social networks articulated around these centres. Thirdly, this might have influenced the terms in which relationships between donors and recipients of churches and monasteries were framed. Such relationships were important inasmuch as, in negotiating grants of religious houses, it was not only the transfer of property, but also the conditions of tenure — and thus of the management of these houses — that were relevant.

2 Of kings and proprietary churches

⁵² BGD171 (1049); BGD172 (1060).

⁵³ CatPamplona21 (1070).

As we have noted above, the kings of Pamplona appear frequently as donors of churches and monasteries for the benefit of the major abbeys of the kingdom. Many diplomas recording such donations are indeed presented as royal grants in which little else but the donor, the beneficiary, and the church or monastery is identified.⁵⁴ On this basis, only a very partial image emerges of royal grants of proprietary houses, as well as of royal engagement in this sphere more widely. The charters, however, allow us to delve deeper into both aspects.

To begin with, a closer look at some of the charters shows that what they convey about the nature of royal grants should not be taken at face value. Royal grants are usually presented as straightforward donations, but may actually conceal more complex situations. Let us consider two charters. The first one, dated to 1055, records the confirmation made by Queen Estefanía and her son, Sancho Garcés IV, of a donation that had previously been made by a man called Fortunio.⁵⁵ The latter had granted the monastery of Oibar de Yuso, near Tafalla, to the abbey of Leire.⁵⁶ The sanction clause, however, attributes the donation to Estefanía and Sancho.⁵⁷ Furthermore, in a sentence appended after the *regnante* clause, it is Sancho who presents himself as the donor.⁵⁸ If we only had the latter part of the charter, we would surely attribute the donation to the king. Could other extant diplomas recording royal grants mask what were actually royal confirmations? In the absence of further evidence we cannot be sure, though there are further reasons to believe that this may be so in some cases.

⁵⁴ E.g. Leire29 (1040); Leire30 (1042); BGD492 (1045); BGD347 (1046); BGD30 (1047); Irache28 (1064); Irache33 (1064); BGD497 (1065); Irache36 (1066); Irache39 (1067); BGD706 (1074); BGD597 (1075); BGD199 (1075).

⁵⁵ Leire48 (1055).

⁵⁶ ‘cum quo se tradidit domino Fortunio’ (Leire48 (1055)).

⁵⁷ ‘nos tradimus istum monasterium’ (Leire48 (1055)).

⁵⁸ ‘ego namque Sancius rex qui hunc monasterium tradidi’ (Leire48 (1055)).

The second charter provides us with a different perspective on this same issue. It refers to the monastery of Santo Ángel, in Egurzano, which was founded by a man called Eneko.⁵⁹ In order to prevent conflicts, he donated part of his properties to his relatives and endowed the monastery with the rest. The charter does not reveal who remained in control of the monastery after Eneko's death, though it seems that it stood as an independent house (*abuit suo directo*). Some unspecified time later, Bishop Sancho of Pamplona petitioned García Sánchez III for it, and then gave it to Leire:

‘Hec est scedula de Sancti Angeli de Egurzan, quem fecit aita Enneco pro remedio anime sue, et donauit terras et uineas ad ipsa ecclesia; et donauit suos nepotes alias terras et uinneas, que non kerellassent de post sua morte. Et quando transiuit aita Enneco, abuit suo directo illo monasterio. Et postea petibit de ipso monasterio episocpo dompno Sancio maiore, ad rex Garsia, filio rex Sancioni, et dedit illo monasterio in cenobium Leiorenssem...’⁶⁰

It is clear that originally the monastery was not under royal control. Whether it somehow ended up in royal hands after Eneko's death we cannot tell, though this would be the only recorded case of a king being granted or taking over a church or a monastery previously owned by a local elite.⁶¹ It is thus unlikely that royal ownership was imposed upon it. In agreeing to the bishop's request, the king was seemingly donating something that was not his to give. Thus, rather than attesting to royal ownership, the charter seems to reflect the king's ability to establish some sort of patronage over the monastery. Thus, in this instance, his relationship with the bishop appears to have been as important as his capacity to act upon the monastery.⁶² Ultimately, what these two charters suggest

⁵⁹ Leire52 (1057).

⁶⁰ Leire52 (1057).

⁶¹ Only Queen Jimena appears on one occasion receiving churches from another layperson (BGD498 (1028); BGD538 (1028)).

⁶² Cf. Loring García, 'Nobleza e iglesias propias', 94-5.

is that royal grants may sometimes veil more intricate sets of relationships between multiple actors, and that it was not only ownership, but also patronage and authority, that were at stake.

The frameworks of social interaction articulated around proprietary churches, as we have described above, provided the kings with further opportunities to intervene. Royal involvement is rare in the case of conflicts between owners of churches or between religious houses and local communities,⁶³ but references to kings confirming donations made by other actors, though not very numerous, are more amply documented. Sometimes they merely consist of royal subscriptions in the charters recording such donations and offer no further information about the context in which the kings intervened.⁶⁴ Others indicate that the king was present at the meeting in which the donation was made.⁶⁵ Finally, some specify that the kings read, or listened to a reading of, the charters recording the donations which they were to confirm.⁶⁶ Whether convened for the enactment of these donations or to obtain a royal confirmation, these meetings would have been attended by a variety of actors, thus providing the kings with an opportunity to renew existing ties and forge new allegiances. At the same time, their presence would have contributed to enhancing the prestige of both the donors and recipients of these donations.⁶⁷ Royal authority would have thus become embedded in

⁶³ BGD151 (1042); Leire50 (1056); Leire52 (1057); Leire62 (1060).

⁶⁴ E.g. 'Gloriosus rex Sancius confirmans' (SJP58 (1033)). Similarly in Leire26 (1034); Leire27 (1037).

⁶⁵ E.g. 'Ego igitur Sancius rex huic donationi interfui, assensum prebui et confirmavi' (BGD138 (1028)). Similarly in BGD426 (1058); BGD567 and BGD589 (1062/1067?); BGD529 (1070).

⁶⁶ E.g. 'Ego Sancius, rex, qui hanc cartam relegendem audivi, assensum prebui et confirmavi' (BGD324 (1025)). Similarly in BGD621 (1037); Albelda46 (1062); Albelda47 (1062).

⁶⁷ Cf. Davies, *Windows on Justice*, 93-4. See also Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*.

the networks of relationships that were articulated around these lesser churches and monasteries. Furthermore, confirming such donations could have allowed the kings to introduce their own conditions into the terms in which the grants were made. Four charters from Irache record *ingenuationes* of churches made by different priests.⁶⁸ All of them were confirmed by King Sancho Garcés IV. In three of these cases, the king instructed the priests to donate their churches to Irache after their death, while in the fourth it is specified that the priest should not bequeath it to a lay lord, but rather to an ecclesiastical institution. These represent further instances in which the king donated something that he did not actually possess.

This is not to say that the kings did not own, or at least enjoy an effective patronage over, certain monasteries and churches. This might have been the case of those that were located in places where significant royal properties are also attested, as in Viguera, Muro, and Tricio.⁶⁹ Similarly, grants of rights over commons like pastures and waters accompanying the donation of local churches and monasteries may also indicate that they were founded in localities under direct royal control.⁷⁰ In fact, some churches, like those of Santa María de Torrentejo, San Miguel de Ugaho, or San Sebastián de Altable were granted together with the control over all or part of the *villae* where they stood, which suggests that they acted as centres of royal power in these localities.⁷¹ The

⁶⁸ Monastery of Ikirre (Irache17 (1060)); Monastery of Subiza (Irache19 (1061)); Monastery of *Karagia* (Irache22 (1061)).

⁶⁹ For Viguera see Albelda57 (1072); Albelda59 (1074); Albelda60 (1074), Albelda68 (1094-1108?). For Muro see BGD617 (1058); BGD618 (1072). For Tricio, see BGD706 (1074). See also BGD79 (1014).

⁷⁰ E.g. BGD57 (1014); BGS140 (1046); BGD30 (1047); BGD354 (1049); BGD243 (1063); BGD8 (1071).

⁷¹ For Torrentejo, BGD597 (1075). For San Miguel de Ugaho, BGD614 (1046). For Altable see BGD415 (1061). On Torrentejo see also Santos Salazar, 'Words', 126-130.

case of San Sebastián de Altable is interesting for another reason as well: it was located in an area contested by the rulers of Castile and Pamplona. In fact, the donation made by Sancho Garcés IV to San Millán de la Cogolla in 1061 was later confirmed in 1067 by King Sancho II of Castile, who granted the church together with everything in the locality that was under royal control (*iussione regia*). Two rulers from different families and political realms claiming control over the area thus acted upon the same church. Similarly, San Miguel de Pedroso or San Millán de Hiniestra, which by the early eleventh century had already amassed significant estates,⁷² had benefited from earlier grants, either by the counts in Castile or by the kings of Pamplona, before being granted to San Millán de la Cogolla by García Sánchez III.⁷³ In all these cases it would seem that the rulers' prerogatives over these centres were remarkably stable not only across generations but even across dynasties. It has been suggested that this may indicate they formed part of a wider fiscal system, one detached from the kings' personal or dynastic patrimony.⁷⁴ Whether this was effectively so is difficult to discern on the basis of the available evidence. However, it seems that, notwithstanding the impression conveyed by the flow of royal grants, they were indeed part of a relatively stable set of assets at the disposal of successive rulers.

Some charters specify that the tenure of these churches and monasteries was associated with rent collection, though they make no mention of tithes.⁷⁵ Whether the

⁷² Davies and Peterson, 'The management of land-use in Old Castile'.

⁷³ See respectively BGD300 (1049); BGD375 (1052). For earlier grants by counts and kings see BGD302 (945), BGD328 (945) and BGD337 (945) — though of dubious authenticity —; BGD377 (947). A similar case might be that of San Felices de Oca (BGD354 (1049)). On the patrimony of Hiniestra, see Davies and Peterson, 'The management of land-use in Old Castile'.

⁷⁴ Santos Salazar and Quirós Castillo, 'Le basi economiche del potere pubblico', 9.

⁷⁵ On tithing see Lauwers, 'Pour une histoire de la dîme'.

kings directly benefited from the rent is unclear; in fact we may doubt that they had the infrastructure necessary to do so. However, such religious houses undoubtedly functioned as an asset that could be used in negotiating their relationships with other parties.⁷⁶ This is most explicit in the case of the monastery of Fuenfría.⁷⁷ In 1005, Sancho Garcés III and his mother, Jimena, cancelled the agreement they had made with this centre, whereby the latter had committed to paying the king an annual rent of ten *modios* of salt.⁷⁸ Likewise, the 10 oxen that Father Jimeno gave King Sancho Garcés IV for the monastery of Urrizhiriaga may represent a similar rent.⁷⁹ The same king granted Santa María del Yermo *ad honorem* to a priest named Munio so that he could live there without hardships, thus implying that he would benefit from some sort of rent.⁸⁰ These and other similar royal grants were made to priests and, in one instance, to an abbot. Father Atón, for example, received San Clemente de Garcipollera from Sancho Garcés III, while similarly Father García was given San Román de Miranda by Sancho Garcés IV. In both cases, the grants were made as a reward for the priests' good service.⁸¹ Such grants may conceal the recipients' appointment as clerics of these houses, and ultimately a certain concern with the management of their revenues.

⁷⁶ Cf. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power*, 15-6; Tomás Faci, *Montañas, comunidades y cambio social*, 102-3; Viader, 'L'irrationnelle possession des églises'.

⁷⁷ A charter of dubious origin attributes its foundation to King García Íñiguez (Leire2 (850)).

⁷⁸ '... pactum quem habebat ipso monasterio de anno in anno, que offerebant regibus, dimittimus illum. Per singulos annos donabant regi decem modios de sale, et nos modo dimittimus illos' (SJP34 (1005)). Allegedly, Sancho García III donated the monastery to San Juan in 1028, though the record that we have, a charter that was drafted at a later date, was if nothing else interpolated, judging both by the boundary clause and the *intitulatio* (SJP48 (1028)).

⁷⁹ Irache50 (1072).

⁸⁰ BGD8 (1071).

⁸¹ SJP46 (1025); Leire88 (1071). See also Irache53 (1073).

In some instances, the kings specified that the clerics appointed to these houses should serve one of the major abbeys of the kingdom, and even become part of their community. For example, it was the person of a priest named Eneko, rather than the church over which he presided (Santo Tomás, in Alesanco), that García Sánchez III granted to San Millán de la Cogolla, thus implying that Eneko should serve the abbey.⁸² Similarly, when Sancho Garcés IV granted the monastery of San Miguel de Ekoien to Irache, he specified that Don Munio, a man who dwelled there, should serve the abbey.⁸³ The donation of Santa María de Iturriscirria to Irache is attributed to a priest by the name of Sancho, but the record also notes that this priest had been instructed by King Sancho Garcés IV to serve the abbey.⁸⁴ A man called Fortún, who was priest of Santa María de Resa, may have found himself in a similar situation.⁸⁵ He held a number of properties in tenure, which he granted to San Millán de la Cogolla together with other goods.⁸⁶ This was confirmed by Sancho Garcés IV, who would eventually donate the church itself to San Millán de la Cogolla.⁸⁷ It thus seems that Fortún had held both Santa María and various lands on behalf of the king, who ultimately — perhaps due to Fortún's death — decided to bestow the church upon San Millán de la Cogolla. This same king donated San Cristóbal de Garindoain to García de Muro on the condition that he would later grant it to San Millán de la Cogolla.⁸⁸ Even though there is no record of such a donation having taken place, an inventory of properties dated to the late eleventh century presents a certain *Garsia, prior Sancti Christofori de Muro*, probably that same

⁸² BGD140 (1046).

⁸³ Irache35 (1064).

⁸⁴ Irache25 (1063).

⁸⁵ BGD156 (1065).

⁸⁶ BGD156 (1065); BGD608 (1090?).

⁸⁷ BGD156 (1065); BGD157 (1071).

⁸⁸ BGD618 (1072).

García, acting with the consent — and thus under the authority — of Abbot Blasco of San Millán.⁸⁹ Importantly, in none of these examples are details provided with regards to rent collection. In fact, the case of Fuenfría may reflect that this was not what was at stake, or at least was not what worried the kings most. What is apparent is a certain concern for restructuring the bedrock of relationships upon which the tenure and management of these houses rested.

It is from this perspective that the role of monasteries and churches within the dynamics of gift-giving practices that characterised political interaction at the time may be best understood.⁹⁰ These grants, just as those of other landed goods, enabled the kings to build and maintain a network of supporters whose interests in holding these houses — other than for the reasons considered above — is attested by the petitions they sometimes made to the kings.⁹¹ For the latter, such grants contributed to enhancing their authority, as expressed by the prestigious counter-gifts that the recipients gave to the kings on such occasions — for example, a horse named Ozzaburu (Basque for ‘wolf-head’), which Fortún López gave García Sánchez III when the king granted him the monastery of San Salvador de Zalurribar.⁹²

The recipients of these grants were not only ecclesiastical institutions, but also lay individuals and clerics with no apparent tie to an abbey or bishopric. For example,

⁸⁹ BGD609 (c. 1090).

⁹⁰ For an overview on gift-giving in medieval societies, with references to previous works, see Bijsterveld, *Do ut des*. See, more specifically, Curta, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving'; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 58.

⁹¹ Leire35 (1044); BGD614 (1046); BGD426 (1048); Leire48 (1055); BGD616 (1064); SMV70 (1074).

⁹² Leire32 (1042). For further examples see, among others, Leire19 (1019); BGD376 (1045); Leire35 (1044); Irache37 (1066). Cf. Davies, 'Counter-gift in Tenth-Century Northern Iberia'.

Sancho Garcés III donated the monastery of Odieta to his *flamula* Jimena, and the monastery of Elocuain to his *magister* Sancho.⁹³ Likewise, Sancho Garcés IV donated the church of Santa María de Arellano to Domna Mancía Ortiz.⁹⁴ Santa María de Landa and San Salvador de Ibañeta were entrusted to Don Lop, a royal chaplain, who held them (*tenuit*) for a time — probably in reward for his services — before they were granted to Bishop Fortunio of Álava, for him to hold (*ut teneatis*).⁹⁵ The latter case suggests that there might have been an expectation that the kings would be able to recover the control over these houses, meaning the grants were temporary in nature. In this sense, and notwithstanding the differences between them, these churches and monasteries may be understood as part of the wider system of *honores* with which the kings rewarded their supporters and maintained their ties with them.⁹⁶ Importantly, these grants were sometimes made on the condition that after their death the recipients would donate these houses to a major abbey, thus ultimately benefiting ecclesiastical institutions.⁹⁷

During the reign of Sancho Garcés IV, royal support was being undermined and the balance of forces between the king and the aristocracy — and perhaps part of the clergy — changed, and with it these grants seem to have started to take on new meanings.⁹⁸ The king still had the support of part of the clergy — and the capacity to exert a certain degree of pressure upon them, as Vermudo, abbot of Irache, recalled in

⁹³ Leire22 (1024); CatPamplona11 (1031).

⁹⁴ Irache48 (1071).

⁹⁵ Leire91 (1071).

⁹⁶ See Lacarra, 'Honores y tenencias'. Cf. Larrea, *Navarre*, 361-365 on the difference between the terms *honores* and *tenencias*.

⁹⁷ E.g. BGD347 (1046); BGD174 (1063); BGD243 (1063); Irache48 (1071); Leire91 (1071); BGD706 (1074).

⁹⁸ Larrea, *Navarre*, 347-60.

1082 when referring to the insistence with which the king had demanded from the monastery an exchange of properties.⁹⁹ In 1069 the king confirmed Bishop Munio of Calahorra's possession of the monastery of Santa María de Agereta as a reward for his good and faithful service.¹⁰⁰ Another bishop, Juan, received the monastery of San Miguel de Villatuerta as a sign of gratitude towards the community of Leire for their prayers at a time of conflict with his magnates.¹⁰¹ Two years later, the king, who together with several supporters had killed twelve men, gave Bishop Gomesano the monastery of San Andrés de Deyo and requested his intercession before God.¹⁰² Other grants, however, seem to have responded to the pressure that certain aristocrats exerted upon the king. Eneko Sanz, a magnate who had sought to appropriate territories under royal control, received the monastery of Larraun and in exchange gave the king a mule valued at 300 *solidi*.¹⁰³ Sancho Garcés IV's transfer of lands to Domna Blasquita and Sancho Fortuniones, to which we have already referred, most probably reflects a similar situation.¹⁰⁴

These grants would seem to anticipate the ultimate fall of Sancho Garcés IV, but the specific conjunctures in which they were made must be considered in order to provide an adequate assessment of their impact. The case of San Miguel, in Grañón, is

⁹⁹ 'Sancius rex surrexit... et misit nuncios ad nos semel, bis et ter ut daremus ei illam radicem prefati senioris, et acciperemus mutuum in alio loco et non consensimus. Ad ultimum uero, ipsemet ore suo deprecatus est etiam et minatus est, et nos, non ualentes resistere domno nostro, fecimus quod imperarat' (Irache63 (1082)). We thank J.J. Larrea for the reference to this charter.

¹⁰⁰ Irache45 (1069).

¹⁰¹ Leire63 (1061).

¹⁰² Albelda49 (1063).

¹⁰³ Leire50 (1056). See Larrea, *Navarre*, 367-72.

¹⁰⁴ SJP126 (1056); SJP175 (1056/1064?).

instructive in this regard. This prominent monastery must have functioned as a dependency of San Millán de la Cogolla from at least the early eleventh century.¹⁰⁵ Sancho Garcés IV clearly had some degree of involvement in the affairs of San Millán in Grañón based on a charter that notes how the king had given the abbey permission to populate its lands in the locality.¹⁰⁶ Surprisingly, however, in 1063 King Sancho Garcés IV granted San Miguel *in perpetuum* to a *senior* called Aznar García, who in exchange gave the king a horse and a mule worth 1,000 *solidi*.¹⁰⁷ Aznar, whose signature appears on a number of diplomas, was for a time in control of Grañón, where he appears as *dominante* in 1064.¹⁰⁸ We may thus identify him as someone with a strong position in the locality, and perhaps as someone capable of exerting a certain amount of pressure on the king. This could explain why Sancho Garcés IV gave him San Miguel regardless of the claims that San Millán could have exerted over the monastery. This situation, however, did not last long. A charter dated to 1066 notes that Aznar had died,¹⁰⁹ while another one dated to 1070 records the grant he made of both San Miguel and Santo Tomás de Grañón to San Millán — a donation later confirmed by King Sancho Garcés.¹¹⁰ When exactly he died we cannot tell, though it seems that after his death the

¹⁰⁵ There is an inventory of the patrimony of the monastery dated to 1028 (BGD234). It was probably made by or on behalf of San Millán, as the *invocatio* reads ‘Sub Christi nomine et sancti Emiliani’.

¹⁰⁶ BGD242 (1059).

¹⁰⁷ BGD243 (1063).

¹⁰⁸ BGD241 (1064). He may correspond to the signatory of several charters between 1042 and 1068/1073 (BGD7; BGD55; BGD65; BGD123; BGD127; BGD151; BGD161; BGD187; BGD242; BGD347; BGD375; BGD376; BGD405; BGD415; BGD426; BGD447; BGD461; BGD534; BGD616; BGD617).

¹⁰⁹ BGD693 (1066).

¹¹⁰ BGD244 (1070); BGD245 (1071). An inventory of the properties of Santo Tomás is recorded in BGD246 (c. 1070).

situation returned to normal. The control that, for a time, Aznar García enjoyed over San Miguel was not in itself an irreversible step marking the inevitable erosion of royal power — even if it contributed in this direction — nor did it, in the last instance, undermine wider efforts to reconfigure ecclesiastical networks around the main abbeys of the kingdom.

3 Conclusion

In the eleventh century, in the midst of rising voices demanding ecclesiastical reform, the kings of Pamplona stood as prominent grantors of lesser religious houses. Their involvement in the sphere of proprietary churches, however, reached further. The analysis of royal grants, as well as of royal engagement in grants made by other actors, has enabled us to see their implications beyond the concerns raised by the period's reformers. A split between ownership, patronage, and management becomes apparent both in royal diplomas and in grants made by other actors. Taking this split into consideration allows for new light to be shed on royal involvement in the sphere of proprietary churches.

On the one hand, the kings seem to have owned — or to have controlled through patronage — a network of churches and monasteries. Some of these were tied to the jurisdictional prerogatives they enjoyed in certain localities, and thus functioned as centres of social and political control on the ground. This network of churches may have channelled the collection of rents that contributed to the economic support of the monarchy, given that concern over the management of these centres is apparent in the appointment of priests who seemingly held them in tenure. What is still more apparent in the sources, however, is that the kings resorted to these churches in order to reward those in their service and foster the redistributive practices that were at the core of the

political dynamics of the kingdom. This, of course, was but one aspect of the wider political game, and, as Sancho Garcés IV would discover, was not enough to guarantee sufficient support.

At the same time, the social field defined by the articulation of social relationships around the foundation or donation of churches and monasteries by actors other than the kings provided the latter with opportunities to intervene in a variety of manners. In some instances, and partly thanks to the initiative of other actors, it enabled them to build a position of patronage in relation to these lesser houses. In addition to its relevance in ideological terms, this system had some very practical implications as well. The foundation and donation of these centres not only contributed to enhancing the prestige of their founders, donors, and recipients, but also to articulating effective clientele networks around them, both at the local level and beyond. As such, it was a means through which royal authority could become embedded within social relationships at different scales. Moreover, the kings had an effective capacity to condition the trajectories of these centres, such as by instructing their owners or appointed clergy to yield their control to major abbeys once they died. In fact, royal grants of churches and monasteries were sometimes made in similar terms. This shows a certain tendency to reconfigure the relationships upon which the ownership and management of churches and monasteries rested, one that enabled major ecclesiastical institutions to gain further control over lesser houses, but in which royal authority was constructed as a founding principle.

10,885 words (including abstract, keywords and references)

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Figure captions.

Figure 1. Churches cited in the text. 01) Eskibel. 02) Ikirre. 03) Larraun. 04) Odieta. 05) Oibar de Yuso. 06) San Agustín de Etxebarria. 07) San Andrés de Deio. 08) San Antolín de Ribarredonda. 09) San Clemente de Bureba. 10) San Cosme y San Damián de Aspuz. 11) San Cristóbal de Garindoain (Muro). 12) San Facundo en Cascajares de Bureba. 13) San Felices de Oca. 14) San Juan Bautista de Jaurrieta. 15) San Juan de la Degollada. 16) San Julián de Miranda de Ebro. 17) San Mamés de Puras. 18) San Martín de Bachicabo. 19) San Martín de Iurreta. 20) San Miguel de Ekoién. 21) San Miguel de Ekora. 22) San Miguel de Grañón. 23) San Miguel de Pedroso. 24) San Miguel de Ugaho. 25) San Miguel de Villatuerta. 26) San Miguel de Zuhatzu. 27) San Millán de Egileor. 28) San Millán de Hiniestra. 29) San Pelayo en la Hoz de Morcuera. 30) San Prudencio del Monte Laturce. 31) San Román de Miranda. 32) San Salvador de Ibañeta. 33) San Salvador de Olazabal. 34) San Salvador de Valjubí. 35) San Salvador y San Miguel de Itzaltzu. 36) San Sebastián de Altable. 37) Sancti de Egileor. 38) Santa Columba de Aspuz. 39) Santa Cruz de Bozoó. 40) Santa Engracia de San Román. 41) Santa Eufemia de Biniés. 42) Santa Eulalia de Bentué. 43) Santa María de Agereta. 44) Santa María de Arboniés. 45) Santa María de Arellano. 46) Santa María de Axpe. 47) Santa María de Badoztain. 48) Santa María de Ballarín. 49) Santa María de Egileor. 50) Santa María de Ezkarotze. 51) Santa María de la Vega (Haro). 52) Santa María de Landa. 53) Santa María de Muniain. 54) Santa María de Resa. 55) Santa María de Torrentejo. 56) Santa María del Yermo. 57) Santa María la Real de Nájera. 58) Santiago de Lakidain. 59) Santiago de Langreriz. 60) Santo Tomás de Alesanco. 61) Subiza. 62) Tricio. 63) Uli. 64) Viguera. 65) Zarapuz. Churches whose location could not be determined: a) Elocuain. b) Karagia. c) San Clemente de Valcepollera. d) San Salvador de Serve. e) Santa María de Iturriscirria. f) Santo Ángel de Egurtzano. g) Urrizhiriaga.