

# MONKS AND KNIGHTS IN MEDIEVAL GALICIA. THE EXAMPLE OF THE BENEDICTINES OF TOXOS OUTOS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to investigate the relationship between the Benedictine monks of San Justo and Pastor de Toxos Outos and the local military aristocracy of the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. By a comparative study with other monastic realities in Galicia, this work will show the existence of a strong competition between monastic Orders in Galicia and how the Benedictines monks of Toxos Outos were able to cope with the loss of royal and high aristocratic support by shifting their attention to the knightly class. The study of these aspects will also illustrate how monastic sources may be used to study the lower aristocratic groups, their composition, ambitions and development in the north western Iberian Peninsula in the high Middle Ages.

## KEYWORDS

Toxos Outos, Santiago de Compostela, Knights, Galicia, Benedictines.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Toxos Outos, Sanctus Iacobus Compostellae, Milites, Gallaecia, Benedictini.

## 1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between the monks of San Justo and Pastor of Toxos Outos and the local military aristocracy of the archdiocese of Compostela between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> From the 80s the study of the aristocracy in the medieval Iberian Peninsula and its relationship with the monastic world has occupied progressively more space in the historiographical debate.<sup>2</sup> Most of those studies concentrated their attention on the royal aristocracy and the most important Iberian families (such as the Traba, the Vermúdez, or the Lara) their promotion and patronage on the monasteries<sup>3</sup>. However, the relationships between the Iberian monastic institutions and the lower aristocracy, in particular the knightly group, still remains less studied although some scholars in the past few years have been trying to fill such an important gap in medieval Iberian studies<sup>4</sup>. The connection with the local knights was very important for the Benedictine monks of Toxos Outos, who found in this social group an important ally for their patrimonial policies. Contained in the cartulary

1. I would like to thank Profs. Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez (University of Vigo) and José Miguel Andrade Cernadas (University of Santiago de Compostela) and Dr. Enrico Dumas (University of Bologna) for their help with the consultation of the bibliography; Professors Peter Hoppenbrouwers, Hans Mol, and all the members of the Medieval Research Group of the Leiden University-Institute for History for their feedback; finally, Dr. Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo (University of Lincoln) for the revision of the English. Used abbreviations: AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional; ARG, Archivo del Reino de Galicia; RAG, Real Academia de Galicia.

2. On the historiographical debate see the consideration of Barton, Simon. *The aristocracy in twelfth-century León and Castile*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1997: 3 and following.

3. See for example the works of Mattoso, José. *A nobreza medieval portuguesa: a família e o poder*. Lisbon: Estampa, 1981; Pérez-Embid, Javier. *El Cister en Castilla y León. Monacato y dominios rurales (siglos XII-XIV)*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1986; García, José M. *Galicia en la baja Edad media. Iglesia, Señorío y nobleza*. Noia: Toxosoutos, 1999: 11-28; Torres, Margarita. *Linajes nobiliarios de León y Castilla. Siglos IX-XIII*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999; Guevara, Eduardo de. *Los señores de Galicia. Tenientes y condes de Lemos en la Edad Media*. A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1999 and by the same author, "De las viejas estirpes a las nuevas hidalguías. El entramado nobiliario gallego al fin de la Edad Media". *Nalgures*, 3 (2006): 263-278; Doubleday, Simon R. *The Lara family: Crown and Nobility in medieval Spain*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 2001; Calleja, Miguel. *El conde Suero Vermúdez, su parentela y su entorno social. La aristocracia asturleonés en los siglos XI y XII*. Oviedo: KRK ediciones, 2001; López, José Luis. *La nobleza altomedieval gallega. La familia Froilaz-Traba*. Noia: Toxosoutos, 2002; Alonso, Raquel. "Los promotores de la Orden del Cister en los reinos de Castilla y León: familias aristocráticas y damas nobles". *Anuarios de estudios medievales*, 37/2 (2007): 653-710; Calderón, Inés. *Cum magnatibus regni mei: la nobleza y la monarquía leonesa durante los reinados de Fernando II y Alfonso IX (1157-1230)*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2011 and Calderón, Inés; Martins, Paulo. "Beyond the Border The Aristocratic mobility between the kingdoms of Portugal and León (1157-1230)". *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 12/1 (2014): 1-48 [http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\_Brazilian\_Studies/ejph/html/issue23/pdf/v12n1a01.pdf].

4. See Martínez, Pascual. "Monjes y caballeros. Una dialéctica ambigua entre sensibilidad devocional y violencia", *Monasterios y nobles en la España del románico entre la devoción y la estrategia*, José Ángel García de Cortázar, Ramón Teja, eds. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real-Centro de Estudios del Románico, 2014: 37-59.



produced in 1289<sup>5</sup>, the sources of the monastery recorded several documents about the *milites*. In this study, I will compare these documents with those from the Galician Cistercian monasteries (and in particular those of the archdiocese of Santiago, Sobrado, Monfero and Armenteira) considered by the historiography as the first and strongest competitors of the abbey of Toxos Outos in the north-west Iberian Peninsula. First, I will analyze the general political and ecclesiastical context in which Toxos Outos was inserted, its evolution after the arrival of the Cistercians and the reasons which encouraged the monks of Toxos Outos to look for knights' support. Second, I will study the role played by the local military families in the patrimonial expansion of Toxos Outos. Third, I will study the agreements signed to manage these lands or goods granted by knights and squires to the Benedictines. Using the example of the testaments of two local *milites*, I will also examine the religious connections between monks and knights and the richness and the power of the latter. Finally, I will try to show how the presence of these men with military specialization as *confirmantes* of the documents may be a proof of the transformation and the progressive growth of this group since the first half of the thirteenth century.

## 2. The monastic concurrence: Toxos Outos, the Cistercians, and the Galician “Powers”

So far historiography attributed the interest of the Benedictine monks of Toxos Outos for the social group of knights and squires to two main reasons. On the one hand, these tight contacts with the local world of the *milites* have been justified by the “aristocratic” foundation of the monastery of San Justo and Pastor in 1134-1135, connected to the figure of *dominus* Pedro Cresconiz, nicknamed *Infazón*, and the knights Froila Alfonso and Pedro Muñiz *Carnota* —both members of the court of Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile (1126-1157)—, who choose since 1127 to retreat in the hermit of Toxos Outos<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, the social group of the knights has been considered very important for the monastery, as it constituted one of the most decisive supporters for the patrimonial expansion of Toxos Outos<sup>7</sup>. Especially this last element has been related to the loss of importance of Toxos Outos in the Galician ecclesiastical and political context after the arrival

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5. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos do tomo de Toxosoutos*. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, Sección de Patrimonio Histórico, 2004: 9.

6. For the origin of the monastery see with attention Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O Mosteiro Dos Santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxosoutos na Edade Media: seculos XII*. A Coruña: Edición do Castro, 2002: 15-16. For the documents see Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos do tomo de Toxosoutos...*, 19-22 (docs. No. 1, 2, 3 and 4).

7. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor...*: 106-115 and 123.



of the Cistercians coming from Clairvaux at Sobrado in 1142<sup>8</sup>. According to F. J. Pérez Rodríguez, initially Toxos Outos was destined to become one of the most significant monastery in the whole Galicia, but since 1140-145, the abbey was progressively marginalized by King Alfonso VII of León-Castile and his successors—Fernando II (1157-1188) and Alfonso IX of Leon (1188-1230)—, and the by Traba family (one of the most important Iberian aristocratic groups of the twelfth century<sup>9</sup>) who preferred to give their support to the white monks and in particular to the monastery of Sobrado situated in the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela exactly like Toxos Outos<sup>10</sup>. According to Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez, this choice made by the castilian-leonese monarchy and the highest spheres of the Galician aristocracy, together with the opposition of the archbishops of Compostela to the entry of Toxos Outos in the Cistercian Order because of the exemption of white monks from the episcopal authority, converted Toxos Outos in a sort of “frustrated project”, a promising experience strongly limited by the concurrence of the Order of Cîteaux<sup>11</sup>.

If one looks at the sources it is possible to observe that between 1131 and 1144 Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile gave several donations and rights to Toxos Outos<sup>12</sup> and in 1136 the monastery obtained also a privilege by the future king of Portugal, Alfonso Henriques<sup>13</sup>, who accorded some lands in *Paredes* (near the actual Viana do Castelo), in the area of the Miño river, today in northern Portugal to the monks of San Justo and Pastor<sup>14</sup>. After the reign of Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile, the monastery of Toxos Outos received other three new donations by King Fernando II of Leon from 1162 to 1167<sup>15</sup>, but all the other royal interventions, both Leonese and Portuguese, in the following decades in favor of the Benedictines were just confirmations or renewals of previous privileges,

8. See Pallares, María del Carmen. *El monasterio de Sobrado: Un ejemplo del protagonismo monástico en la Galicia medieval*. A Coruña: Deputación A Coruña, 1979: 107-109; Isla, Amancio. *La sociedad gallega en la Alta Edad Media*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992: 82-233; López, José Luis. “La nobleza altomedieval gallega. La familia Froilaz de Traba. Sus fundaciones monacales en Galicia en los siglos XI, XII y XIII”. *Nalgures*, 4 (2007): 303-304 and Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia. Le reti cistercensi (1142-1250)*. Trieste: Centro Europeo Ricerche Medievali, 2014: 37 and followings.

9. On the Traba family see Fletcher, Richard A. *Saint James's Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1984: 34-36; Pallares, María del Carmen; Portela, Ermelindo. “Aristocracia y sistema de parentesco en la Galicia de la Edad Media: el grupo de los Traba”. *Hispania. Revista española de historia*, 53/185 (1993): 823-840; López, José Luis. *La nobleza altomedieval gallega. La familia Froilaz de Traba*. Noia: Toxosoutos, 2002: 54-60; Renzi, Francesco. “El Císter en Galicia entre los siglos XII y XIII: ¿una nueva perspectiva?”. *¿Qué implica ser medievalista? Prácticas y reflexiones en torno al oficio del historiador*, Gerardo F. Rodríguez, Andrea Vanyna, eds. Mar del Plata: Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata-Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Medievales, 2012: 155-169.

10. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor...*: 19-20 and 119-123.

11. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor...*: 123.

12. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxosoutos...*: 22-32 (docs. No. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 12).

13. Mattoso, José. *Don Afonso Henriques*. Lisbon: Temas & Debates, 2007: 28 and following.

14. Alfonso Henriques was son of the Count of Portugal Henry of Burgundy and Teresa Alfonso. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxosoutos...*: 95-97 (doc. No. 50).

15. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxosoutos...*: 33-50 (docs. No. 14, 21 and 25).



without a real patrimonial increment for Toxos Outos<sup>16</sup>. At the same time the cartulary of San Justo recorded only a small number of donations granted by the Traba family to the Benedictine monks between 1137 and 1177<sup>17</sup>. In two cases the monks of Toxos Outos also clashed against the Traba family. A document of the cartulary of Toxos Outos reports that Rodrigo Pérez (nicknamed *El velloso*, son of the Count of Galicia Pedro Froilaz de Traba) in 1157 promised to the monks to stop attacking the properties of San Justo and Pastor in *Gomariz*, locality situated in southern Galicia («facio inquam uobis agnitionem in duplum prefate ville ut nunquam pro ea uos impetam aut calupnem ego»). In 1161, however, Vermudo Pérez de Traba (half-brother of Rodrigo *el Velloso*), already a Cistercian monk in Sobrado, directly intervened against the interests of Toxos Outos for the question of the monastery of Nogueirosa. Such a behavior has been considered by F. J. Pérez Rodríguez as the definitive sign of the loss of support for Toxos Outos by the Traba family, who became more interested in the promotion of the Cistercians<sup>18</sup>. The general framework built by F. J. Pérez Rodríguez is strictly based on the rigorous analysis of the monastic sources, but if the experience of Toxos Outos is analyzed from a comparative perspective with the Cistercian abbeys, it is possible to notice how the Benedictines did not “disappear” from the local context, but they were instead able to compete with the white monks at the same conditions. For this reason, I believe that it may be essential to make some observations about the general monastic framework in Galicia after the arrival of the Cistercians in order to contextualize the experience of Toxos Outos and its relationships with the other forms of religious life in that area.

After 1142, the Cistercians sources clearly show that Sobrado received a huge number of donations and privileges granted by Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile,

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16. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor...*: 76-94 (docs. No. 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 49) (Alfonso IX). In the document n. 50 (the donation made by Alfonso I Henriques) are inserted also the royal Portuguese confirmation accorded to San Justo and Pastor by King Sancho I in 1187 and by King Sancho II in 1214, both in the city of Guimarães. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxosoutos...*: 95-97 (doc. No. 50).

17. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxosoutos...*: 29-611 (docs. No. 10, 27, 421, 639, 675 and 676). On Ponce de Cabrera see Barton, Simon. “Two Catalan magnates in the courts of the Kings of León-Castile: The careers of Ponce de Cabrera and Ponce de Minerva re-examined”. *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992): 233-266 and Fernández-Xesta, Ernesto. *Un magnate catalán en la corte de Alfonso VII: Comes Poncius de Cabreira, princeps Çemore*. Madrid: Prensa y Ediciones Iberoamericanas, 1991; Pallares, María del Carmen; Pérez, Francisco Javier; González, Marta; Vaquero, Beatriz. “La tierra de Santiago, espacio de poder (siglos XII-XIII)”. *Semata*, 4 (1992): 140. On the Traba family López, José Luis. *La nobleza altomedieval...*: 44-56.

18. López, José Luis. *La nobleza altomedieval...*: 164-528 (32). On the “Velloso” son of Count Pedro Froilaz de Traba and his second wife Mayor Rodríguez, see Barton, Simon. “Sobre Rodrigo Pérez el Velloso”. *Estudios Mindonienses*, 5 (1989): 553-661. For the clash against Vermudo Pérez see: Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O monasteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor...*: 108-109.



Fernando II, Alfonso IX of León<sup>19</sup> and the Traba family<sup>20</sup>, which were neither comparable to the limited number of goods and rights, nor to the exemptions accorded to San Justo and Pastor de Toxos Outos in the same period. In any case, it is important not to generalize these dynamics, extending the experience of Sobrado to all the other Cistercian monasteries in Galicia. The development of the Order of Cîteaux had been extremely heterogeneous and each monastery developed a diverse model of patrimonial expansion connected to the different economic, social and political backgrounds of every single area of the Galician region. For example, the royal protection was not the same for all the Cistercians. The privileges of Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile, Fernando II and Alfonso IX of Leon show how Sobrado, Melón and Oseira were among the most supported monasteries by the monarchy<sup>21</sup>. Between Sobrado and its interest in the northern part of the region and Melón and Oseira (both situated in the south of the region, respectively in the dioceses of Tui and Ourense) it is possible to observe two totally different policies led by Kings. One in the northern part of Galicia based on a mix of land concessions and exemptions and another strategy based on the cession to the Cistercians of portions of the royal patrimony (the *fiscus* called also *realengus* in the sources<sup>22</sup>) placed at the border with the kingdom of Portugal. This difference may be explained with the different needs of the Kings of Leon-Castile and León, and the strategic position of those monasteries. In fact, Sobrado was placed near Compostela and the new ports of the

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19. Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*. Madrid: Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural, Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1976: I (doc. No. 136, 489 and 617); Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: II, 24-144 (docs. No. 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 37, 38, 39, 41, 49, 52, 53 and 122); ARG. Pergaminos. Sobrado, 88; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 526, No. 19; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 527, No. 10; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 530, No. 12; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado carpeta 531, No. 16; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 532, No. 13 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 533, n. 20; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado carpeta 537, No. 1; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 538, n. 8 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 539, n. 5 (copies at ns. 6, 7, 8 and 9).

20. Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: I, 188-528 (docs. No. 145, 210, 212, 238, 240, 260, 262, 341, 476, 477, 490, 492, 543, 601, 602 and 618); Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: II, 23-465 (docs. No. 8, 10, 11, 13, 19, 25, 26, 35, 36, 364, 366, 390, 400, 453, 471, 404, 513, 517, 528, 539 and 543); AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 526, ns. 10, 11 and 13; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 527, ns. 10, 11 and 13; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 528, ns. 3 and 7; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 529, n. 4; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 530, n. 4; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 535, n. 18; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 536, n. 2; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 537, n. 16; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 538, ns. 1 and 2; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 540, ns. 1 and 9; ARG. Pergaminos. Sobrado, ns. 218, 305, 490 and 733.

21. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 277-279.

22. On this term and the administration of the royal patrimony see García, Luis. *Señores y burgueses en la Edad Media Hispana*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1985: 124-126 (first edition 1961) and Álvarez, Ignacio. "Vasallos, oficiales, clientes y parientes. Sobre la jerarquía y las relaciones internobiliares en la Castilla medieval (c. 1100-c. 1350). Una aproximación a partir de las fuentes documentales". *Hispania. Revista española de Historia*, 30/235 (2010): 359-390.





Atlantic Coast, in proximity of the French “Camino de Santiago” and the iron mines of Pedrahita: an ideal position for trades that might explain the significant number of economic and transport exemptions granted by Kings. Melón and Oseira, instead, were placed in a very turbulent area, very important for the wine production, but at the same time heavily marked by the military conflicts between León and Portugal between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. In the case of Melón it is even possible to notice a perfect coincidence between the donations made by Fernando II and Alfonso IX of León and the moments of maximum tension with Portugal<sup>23</sup>. Two additional aspects are really eye-catching. On the one hand, Oseira and Melón founded respectively in 1139 and in 1158<sup>24</sup> seem to have raised the interest of the Kings of Leon-Castile and León in the second half of the twelfth century more than any other traditional monastic institution. For example, the prestigious Benedictine abbey of San Salvador de Celanova situated in the diocese of Ourense received five royal privileges by Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile between 1140 and 1155<sup>25</sup>, only one intervention in its favor from Fernando II in 1164<sup>26</sup>, and no royal confirmation or privilege by Alfonso IX of Leon before 1215<sup>27</sup>. This data may suggest that Oseira and Melón were chosen by the monarchy because Cistercian monks were considered more reliable than other traditional monastic groups to control the Galician territory<sup>28</sup>, but if one looks at the chronology of royal intervention, it is possible to notice that Oseira received a high number of donations even before its entry in the Cistercian Order which only happened only in the late twelfth century<sup>29</sup>. The continuity of donations and the protection granted by the Kings between 1139

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23. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 225-235.

24. For the foundation of Oseira see Romaní, Miguel. *A colección diplomática do mosteiro cisterciense de Santa María de Oseira (1025-1335)*. Santiago de Compostela: Tórculo, 1989: I, docs. No. 14 and 15. For the foundation of Melón: Valle, José Carlos. *La arquitectura cisterciense en Galicia*. A Coruña: Fundación “Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa”, 1982: I, 207-208 and Valle, José Carlos. “Los estudios sobre la implantación de la Orden del Cister en España. El caso de Galicia: situación actual y perspectivas”, *De Galicia en la Edad Media, Actas del Coloquio de Santiago de Compostela-A Coruña-Pontevedra-Vigo-Betanzos, 13-17 Junio 1987*. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 1990: 135. See also Romaní, Miguel; Piñeyro, Otero. “Sobre el inicio del monasterio de Melón y sus relaciones con los monasterios de Bárcena y Canales: corpus documental”, *Galicia Monástica Estudios en Lembranza da Profesora M. J. Portela Silva*, Raquel Casal, José Miguel Andrade, Roberto J. López, eds. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela 2009: 23-39.

25. AHN. Clero. Clero Regular. Ourense. Celanova, carpeta 1430, ns. 18, 19 and 20 and AHN. Clero. Clero Regular. Ourense. Celanova, carpeta 1431, n. 1.

26. Andrade, José Miguel. *O tomo de Celanova: Estudio introductorio, edición e índices (ss. IX-XII)*. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 1995 187-188 (doc. No. 125). The donation of 1164 granted by Fernando II to Pelayo Díaz was only confirmed by the abbot of Celanova. See González, Julio. *Regesta de Fernando II*. Madrid: Instituto Leonés de Cultura, 1943: 462.

27. Andrade, José Miguel. “Los monasterios benedictinos y el poder”. *Sémata*, 4 (1992): 112-113 and Vaquero Beatriz. *Colección diplomática do mosteiro de san Salvador de Celanova (siglos XIII-XV)*. Vigo: Tórculo, 2004: doc. No. 5.

28. Portela, Ermelindo. *La colonización cisterciense...*: 58.

29. Portela, Ermelindo. *La colonización cisterciense...*: 76-81. In the opinion of Ermelindo Portela Oseira became Cistercian between 1184 and 1191.



and 1228<sup>30</sup> might suggest that these monasteries were not always (or necessarily) selected because of their Order of reference, but for their direct connection with the monarchy (Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile directly supported the foundation of Oseira), their geographical position, their connections with local powers and their economic and political networks<sup>31</sup>. It is possible, therefore, that in the case of Toxos Outos the fact that it was not Cistercian was not the only reason which might justify the lack of interest of Alfonso VII and his successors. In my opinion, Toxos Outos lost its strategic importance for the Leonese monarchy from the third quarter of the twelfth century for two main reasons. First, Toxos Outos was located in the Santiago's Land (Tierra de Santiago), which was the area directly controlled by the Archbishops of Compostela<sup>32</sup>. If the monastery might be a strategic ally for the monarchy at the time of the powerful and independent Archbishop Diego Gelmírez or during the deep crisis of the see of Saint James after his death, from 1167, with the election of Pedro Gudesteíz as Archbishop, Compostela was controlled by men (often former royal chancellors) strongly connected to the Leonese monarchs, who could guarantee the royal interest in that area<sup>33</sup>. Second, always for its "unlucky" geographical position, Toxos Outos was far from the areas which were important from the second half of the twelfth century (the new ports of the Atlantic coast and the border with Portugal): a distance which probably caused its political isolation.

At the same time it is necessary to revise the role played by the Traba family played in the monastic promotion. I will consider the case the monastery of Monfero. This abbey was founded around 1134-1135 by two *milites* Pedro Osorio and Alfonso Vermúdez with the support of Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile in the archdiocese of Santiago<sup>34</sup>. In the same years of the great promotion of Sobrado, in the third quarter of the twelfth century, the Traba family gave an important number of donations to the monastery of Monfero between 1147 and 1175<sup>35</sup>. But was Monfero a Cistercian monastery in that period? In the opinion of José Luis López

30. Between 1139 and 1193 (six years before the first mention of Oseira as Cistercian in 1199), the monastery received twelve royal privileges by Alfonso VII, Fernando II, and Alfonso IX, exactly the same from 1193 and 1228, but most of these privileges were, exactly like in the case of Toxos Outos, simple confirmations of past royal intervention. Romaní, Miguel. *A colección diplomática de Oseira...*: I, 18-295 (docs. No. 16, 17, 21, 22, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44, 46, 58, 82, 112, 120, 123, 143, 180, 191, 216, 268, 269, 270, 271 and 303).

31. These factors can explain the renewed interest of Alfonso IX of León after 1215. Vaquero, Beatriz. *Colección diplomática de Celanova...*: I, 44-63 (docs. No. 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24 and 25).

32. Pallares, María del Carmen; Pérez, Francisco Javier; González, Marta; Vaquero, Beatriz. "La tierra de Santiago"....: 140.

33. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *La Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela en la Edad Media: el Cabildo catedralicio (1100-1400)*. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 1996: 32-33 and 175 and Pérez, Francisco Javier. "Los cabildos catedralicios gallegos en la Edad Media (siglos XII-XIV)". *Ciencias sociais e Humanidades*, 22 (2010): 159-175.

34. López, José Luís. "Un problema resuelto: la fundación del monasterio de Santa María de Monfero, los privilegios de Alfonso VII y su filiación al Císter". *Estudios mindonienses*, 13 (1997): 630-640.

35. López, José Luís. "Relación de la documentación del monasterio de Santa María de Monfero", *Estudios Mindonienses*, 18 (2002): 296-378 (regs. n. 4, 19, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 33, 36, 43, 44, 45, 47, 52, 65, 68, 77, 149, 178, 211 and 235).





Sangil, Monfero was Cistercian since 1147. One of the elements used to justify this chronology is the presence of a monk from Oseira as abbot of Monfero in 1152<sup>36</sup>. The problem is that Oseira in 1152 was not Cistercian and the first mention of Oseira as Cistercian is only dated in 1199, as argued by Miguel Romani Martínez, and the first statement of the monastery of Monfero as Cistercian is dated 1182<sup>37</sup>. This chronology suggests that in all likelihood an (or the most) important part of the donations granted by the Traba family to this monastery were made when it was not Cistercian. In my opinion, this attention showed by the family for Monfero was connected to its strategic position in northern Galicia, between Compostela and Mondoñedo, where the Traba had their most significant interests, especially after the failure of the Portuguese policy led by Count Fernando Pérez de Traba († 1155) during the period 1120-1140<sup>38</sup>. Furthermore, there are other factors to consider. First of all, as for the case of Sobrado the relationships between the Traba and the Cistercians were not only of mere patronage, but they were often conflictual in the second half of the twelfth century<sup>39</sup>. Second, after 1175 the number of donations of the Traba in favor of the Cistercians of the archdiocese of Compostela decreased consistently. In the case of Monfero the family of the Counts of Galicia gave only five donations between 1175 and 1250, and even in the case of Sobrado (which remains in any case the most important beneficiary of the Traba) the number of donations was reduced and in more than one occasion the white monks that helped some members of the family in the first half of the thirteenth century<sup>40</sup>. Last but not least, the Traba had weak and sporadic relationships with the Cistercian monasteries of southern Galicia (Armenteira, Oia, Oseira, Melón, or Montederramo), but the absence of this family did not impede to Melón or Oseira to become two of the most important Galician monasteries, a proof of how it is important not to generalize about the patronage between monks and aristocrats in Galicia<sup>41</sup>. It is also important to devote some attention to the problem of the papal exemption and the behavior of bishops towards monasteries. Perhaps a powerful man like the Archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmírez (†1140), did not want such a strong competitor like the white monks (maybe like the Cistercians as would sarcastically notice Walter Map in his *De Nugis Curialium*<sup>42</sup>), but it is also worth remembering that Sobrado was founded at the presence of some important members of the Cathedral Chapter,

36. López, José Luís. "Un problema resuelto...": 646.

37. López, José Luís. "Un problema resuelto...": 646; Romani, Miguel. "La integración de Oseira en el Cister. Estado de la cuestión". *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos*, 37/102 (1987): 43-55. See also Renzi, Francesco. *The wedge of St. Bernard. The Cistercian networks in the northern Iberian Peninsula: the case of Galicia (1142-1250)*. Bologna: Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna (PhD Dissertation), 2013: 42-47.

38. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 207-224 and related footnotes for bibliography.

39. Barros, Carlos. "Origen del castillo y coto de Aranga, siglos X-XII". *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos*, 122/56 (2009): 139-150.

40. López, José Luís. "Fundaciones monacales"...: 282-286 and 315-319. Is the case of Sancha Fernández de Traba in 1207 or Rodrigo Fernández de Traba in 1217 (AHN. Clero. Clero Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 538, n. 1). Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 70-71.

41. See Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 207-210.

42. Walter Map. *De nugis curialium*, ed. Matthew R. James. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983: 74 and 92.



especially Pedro Helias (future archbishop of Santiago between 1143 and 1149, who also granted a donation also to Toxos Outos<sup>43</sup>) and Pedro Cresconiz, who was in touch with the Traba family even before the arrival of the Cistercians at Sobrado. Moreover, while Toxos Outos had good relationships with the See of Saint James, the Cistercians were not always independent from the authority of the bishops and from the last quarter of the twelfth century they had to defend themselves from the inference of the Archbishops of Santiago, who tried to control the white monks of Sobrado and Monfero by going even against papal dispositions<sup>44</sup>.

In conclusion, Toxos Outos was not a rare case in the monastic Galician landscape. It was not in a situation much different than that of other monasteries like Armenteira, Oia, Oseira, Melón, or Montederramo for its relationships with the Traba. Moreover, similarly to Sobrado or Monfero, Toxos Outos might have been affected by the policies of the Archbishops of Compostela. Like the Cistercians in the last quarter of the twelfth centuries, the monks of San Justo looked for new and independent social networks to compete with the other monastic Orders, finding a formidable political and patrimonial interlocutor in the local group of the knights.

### 3. The knights and Toxos Outos: land transactions, donors and sellers

The patrimonial relationships between the monastery of Toxos Outos and the local military aristocracy are key aspects to examine. I prefer to use the term “aristocracy” rather than “nobility” to define this social group during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries in the northern Iberian Peninsula.

With “Aristocracy”, I refer to “a group of individuals with a dominant or important position in society due to their social, political or economic power, which they obtained in a specific historical period and without a legal status approved by Kings or Emperors”<sup>45</sup>. The power of these social groups was disconnected from their origin and even from their juridical *status*, while their position in society was not directly transmittable to their descendants. Under this perspective, it is also important to include in the definition of “lay aristocracy” for Galicia also the most powerful families like the Traba; the men and the women defined in the sources as *domini* and *dominae* (a term not easy to interpret, but which seems to indicate a relevant

43. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 45-48 (doc. No. 22).

44. Look at papal the document on tithes contained in the cartulary of Toxos Outos as example Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 697 (doc. No. 788). On the relationship between Toxos Outos and the local clergy see Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor...*: 101-106. On the papal exemption of the Cistercians in Galicia see Renzi, Francesco. “The bone of the contention: Cistercians, bishops and papal exemption. The case of the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela (1150-1250)”. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 5 (2013): 47-68.

45. Crouch, David. *The birth of Nobility. Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300*. London-New York: Pearson Longman, 2005: 2-4.



social role played by these people), the knights and the squires; the most important landowners; the first urban *élites* of the twelfth century; and, for a more global view, the clergymen who were often expression of the same local families<sup>46</sup>. Considering all this, one should not to consider the knights as synonym of aristocracy, but some of the members of this heterogeneous social group<sup>47</sup>.

In the sources of Toxos Outos men with military specialization are defined as *militēs*, *armigeri*, or *scutiferi*<sup>48</sup>. The word *miles* (knight) indicated a precise condition and a different and more relevant social and military role (the latter was regarded as the most important characteristic of these individuals in the twelfth century according to Jean Flori) than of these called *armigeri* (“arm-bearers” or armigerous) or *scutiferi* (squires)<sup>49</sup>. These two terms, in particular, seem to be used as synonyms in the cartulary of San Justo and Pastor de Toxos Outos still in the late thirteenth century. For example, a man called Pedro Fernández nicknamed *Bochón* is defined *armiger* in a document of Toxos Outos dated 1239; he is called *scutifer* in 1247; again *armiger* in 1259, and finally he is qualified as *scutifer* in two documents dated 1261 and 1267. By contrast the men defined as *militēs* always maintained this appellation in the monastic documents of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, only for knights, differently from the *armigeri* and the *scutiferi*, in several cases their higher

46. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos.*: 31. In the opinion of R. A. Fletcher, the Traba family was an example of “new men” of unknown provenance, who achieved a relevant position in few decades between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. Fletcher, Richard A. *Saint James' Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984: 34. Even if contrary to the Spanish historiographical tradition, I shared and developed Fletcher's idea in my Renzi, Francesco. “El Císter en Galicia entre los siglos XII y XIII”...: 161-162. See also Rodríguez, Ana. “Monastic strategy and local relations. The social influence of the monastery of Oseira in the thirteenth century”, *Beyond the Market. Transactions, property and social networks in monastic Galicia, 1200-1300*, Reina Pastor, ed. Leiden: Brill, 2002: 161-168. See also the considerations of Violante, Cinzio. “Il concetto di Chiesa feudale” nella storiografia”, *Chiesa e mondo feudale nei secoli X-XII*. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995: 8 and following.

47. On the debate about the definition of the medieval aristocracy see Crouch, David. *The Image of Aristocracy: In Britain, 1000-1300*. New York: Routledge, 1992: 2-30; Reuter, Timothy. “The medieval Nobility in Twentieth-Century Historiography”, *Companion to Historiography*, Michael Bentley, ed. London: The Routledge, 1997: 178-180; Bosl, Karl. *Modelli di società medievale*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1979: 111-113; Cantarella, Glauco M. *Una sera dell'anno mille. Scene di Medioevo*. Milan: Garzanti, 2000: 41 and 73-78.

48. Morsel, Joseph. *La aristocracia medieval: La dominación social en Occidente (siglos V-XV)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 139-149, 169 and 259-260.

49. Flori, Jean. ‘Chevaliers’ et ‘chevalerie’ au Moyen Âge. Paris: Hachette, 2000: 10, 13-14 and 75-76. See also Barthélemy, Dominique. *La chevalerie: De la Germanie antique à la France du XIIe siècle*. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2007: 54 and in particular the related note footnote n. 16. On the evolution of the word miles in the medieval sources see the works the same authors: Flori, Jean. *L'essor de la chevalerie: XIe-XIIe siècles*. Genève: Droz, 1983: 136 and following pages and Barthélemy, Dominique. *Chevaliers et miracles. La violence et le sacré dans la société féodale*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2004: 23-25. See also the work of Duby, Georges. “Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XIIe siècle dans la région mâconnaise”. *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 27 (1972): 803-823 and the monograph Bouchard, Constance. *Those of My Blood: Creating Noble Families in Medieval Francia*. University of Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001: 5 and following pages. See Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos.*: 31. For a general framework of the relationships between the aristocracy and the Benedictines in Galicia, see Andrade, José Miguel. *El monacato benedictino y la sociedad de la Galicia medieval (siglos X al XIII)*. A Coruña: Edicións do Castro, 1997: 222-229.



condition was reinforced by the addition of the term *dominus*, reserved to those who were closely linked with the monastic community. In some cases, the two different conditions coexisted within the same family: for example in 1244 the *miles* Viviano sold his properties to Toxos Outos, together with his brother Lupo, defined as *armiger* in the document. It is important to observe also that not all the male members of these families were introduced to the military career, and at the same time the social condition and the appellation of “knight” was not always automatically extended to the following generations. In 1276, for example, the *scutifer* Alfonso Pérez de Ryatelo got in touch with the monks of Toxos Outos for a land transaction: in the document Alfonso is indicated as the son of the *miles* Pedro Díaz, showing in this way his different (and lower at that point) military *status* from that of his father in the previous generation<sup>50</sup>.

This varied social group was very active in the promotion of the Benedictines. In the sources contained in the cartulary of Toxos Outos, I registered thirty-seven land transactions in favor of the monastic community between 1135 and 1284 directly made by men defined in the documents as knights, armigerous or squires<sup>51</sup>. Considering the whole amount of donations accorded to Toxos Outos by laymen (including the Traba family, the men and the women called *domini/dominae* without specific military attributions, and the local landowners called *heredes* in the sources), the number of lands transactions granted directly by *milites*, *armigeri*, and *scutiferi* represent the 13,4% of the total number of patrimonial grants received by Toxos Outos<sup>52</sup>. With the addition of the donations or sales accorded by other members of these families (or by their relatives) even if not qualified with a military specialization in the sources, this percentage grows up to 20,1% of the total amount of the land

50. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 326-616 (docs. No. 318, 474, 554, 558, 617, 618, 682 and pp. 834-838).

51. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 92-632 (docs. No. 48, 53, 82, 95, 164, 224, 269, 270, 294, 296, 318, 355, 395, 486, 618, 678, 679 and 703 (Donations)). 163-694 (docs. No. 121, 164, 182, 294, 396, 419, 436, 442, 532, 578, 619, 680, 682, 690, 691 and 784 (Sales)). 42-521 (docs. No. 430, 475 and 551 (Land exchanges)).

52. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 110-696 (docs. No. 60, 61, 66, 76, 80, 81, 83-85, 87, 92, 94, 96, 99, 108, 109, 115-117, 119, 120, 121, 124, 126, 129-134, 136-140, 144-147, 156-160, 162, 163, 170, 174, 175, 181, 183, 185, 204-206, 209, 211, 222, 223, 226-229, 233, 234, 236, 237, 239, 240, 242-246, 248-253, 255-257, 260, 262, 264, 265, 268, 271, 272, 276-278, 281-283, 287, 291-293, 298, 299, 301, 305, 309-311, 314, 315, 317, 320, 323, 326-329, 333-336, 338-340, 342, 343, 345-349, 361, 364, 365, 367, 368, 370, 370, 373, 375, 380, 382, 388, 389, 404, 405, 409, 411, 427, 437, 438, 444, 462, 465, 480, 482, 489, 490, 492, 493, 496, 499, 500, 502, 512, 515, 516, 518, 519, 521, 522, 532, 533, 537, 545, 552, 555, 556, 559, 561, 564, 565, 577, 579, 582, 583, 585, 589, 591, 592-596, 600, 601, 603, 610, 611, 613, 616, 621, 623, 624, 627, 635, 643-645, 659, 667, 699, 700-702, 704, 709, 710, 711, 713, 717, 718, 720, 763-765, 779, 782, 786 and 787 (*Heredes*: Donations, sales, and land exchanges)). 41-550 (docs. No. 17, 19, 31, 111, 144, 321, 394, 483, 513, 525, 546, 554, 572, 574, 575, 581 and 590) (*Domini/dominae*: Donations, sales and land exchanges). For the Traba land transactions look at footnotes ns. 14-23. On the meaning of the word *heredes* see Pastor, Reina. “Poder monástico y grupos domésticos foreros”, *Poder monástico y grupos domésticos en la Galicia foral (siglos XIII-XIV)*. La casa. La comunidad, Isabel Alfonso, Reina Pastor, Pablo Sánchez, Ana Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: 29-31.



transactions in favor of the monastery of San Justo and Pastor<sup>53</sup>. This data reveals the importance and the weight of the knights and the squires for the patrimonial growth of the Benedictine monastery of Toxos Outos. At the same time this element marks a deep difference between Toxos Outos and other Cistercian realities in Galicia. The presence of the knights in the monastery of San Justo and Pastor is more substantial, for example, than that recorded in the sources of the monasteries of Armenteira and Sobrado. In the first case, even if the monastic community could dispose of a large network of contacts with the *milites*, coming also from northern Portugal, the donations and the land transactions accorded by this social group represents only the 3% of the total amount of the patrimonial acquisition of the Cistercian monks between 1151 and 1250. Even in the case of Sobrado, which received several monks donations by the Galician knights in the first half of the thirteenth century, the relationships with these families seem to be less intense than those built by Toxos Outos in the same period. The only Cistercian monastery with a position comparable to Toxos Outos, is Monfero especially for its relationships with the knights of Andrade<sup>54</sup>. Furthermore, the cartulary of Toxos Outos recorded a

53. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 104-693 (docs. No. 55-58, 64, 87, 364, 372, 384, 41-417, 419, 430, 469, 477, 489, 508, 532, 551, 645, 670 and 783).

54. AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1751, n. 3; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1752, n. 2; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1754, n. 4; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1755, n. 5 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1757, n. 2; Donations: AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1752, ns. 14, 15, 17 and 20; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1753, ns. 8, 10, 18, 19, 20 and 21; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1755, ns. 3, 4, 6 and 19; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1756, ns. 52, 7-10, 13 and 19; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1757, n. 1, 3-5, 13, and 17 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1758, ns. 1 and 4; Sales: AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1753, ns. 5-11, 16, 17, 19 and 20; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1754, ns. 3-5, 7, 12 and 13; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1755, ns. 1, 5, 7-9 and 18; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1756, ns. 2, 6, 11, 13, 14 and 18; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1757, ns. 8-10, 12, 14-16, 18 and 19 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1758, n. 2; Alonso, María. *El Monasterio de Santa María de Armenteira: documentos conservados hasta 1215*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Compostela (Master Dissertation), 1957: 38-108 (docs. No. 9, 12, 16, 17, 20, 25, 28-32, 35, 37, 39-42, 44, 47, 49, 50, 53-55, 54, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66, 67 and 68); Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: I, 259-544 (docs. No. 223, 252, 337, 403, 409, 410, 419, 449 and 645); Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: II, 136-348 (docs. No. 112, 258 and 361); AHN. Clero. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 537, n. 14; AHN. Clero. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 540, n. 7 and AHN. Clero. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 541, n. 3/2, 8 and 20; ARG. Pergaminos. Sobrado, n. 109. The Andrade family from a small group of knights of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, became one of the most important Galician families under Fernando Pérez de Andrade III called *O Boo* (see for the documents López, José Luís. "Relación de la documentación del monasterio de Santa María de Monfero". *Estudios Mindonienses*, 18 (2002): 372-405 (regs. n. 215, 295 and 307 and AHN). Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña, Monfero, carpeta 497 n. 17 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña, Monfero, carpeta 498, n. 1; RAG. Fundo Murguía. Monfero, ns. 02.15.5.5.2/16.0.0.0, 02.17.5.5.2/18.0.0.0, and 02.39.5.3.1/35.0.0.0 and ARG. Pergaminos, Monfero, n. 83). See also López, José Luís. "Fernán Pérez de Andrade III, o Boo. Sus relaciones con la iglesia y el monacato: Monfero y la Granja de Saa". *Cátedra. Revista Eumesa de estudios*, 9 (2002): 117-148. On the Andrade see also Correa, José Francisco. *Mentalidade e realidade social na nobreza galega. Os*



balanced distribution of the patrimonial grants (donations and sales) given by *militēs* and *scutiferi*. The knights made eighteen donations in favor of Toxos Outos between 1135 and 1268, and sixteen land sales between 1144 and 1284, with the addition of three land exchanges between the knights and the Benedictine monks realized in 1245 and in 1276<sup>55</sup>. These land transactions were concentrated in the first half of the thirteenth century, similarly to Armenteira (1214-1249), Sobrado (1201-1247) and Monfero (1215-1257). In the sources of Toxos Outos, in fact, it is possible to record only four donations personally accorded by the local knights during the twelfth century (1135, 1146, 1151, and 1179), and only three sales made respectively in 1144, 1182 and 1185. The number of land transactions realized by the knights in favor of Toxos Outos increased in the first quarter of the thirteenth century; on the remaining thirty documents inserted in the cartulary of the monastery concerning the donations and sales granted by this social group, twenty-six were concentrated in the period 1213-1248. This chronological trend is the concrete proof of the progressive growth of the knights as political interlocutors for the Galician monastic world, as already suggested by the works of E. Pascua Echegaray and A. Rodríguez López for the Cistercian abbeys of Montederramo and Oseira<sup>56</sup>.

A very interesting point is the extraordinary geographical homogeneity of the lands accorded to Toxos Outos by the *knights* and *squires* between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The lands granted were all situated between the Land of Santiago, the peninsula of Barbanza in the south-west of the archdiocese of Santiago (and in particular in the nearby of the localities of Boiro and Lousame), and in the territories situated northern of the river Tambre, in the modern province of A Coruña<sup>57</sup>. Therefore, the lands accorded to Toxos Outos were concentrated

*Andrade de Pontedeume (1160-1540)*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (PhD Dissertation), 2008: 58 and following pages.

55. See footnote 52.

56. AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1751, n. 3; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1752, n. 2; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1754, n. 4; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1755, n. 5 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1757, n. 2; Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: I, 259-544 (docs. No. 223, 252, 337, 403, 409, 410, 419, 449 and 645); Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: II, 136-348 (docs. No. 112, 258 and 361); AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 537, n. 14, carpeta 540, n. 7 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 541, n. 3/2, 8 and 20; ARG. Pergaminos. Sobrado, n. 109; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 500, n. 14 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 500, n. 19; ARG. Pergaminos. Monfero, ns. 88, 99, 101 and 501; López, José Luís. "Relación de la documentación de Monfero"...: 92-694 (regs. n. 195, 214, 215, 224, 248, 256, 257, 267, 295, 307, 350 and 440); Pascua, Esther. "Vassals and allies in conflict: relations between Santa María de Montederramo and local Galician society in the thirteenth century" and A. Rodríguez, Ana, "Monastic strategy and local relations. The social influence of the monastery of Oseira in the thirteenth century", *Beyond the market...*: 27-106 and 173-244. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: docs. No. 48, 53, 82, 95, 121, 164, 182, 294, 224, 269, 270, 296, 355, 395, 396, 419, 486, 532, 551, 578, 619, 678, 679, 680, 682, 690, 691, 694, 703 and 784.

57. Pallares, María del Carmen; Pérez, Francisco Javier; González, Marta; Vaquero, Beatriz. "La tierra de Santiago"...: 131-135. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 92-632 (docs. No. 48, 53, 68, 95, 121, 164, 224, 269, 318, 355, 436, 442, 486, 532, 578, 619, 678, 679, 680, 682, 691 and 703).





in the western part of the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela, from the *concejo* (council) of Boiro, located forty-seven km south-western of the city of Santiago, to the locality of Mazaricos situated fifty-three km north-west from the see of Saint James. This last point marks an interesting difference between Toxos Outos and Sobrado and their relationships with the local lay aristocracy. In the case of San Justo and Pastor these families appear deep-rooted in a very limited area of Galicia where they probably had the most important basis of their patrimony. By contrast, in the case of Sobrado, the Cistercians entered in contact with local families, composed by a mix of landowners and knights like the *Transulfiz*, whose donations were spread all over the Galician territory, and this support allowed the white monks to extend their patrimony even upon areas where they did not receive privileges from the Traba family<sup>58</sup>. Significantly, in the sources of Toxos Outos it is possible to notice also a clear separation between the donors and the sellers, with only some rare exceptions<sup>59</sup>. In other words: the knights “donors” are never “sellers” at the same time<sup>60</sup>. It is not easy to explain these dynamics, even if the precise division between donors, sellers or tenants of the monastic patrimony, like in the case of Melón, may be attributed to the monks attempt to better administrate their patrimony and to avoid the excessive accumulation of power by the local lay aristocracy in the same monastic lands<sup>61</sup>. In several cases, the knights exchanged their goods and lands made with horses of high quality owned by the monks of Toxos Outos, in which the local *milites* were strongly interested<sup>62</sup>. The sources present a generally wealth social group. Only in one case it is possible to notice specific economic troubles behind this type of land transaction. In 1182, the knight Pedro *de Aucteiro* sold his *hereditas* in the villa of Piñeiro for “L<sup>a</sup> solidos de bona moneta”. This property was already pledged to the monastery and this may indicate that the *miles* Pedro had not been able to give back the loan to the monks and for this reason he decided (or he was *obliged* to, as specified in other agreements signed by the monks<sup>63</sup>) to sell his own properties to Toxos Outos<sup>64</sup>.

From the study of the monastic cartulary of San Justo and Pastor and the analysis of donations and sales in its favor, one can also uncover the relationships between Toxos Outos and some local families of knights between the twelfth and the

58. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 74-85.

59. It is the case of Pedro *Besezo*. I will be back on this knight in this same paragraph.

60. Donors: Pedro Muñiz *Carnota*, Sarraceno, Pedro *Besezo*, Alfonso Pérez, Pedro Peláez *de Deira*, Juan Raimúndez, Raymundo Pérez, Juan Froilaz *Mariño*, Fernando Yáñez, Fernando Alfonso *de Neveiro*, Fernando Muñiz, García Pérez *Feo*, Juan *Aanzi*, Pedro Fernández *Bochón* of Noya, and Alfonso Pérez. Sellers: Pedro *Besezo*, Pedro *de Aucteiro*, Pelagio Arias *Geem*, García *de Anaia*, Nuño Díaz, Pedro Peláez *de Deira*, Pelagio Martínez *de Sivis*, Fernando Pérez *Besezo*, Froila Ruiz, Viviano Lorenzo, Lupo Lorenzo, Fernando Muñiz *Rubelión*, Pelagio Díaz, Arias Martínez, Arias Pérez, Pedro Arias *do Souto*, Pedro Arias *de Souto*, and Alfonso Pérez *de Ryatelo*.

61. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 236-249.

62. See Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 109-113.

63. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 109-111. See as example Pérez, Francisco Javier, *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 292 (doc. No. 280).

64. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 305 (doc. No. 294).



thirteenth centuries. One of the most significant examples is the group of the *Besezo*. The first member of this group mentioned in the sources of Toxos Outos was Odoario Martínez married with Guntrade Muñiz, who left her last will to the monastery of Toxos Outos in 1139. The couple had one son called Pedro Odoariz the first of the family to be named *Besezo* in the sources. F. J. Pérez Rodríguez associated the name *Besezo* with the territory of the church of San Juan de Luaña in Galicia (twenty-five km west of Santiago de Compostela), that might be the place of provenance of this family or an area connected to their patrimony. The *miles* Pedro Odoariz entered in contact for the first time with Toxos Outos in 1144 when he sold his properties located in Cerquides, *Birtilli* and *Pastoriza* to the monastery for six silver marks. The contacts between Pedro and the abbey continued in the second half of the twelfth century, when the knight accorded to the monks of Toxos Outos his lands of *Busto*, *Béxeres* and the third part of his patrimony in the locality of San Martín *de Lesende*. Pedro was married with a woman named Mayor Díaz and they had two daughters and two sons. The daughters were Mayor Pérez, married with the *miles* Nuño Díaz, and Urraca Pérez married with a man called Fernando *Gimaraz*, and both women made land transactions in favor of Toxos Outos (one sell, and one donation) in 1201 and in 1210. In the cartulary there is no information about Pedro Odoariz *Besezo* and Mayor Díaz's son, Odoario Pérez, while Pedro Pérez *Besezo* together with his wife Marina Pérez donated some lands to Toxos Outos in the locality of Luaña. Pedro and Marina had two sons, Juan and Fernando and both entered in the abbey of Toxos Outos as monks. This is a very interesting point for two reasons: at first it is significant that both Juan and Fernando Pérez *Besezo* were not trained for the military life, but both were destined to the ecclesiastical career. Secondly, the presence of Juan and Fernando as monks is a further demonstration of the tight relationships of this family with the monastery. Even as monks both brothers maintained their contacts with the local *milites*: in 1248, for example, Fernando and Juan signed an agreement with the knight Nuño Núñez and his brother Pedro Núñez of Noia for some lands owned by the monastery in the locality of Leroño<sup>65</sup>. The case of Juan and Fernando Pérez *Besezo* is similar to that of Juan Froílaz, *magister grangiae* of the monastery of Sobrado. Juan Froílaz was a member of the Heriz family, a group linked and promoted by the Cistercian monastery<sup>66</sup>. Fernando and Juan had also one sister, Maria (nicknamed *de Sisto*): she was married with a man called Pedro *Valeyron*, and her two sons, Pedro and Martín Pérez *Besezo* got both in touch with San Justo and Pastor of Toxos Outos in the third quarter of the thirteenth century<sup>67</sup>.

65. In the sources there are other men nicknamed *Besezo*, not connected to this family see Pérez, Francisco Javier, *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 239-649 (docs. No. 213, 364, 384, 396, 430, 431, 486, 516, 532, 536, 569, 619, 639, 640, 645 and 725). See Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 109-113.

66. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 85.

67. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 595-596 (doc. No. 652). There is a third son of María *de Sisto*, Pedro Muñiz, who for his difference patronymic, maybe was born from one other husband of María.



Another important group of knights was that connected to the knight, *dominus* Juan Froílaz *Mariño*. Juan was a very powerful *miles*, in contact with King Fernando II of León and the monastery of San Payo de Antealtares (situated in the city of Santiago de Compostela), who granted an important donation to Toxos Outos in 1219. The sons and the daughters of *dominus* Juan Froílaz *Mariño* and his wife Urraca Fernández are all mentioned in the sources of Toxos Outos. Most of them gave lands and goods or joined agreements with the monastery (in particular *domina* Marina Yáñez *Mariño* and *dominus* Pelagio Yáñez *Mariño* and his wife Mayor Fernández nicknamed *Churruchua*), and another one —Osorio Yáñez *Mariño*— made a successful ecclesiastical career becoming canon in the cathedral Chapter of Santiago de Compostela. The members of the *Mariño* family were powerful enough to be a reference for the patrimonial agreements of other local families. For example in 1231 *dominus* Juan Yáñez *Mariño*, son of the knight *dominus* Juan Froílaz, was authorized by *dominus* Pedro *Romeu* to modify his testament, to prevent to Pedro *Romeu's* sister, María Fernández, taking possession of the lands of *Outeiro Donego*, that *dominus* Juan Yáñez *Mariño* would grant to the Benedictine monastery of Toxos Outos<sup>68</sup>.

The cases of these two families connected to San Justo and Pastor seem to confirm the characteristics of several Galician families of knights of the first half of the thirteenth century, which are also possible to observe through the study of the Cistercian sources of Sobrado, Melón and Meira. The *Besezo* and the *Mariño* got in touch for several decades with one monastic community which constituted a reference for their patrimonial strategy, but at the same time they were able to have relationships with other monastic communities or ecclesiastical institutions. For example, this is the case of the *Heriz* family and the monastery of Sobrado; of the knights of *Bolaño* in touch with the Cistercian monastery of Meira and the bishops of Lugo<sup>69</sup>; in the case of Toxos Outos, the *miles* Juan *Aanzi* granted goods to the monastery of Toxos Outos and simultaneously in the first half of the thirteenth century he was one of the few Galician knights that entered in contact with the Cistercian monastery of Melón in the diocese of Tui<sup>70</sup>. These examples show the ability of these knights to manage their interests in different Galician areas. These families also organized marriages between them or with other members of the same social group (as I previously mentioned, one daughter of Pedro Odoariz *Besezo* was married to one *miles*), like in the parental connection between the *Transulfiz* and the *Gelmírez*, two families mentioned in the sources of Sobrado<sup>71</sup>. At the same time these families of knights or landowners were deeply interested in promoting their members for the monastic career differently from of the biggest aristocratic family like the Traba. In despite of their donations to Sobrado only one male member of the family of the Counts of Galicia entered in the Cistercian community as a monk, Vermudo Pérez, while smaller families like the

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68. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 41-693 (docs. No. 17, 18, 24, 48, 49, 55-58, 483, 118, 69, 670, 689 and 783).

69. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 74-84 and 172-182. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 618 (doc. No. 684).

70. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 236-249.

71. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 83.



*Transulfiz* and the *Heriz* in several occasions inserted their members in the monastery as monks or lay-brothers. These men made an interesting trajectory in the monastic community becoming *cellerarius* (the economic responsible of the abbey), prior, or master of the grange (*grangiarius* or *magister grangiae*)<sup>72</sup>. In the case of Toxos Outos, several families of knights or local *heredes* inserted their members in the archbishopric of Compostela (as in the cases of Alfonso *Pinzán* and Gudesteo *Gudestei* who were both canons, one in the Cathedral Chapter of Compostela and the other in the Santiagan church of Santa María de Sar<sup>73</sup>), and one member of the *Mariño* family, Sancho Yáñez, grandson of the knight *dominus* Juan Froílaz *Mariño*, was even abbot of Toxos Outos between 1267 and 1289<sup>74</sup>.

#### 4. Agreements and *Familiaritas*

In the cartulary of Toxos Outos there are five typologies of agreements between the monks and the knights: life estates, house building, land management, mortgages and agreements to solve patrimonial conflicts. In the first case the life estate seems to be one of the most common agreements signed between monks and knights<sup>75</sup>. In the sources it is possible to notice fourteen concessions in life estate to *milites*, *armigeri* and *scutiferi* by the monks of Toxos Outos<sup>76</sup>, which represent the 30% of all these typologies of agreements established by the monastic community during the thirteenth century<sup>77</sup>. The sources of Toxos Outos show different types of life estate agreements. In several cases this pact was connected to a donation or a sell in favor of the monastery. This is the case, for example, of the *miles* García *de Anaia*, who in 1208 donated his goods to Toxos Outos, together with those owned by his brothers, Martín and Rui, in the localities of Esteiro and Lestón, obtaining the right to benefit of these lands for the rest of his life<sup>78</sup>. In other circumstances the concession in life estate of some goods or lands was connected to the promise of the knights to give further donations to the monastery or to restrain from attacking the properties of Toxos Outos. The first one is the case of Munio *Franquiño*, called in the source

72. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 78-85.

73. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 123; 505-506 (docs. No. 73 and 533).

74. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 107-697 (docs. No. 58, 90, 177, 185, 436, 441, 442, 475, 487, 550, 617, 789) and page 9. In the sources there is no direct reference to Sancho Yáñez as son of Juan Yáñez *Mariño*, even if he was the *rector* and *completor* of Juan Yáñez *Mariño*'s testament (doc. No. 58), together with Juan's wife (María Martínez). This role as a *rector* of the testament maybe encouraged F. J. Pérez Rodríguez to consider Sancho as a member of the *Mariño* family.

75. See Pastor, Reina. "Poder monástico...": 35-36.

76. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 99-640 (docs. No. 53, 56, 57, 68, 121, 184, 189, 261, 296, 313, 544, 652, 679 and 715).

77. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 54-685 (docs. No. 30, 31, 53, 56, 57, 68, 69, 75, 121, 166, 184, 189, 190, 192, 203, 214, 238, 261, 282, 283, 291, 296, 302, 310, 313, 358, 360, 389, 390, 403, 418, 427, 431, 440, 453, 457, 461, 513, 574, 611, 648, 650, 652, 679, 689, 706, 714, 715 and 771).

78. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 163-164 (doc. No. 121).



«miles monasterii», who received some lands in *Comoxo* in life estate in 1223 from the monks of Toxos Outos, but with the promise to give the monastic community his portion of the patrimony connected to the church of San Salvador of *Comoxo* and his personal goods situated in the locality of Quintanela<sup>79</sup>. Another typology of agreement between monks and knights concerns the house building. The monastic community of the archdiocese of Compostela signed this type of agreement with a knight called Pedro Pérez nicknamed *Gatiño*. Pedro was a member of another family of *militēs* in touch with Toxos Outos since the twelfth century, connected to *Sarracenus* and Ermesenda Muñiz<sup>80</sup>. In 1251, on behalf of his wife María Yáñez and his brother Rui *Gatiño*, Pedro *Gatiño* exchanged his properties in *Villaverde* and Santa María de Roo for the monastic lands owned by the Benedictines in *Alfonsín*, while Pedro received one hundred and twenty Leonese coins<sup>81</sup> to build a house in *Alfonsín*, but without the right to sell it or to have any economic advantage on it<sup>82</sup>.

The monastic community of Toxos Outos also offered economic support to knights and squires according them mortgages or monetary loans, as in the case of the *miles* Pedro de *Auteiro*, that in 1186 pledged his goods located in *Bastavales* for eighty coin, the equivalent of fifteen silver marks (a coin of three hundred and twenty-four grams of weight<sup>83</sup>) as explained in the document<sup>84</sup>. The tight economic relationships between the monastery and the knights is also demonstrated by the grant of lands to administrate on behalf of the monastery. For example, in 1200 the monastic community granted the knight *dominus* Adam Muñiz some lands for cattle breeding in exchange of an annual monetary fee<sup>85</sup>. With regard to this point, one document is particularly significant. In 1261 the monks of Toxos Outos established an agreement with the *scutifer* Pedro Pérez *Besezo* and his brother, the knight Martín<sup>86</sup>. The two brothers decided to suspend every conflict with the monastery (in the source the reason of this contrast is not explicit) and the monks decided to reinforce this pact by granting them the entire administration of the grange of *Cornanda*<sup>87</sup>.

79. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 640-641 (doc. No. 715).

80. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 374-549 (docs. No. 372, 415-417, 419, 425, 477, 544, 548, 551, 565, 569 and 588). *Sarracenus* and Ermesinda granted several donations to Toxos Outos and they had one daughter —Mayor—, and three sons Pedro, Arias, and Munio *Sarraceni*. This last one was the father of Pedro Muñiz *Gato*, the father of Pedro Pérez *Gatiño*, and of his brothers Gómez, Juan, Gil, Rui (or Rodrigo), and Fernando, and his sister Sancha Pérez, all in contact with the monastery of Toxos Outos in the thirteenth century.

81. On the currencies mentioned in the sources of Toxos Outos see Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 28-30.

82. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 514-515 (doc. No. 544).

83. On the currencies in the medieval Iberian Peninsula see Mínguez, Julio. "Moneda medieval en el Reino de León. Análisis de términos monetarios en la documentación del archivo de la Catedral de León (711-1252)". *Ab initio*, 1 (2011): 11-68 and Fuentes, Enrique. "Moneda y crédito en el Reino de León". *Pecunia*, 5 (2007): 53-86.

84. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 163-164 (doc. No. 121).

85. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 628 (doc. No. 698).

86. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 595-596 (doc. No. 652). They were members of the *Besezo* family, see the previous paragraph.

87. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 595-596 (doc. No. 652).



In the Cistercian sources of Armenteira and Sobrado there is no evidence of any agreement of this kind<sup>88</sup>. In the archive of Meira there are some pacts between monks and knights to manage some portions of the monastic patrimony, but there is no evidence of the administration of an entire grange granted to the local *milites*, like in the case of Toxos Outos<sup>89</sup>. Although the strong presence of the knights in the patrimony, the sources of Toxos Outos show, like in the case of Sobrado<sup>90</sup>, a low tension between the monks and the *milites*. In the cartulary of Toxos Outos there are only a few references to attacks against the monastic patrimony led by the knights in the first half of the thirteenth century and in every case these conflicts were solved soon after, generally by a donation of the *milites* to refund the monks for their damages<sup>91</sup>. The relationships were so good that in one case, in 1249, the monks of Toxos Outos delimited the border of the lands of Deira directly by collaborating with three local knights<sup>92</sup>. In the same period, instead, several Cistercian monasteries were in conflict with the social group represented by knights and squires. Between 1223 and 1237, the monastery of Meira had to face many conflicts with the local knights, extended also to the urban centers of the diocese in Lugo, like in the case of the contrasts between the Cistercians of Meira and the knight Juan *Pan* for the control of *Tabulata*<sup>93</sup>. Examples of the tension between the white monks and the local *milites* can be found in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, when King Alfonso IX of León directly intervened in favor of the monastery of Oia, in the diocese of Tui, to stop the local knights, vassals of the monastery, from building independent networks of allies in the monastic patrimony or any other pact (called «forum» in the source<sup>94</sup>) without the consent of the Cistercian abbot<sup>95</sup>.

Significantly, in nine cases in the cartulary of Toxos Outos, the knights are called *familiares* or *amici* of the monastic community. The *milites* or their relatives are qualified by the monks as members of the monastic *familly* always after patrimonial

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88. AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1751, n. 2. See Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: I, 404-405 (doc. No. 449) and ARG. Pergaminos, Sobrado, n. 109.

89. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 236-239.

90. Renzi, Francesco. "Aristocrazia e monachesimo in Galizia nei secoli XII e XIII: la famiglia Froilaz-Traba e i cistercensi. Ipotesi di ricerca". *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 115 (2013): 209-228.

91. See for example Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 361-598 (docs. No. 357, 606 and 657).

92. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 623 (doc. No. 690).

93. Domínguez, María. *El Monasterio de Santa María de Meira y su colección diplomática*. Madrid: Universidad de Zaragoza (PhD Dissertation), 1952: docs. No. 340, 362, 392, 397, 418, 422, 423, 492, 517, 528, 580, 587 and 606; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Lugo. Meira, carpeta 1132, n. 12 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Lugo. Meira, carpeta 1133, n. 3. Barton, Simon. *The aristocracy...*: 320-322 (doc. No. 12).

94. On the *foro* contract (or *placitum*), see in particular Ríos, María L. "Estrategias señoriales en Galicia: las instituciones eclesiásticas y sus relaciones contractuales con la nobleza laica (1150-1350)". *Semata*, 4 (1992): 175-189 and Ríos, María de Luz. *As orixes do foro na Galicia medieval*. Santiago de Compostela: Monografías da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 174, 1993: 169-172, 196 e 220. Pastor, Reina. "Poder monástico...": 55.

95. Sánchez, Luís. *Documentos reales...*: 275 (reg. n. 625).





agreements, especially the life estate, as in the case of the *Gatiño* and *Mariño* families<sup>96</sup>. *Familiaritas* and *amicitia* in the monastic Galician sources seem to indicate a special and personal connection between the monks and the knight, even if it is not easy to define exactly its nature and its implications. In the case of the monastery of Melón, for example, it is possible to distinguish the condition of *familiaris/amicus* from that of “vassal” of the monastery<sup>97</sup>. The first word indicated a special relationships (often both material and spiritual) between the laymen and monks, while the term vassal (especially in the *foro* documents) is connected to a detailed list of rights and duties towards the monastic community<sup>98</sup>. In the cartulary of Toxos Outos the term vassal is less clear than in the Cistercian sources. In the cartulary of Toxos Outos is impossible to find a precise difference between these two words. *Familiaris* and vassals are used after a donation made to refund the monastery of the damages caused to the monastic patrimony; twice after agreements for land management; once after a life estate pact; once after the entry of a layman called Ramiro Alfonso in the monastery. In one case these two words are combined together to define the tight relationships between Mayor Muñiz and the monastic community of San Justo and Pastor in 1208<sup>99</sup>. What is possible to notice is that these qualifications were accorded by the monks in a very limited number of cases (selected and recorded in the *liber familiarum* of Toxos Outos quoted in the sources of the monastery of the twelfth century<sup>100</sup>) and not automatically granted to all the knights donors or sellers: this strategy imply a social selection led by the monks, a policy where the knights constituted an important reference, differently from the example of the Cistercian of Melón which refused to have any Galician *miles* among his familiars or vassals in the first half of the thirteenth century<sup>101</sup>.

## 5. Last wills and burials

In the case of Toxos Outos many knights of the archdiocese of Compostela decided to commit their soul to the Benedictines monks. In the cartulary of Toxos Outos, in

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96. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 99-652 (docs. No. 53, 64, 121, 184, 190, 313, 544, 715 and 729).

97. For the use of these terms in medieval Castile see Álvarez, Ignacio. “Vasallos, oficiales, clientes y parientes. Sobre la jerarquía y las relaciones internobiliarias en la Castilla medieval (c. 1100-1350). Una aproximación a partir de las fuentes documentales”. *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, 70/235 (2010): 359-390.

98. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 245-246.

99. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 203-534 (docs. No. 170, 203, 440, 468 and 568).

100. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 252 (doc. No. 228). In 1152 Pelayo Fernández after a donation to Toxos Outos asked to the monks to write and to register his name in the *libro familiarum* of Toxos Outos.

101. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 245, where I criticized the conclusion of Martínez, José. “Mosteiro de Santa María de Melón”. *Pontevedra. Revista de estudos provinciais*, 14 (1999): 152-159.



fact, are recorded the last wills of many knights and squires who between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries entered in contact with the monastery<sup>102</sup>, like in the cases of Juan Froilaz *Mariño* (called «Senex» in the cartulary of Toxos Outos), García Pérez *Feo*, or Pedro Fernández *Bochón* of Noia<sup>103</sup>. The last wills of the *milites* constituted around the 10% of the total number of testaments recorded in the archive of Toxos Outos. The total amount of testaments in favor of the monastery is really high, one hundred and ninety-four documents of this type, more than any other Galician Cistercian monastery in the archdiocese of Compostela between 1150 and 1250<sup>104</sup>. The last wills were very important instruments for the monastery to reinforce its connections —social, patrimonial and spiritual— with both lay and ecclesiastical aristocracy, and Toxos Outos seems to have constituted for the local military families an important reference from this point of view<sup>105</sup>. As for the donations or sales in favor of the monastery, the number of last wills recorded in the monastic cartulary increased in the first half of the thirteenth century, while for the twelfth century it is possible to find only two testaments. The first one by Diego Muñiz relative of the archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmírez (1151)<sup>106</sup> and the second one by a man called Pedro *Seco* (1158)<sup>107</sup>. These two testaments are very significant because of their general structure, which is very similar to that of the testaments of the thirteenth century. First of all, in these two documents it is possible to find the two main reasons which encouraged the *milites* to approach Toxos Outos for their last wills: departures for wars (as in the case of the knight Diego Muñiz) or pilgrimages, or deep illness as in the case of Pedro *Seco* (*gravi infirmitate*). After this first declaration, it is usually indicated the place for the burial and eventually the economic cost of the funeral (even if in four cases in the sources it is not indicated where these *milites* decided to be buried or where their relatives were inhumed); the list of goods, rights or rents derived from tax payment granted to Toxos Outos (these donations were often accompanied by the expression *pro remedio anime mee et parentum meorum*); and in the end grants or patrimonial dispositions in favor of single persons or relatives of the knight, a practice that helps to understand the genealogies and the composition

102. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 109-115.

103. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 101-569 (docs. No. 54, 297 and 617).

104. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 121-702 (docs. No. 70, 72-74, 77, 79, 91, 93, 98, 100, 104, 106, 107, 110, 112-114, 123, 148-150, 152-155, 165-167, 171-173, 176, 178, 187, 188, 193-201, 210, 213, 216-218, 220, 225, 230, 235, 254, 258, 259, 267, 295, 297, 300, 322, 325, 332, 351, 352, 354, 356-358, 362, 363, 374, 377-381, 383-386, 391, 397-400, 402, 412-414, 416, 420-422, 428, 429, 432-434, 439, 443, 445, 447-450, 455, 459, 460, 481, 484, 488, 491, 503-506, 520, 527, 528, 538-540, 543, 553, 563, 566, 570, 580, 588, 597, 598, 602, 605, 607, 615, 617, 625, 627, 628, 631, 633, 634, 636, 640, 646, 647, 649, 651, 653-657, 664, 666, 668-670, 672, 673, 677, 684-686, 688, 692, 694, 695, 697, 705-708, 712, 768-770, 772, 776, 778, 780 and 795).

105. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 31-34.

106. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *O mosteiro dos santos Xusto e Pastor de Toxos Outos...*: 109-115.

107. Pedro gave to the monastery his *luctuosa* (a tax on horses and weapons paid by the aristocrats), see Ayala, Carlos de. *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la edad media (siglos XII-XV)*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2003: 222 and 687.



of these families<sup>108</sup>. In particular, thirteenth century knights' and squires' last wills are among the more detailed texts contained in the cartulary of Toxos Outos, and these sources clearly show the importance of these families, their networks on the territory, and the convergence or the discrepancy between the religious and the material relationships of the knights towards the Benedictine monks of San Justo and Pastor. I will examine one interesting example: the knight Juan Froílaz *Mariño's* testament.

The testament of this knight is an extraordinary source. In fact, it is not possible to find such a detailed document about a local *miles* of the beginning of the thirteenth century in the charters of the Cistercian monasteries of Sobrado, Armenteira or Monfero of the Cluniac abbey of Xubia (in the diocese of Mondoñedo), or in the cartulary and charters of the Benedictine monastery of Celanova for the same period<sup>109</sup>. The document shows the huge patrimony accumulated by Juan Froílaz during his life, his familiar relationships and his political connections on the territory, as it is also demonstrated by the donations made by Juan to his local *clientes*, like in the case of Carlos («Karulo» in the source) named in Juan's testament. What is really impressive is Juan's partnership with the Galician ecclesiastical institutions. First of all, Juan decided to be buried in the Santiagan monastery of Antealtares. Juan also granted the monastery the church and its entire patrimony of San Martín *de Taurinaa* (Tourinán, in proximity of the town of Muxia in northern Galicia), his *hereditates* situated in *Nemancos* (area north west of Santiago de Compostela), his lands of *Sueyro* (*Suevos*), twenty horses, one rouncey, one mule, his bed with its supply and one silver bowl. In particular Juan made a special donation for the abbot of the monastery: one rouncey, three cuirasses, two wool cloaks (called «alfamares», a word of Arabic origin<sup>110</sup>) and one mantle. The knight Juan donated also two hundred coins to Antealtares to have the prayers of the Benedictine monks for his soul; he gave also the huge amount of one thousand coins to organize his funeral and his

108. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 136-682 (docs. No. 87, 88, 161, 165, 176, 322, 633, 688 and 766).

109. Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: I, 226-486 (docs. No. 184, 185, 187, 189, 191, 210, 214, 230, 241, 249, 306, 317, 318, 447, 480, 482, 523, 525 and 556); Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: II, 184-239 (docs. No. 173, 336 and 337); AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 541, n. 20. AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1750, n. 8; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1752, n. 15; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1755, ns. 13, 16 and 21 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1756, n. 10; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 497, ns. 2, 4 and 15; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 498, n. 4; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 499, ns. 4 and 10 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 500, ns. 2 and 8; Montero, Santiago. *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia*. Madrid: El Eco Franciscano, 1935: 58-73 (docs. No. 18, 19 and 24). In the cartulary are recorded only testaments of the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Andrade, José Miguel. *O tombo de Celanova...*: 1-322 (docs. No. 1, 21 and 228). For the testaments in the late middle Ages see the work of Otero, Pablo; García, Miguel. "Los testamentos como fuente para la historia social de la nobleza. Un ejemplo metodológico: tres mandas de los Valladares del siglo XV". *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 60/126 (2013): 125-169.

110. García, Xosé. *Arabismos nel dominiu llingüístico ástur*. Oviedo: Academia de la Lengua Asturiana, 2006: 113.



burial. He disposed to grant part of this monetary amount in favor of the canons and the monks of Antealtares and a last portion was destined to help the poor. *Dominus* Juan in his last will explained that if the money was not enough for these purposes, the monks of Antealtares were authorized to use the three thousand additional coins kept by the monks of Toxos Outos. This detail shows how also San Justo and Pastor was an important reference for the patrimonial management of Juan's goods. This good relationship is proved by the numerous remunerations granted by the knight in his testament in favor of Toxos Outos: lands, churches, horses, hand tools, one hundred coins and even a purple mantle. The relationships between Juan and the Galician ecclesiastical world were not limited to Antealtares and Toxos Outos (Juan Froílaz Mariño nominated the abbots of these monasteries custodians of his testament): the *miles* of the archdiocese of Compostela granted donations to the Cathedral Chapter of Santiago, the Cistercian monastery of Armenteira, to the archdeacon of Trastámara, the monastery of San Martín *de Pinario* and San Pedro *de Fora*, to San Lorenzo *de Trasouto*<sup>111</sup> and to the monastery of Morame<sup>112</sup>. In the case of the abbey of San Martín *de Ozón*<sup>113</sup>, Juan Froílaz *Mariño* even donated to this abbey his Muslim slave called Mohammed («Mafo meth» in the text)<sup>114</sup>. Even in the case of the *Mariño* family, the descendant kept in touch with the monastery of Toxos Outos. For example, in 1271 in his testament Juan Yáñez *Mariño* left a huge monetary amount to Toxos Outos, but differently from his father he decided also to be buried in the cemetery of San Justo and Pastor<sup>115</sup>. These rich testaments confirmed the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the land transactions in favor of Toxos Outos mentioned above. These families were deeply rooted in the archdiocese of Compostela and the knights were able to build relationships with more than a monastery also choosing one institution for their religious dimension (burial and prayers), and other ecclesiastical institutions to manage or distribute their patrimony, like in the case of the knight Arias Fernández, who in 1242 asked to be buried in the church of San Miguel *de Castanella* and donated at the same time some goods to Toxos Outos<sup>116</sup>. The knightly group did not seem to necessarily have any preference for a particular Order, spreading their risks through their donations by sponsoring several monasteries. This behavior is not different from that of the biggest aristocratic families like the Traba during the twelfth century. For example, Count Fernando Pérez, despite his significant number of donations in favor of the Cistercian monks of Sobrado, decided to be buried in the Cathedral of Compostela (probably for its prestige) like his father Count Pedro Froílaz, and

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111. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 852.

112. Freire, José. *El monacato gallego en la alta edad Media*. A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1998, I: 524.

113. Freire, José. *El monacato...*: 193.

114. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 101-104 (doc. No. 54).

115. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 107-109 (doc. No. 58).

116. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 434 (doc. No. 445). On the church of *Castanella* (quoted in the *Historia Compostelana*) see the work of López, Antonio. *Historia de la Santa a. m. iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*. Santiago de Compostela: Impr. del Seminario Conciliar Central, 1900: III, 173.



his daughter Urraca Fernández in 1199<sup>117</sup>. In any case the *milites* of north-western Galicia in several occasions seemed to have juxtaposed their spiritual exigencies and their patrimonial strategies: the 70% of the testaments (among those with precise indication of the place of burial) show how the knights decided to commit their good and their body for the burial together with their spiritual care to the monks of Toxos Outos<sup>118</sup>.

## 6. *Milites as Confirmantes: a clue of social cohesion?*

I would like to briefly stress the accent on a final aspect, that is to say the role of the knights and squires as *confirmantes* in the sources of the monastery of San Justo and Pastor<sup>119</sup>. In the cartulary of Toxos Outos, there are seventy-three knights confirming the documents of the monastery<sup>120</sup>. The *milites* were often present at the land transactions agreements in favor of the Benedictines monks or their agreements with the local population<sup>121</sup>. This activity of the knights was very common in Galicia, especially in the Cistercian abbeys situated in the archdiocese of Compostela. In the charters of the monastery of Armenteira are recorded forty-four knights as *confirmantes* of the acts of the monastery between 1214 and 1249; sixty-four knights and two squires in the case of Sobrado between 1177 and 1248; in the sources of Monfero are noticed twenty-three *milites* and six *armigeri* between 1170 and 1257<sup>122</sup>.

117. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi...*: 72-73.

118. See for example Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 224-445 (docs. No. 196, 297, 432 and 460).

119. On this aspect see Kosto, Adam. *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word 1000-1200*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2004: 105 and following pages.

120. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 99-697 (docs. No. 53, 54, 56, 58, 64, 65, 68, 83, 93, 104, 106, 147, 150, 166, 192, 263, 277, 294, 296, 302, 303, 346, 356, 365, 373, 393, 395, 425, 441, 447, 467, 475, 476, 490, 491, 493, 497, 499, 506, 536, 550, 568, 576, 616, 652, 669, 678, 679, 686, 688, 690, 723, 742, 745, 764, 771, 773 and 789).

121. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 42-697 (docs. No. 19, 48, 53, 56-58, 63-65, 68, 72, 83, 89, 93, 95, 703, 102, 106, 111, 118, 127, 147, 164, 166, 176, 184, 189, 190, 192, 196, 224, 236, 263, 266, 268, 272, 279, 282, 296, 297, 302, 303, 307, 344, 346, 349, 354, 355, 356, 361, 378, 385, 393, 395, 403, 414, 422, 425, 432, 445, 460, 467, 476, 493, 497, 499, 513, 530, 536, 548, 569, 576, 596, 616, 627, 629, 643, 645, 652, 669, 678, 679, 681, 684, 686, 688, 690, 691, 694, 760, 764, 771, 773, 783 and 789).

122. AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1753, ns. 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 18-20 and 21; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1754, ns. 4, 6, 8 and 14; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1755, ns. 5, 6, 14 and 18; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1756, ns. 6, 8, 18 and 21 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. Pontevedra. Armenteira, carpeta 1757, ns. 2, 4-6, 9, 10 and 14-16; Alonso, María. *Armenteira...*: 105-108 (docs. No. 65, 66 and 68); Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: I, 254-462 (docs. No. 217, 229, 230, 232-234, 249, 255, 285, 389, 403, 452, 468, 543, 561 and 585); Loscertales, Pilar. *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*: II, 215-462 (docs. No. 204, 346, 360, 474, 476 and 530); AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 530, ns. 9 and 20; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado,



If on the one hand this is another proof of the strong connection between the Benedictine monks of San Justo and Pastor and this social group, on the other hand it is very interesting to notice that the same knights often confirmed the documents of other *milites* of the archdiocese of Compostela. In the sources of Toxos Outos of the first half of the thirteenth century there are at least twenty-six charters where it is possible to observe these dynamics. For example, the *milites* confirmed in several cases donations or sales of other knights in favor of Toxos Outos, like in the cases of García Froílaz, Juan Muñiz de Vialo, Martín Muñiz Falcón, and García Gorga who confirmed the donation of *dominus* Juan Froílaz Mariño to San Justo and Pastor in 1219; in the case of Pelagio Díaz nicknamed *Mosca*; the squires García Pérez and Alfonso Pérez de Berres, who were *confirmantes* in the donation to Toxos Outos made by the knight García Pérez Feo. Many knights confirmed also agreement signed by the monastery—for example Pedro, nicknamed *Gordo*, a squire coming from Deira; Munio Froílaz, Pedro *Faupá*, Pedro *Gudestei*, Diego *Salvatoriz*; Lorenzo Pérez; Fernando *Feo* and Suero *Ade*—, and in several occasions they also confirmed the disposition of other knights in many testaments recorded in the cartulary of Toxos Outos. These are the cases of the last wills of the knights Pedro Pérez called *Lobarro*, Arias Pérez de *Veeru*, García Pérez *Feo*, Pedro Yáñez de *Busto*, Fernando Pérez nicknamed *Testa*, Juan *Aanzi*, and Fernando Pérez de *Deira*. This practice involved also the most important families of *milites* in touch with the monastery of Toxos Outos like in the case of the family of the knight Pedro Arias de *Veeru*. Cross-referencing the land transactions, the last wills and the *escatocollo* (the final part of the document) of the sources contained in the cartulary of Toxos Outos also reveals other direct connections between these knights of western Galicia (as demonstrated by the connection between the knights Pedro *Besezo* and Juan Raimúndez and the descendant of Pedro Arias de *Veeru*), or patrimonial relationships, like in the case of Juan Froílaz Mariño who disposed of some *hereditates* previously owned by Pedro *Seco*<sup>123</sup>. This data seems to show that in the first half of the thirteenth century, probably thanks to the attractive policies led by the monks of Toxos Outos, the local knights started to constitute a more structured social groups than in the twelfth century when in the sources of the monasteries of the archdiocese of Compostela these contacts were less frequent or intense. How to explain this big social change? The sources

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carpeta 532, ns. 4 and 21; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 533, n. 10; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 534, ns. 9 and 16; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 535, n. 17; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 536, n. 16; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 537, ns. 7 and 10; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 538, n. 3; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 540, ns. 5, 7, 9, 16 and 17 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Sobrado, carpeta 541, ns. 1, 2, 5, 12 and 19. AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 497, n. 14; AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 499, ns. 1, 2, 4 and 16 and AHN. Clero. Secular-Regular. A Coruña. Monfero, carpeta 500, ns. 1, 2, 3, 6-9, 14 and 19; RAG. Fundo Murguía. Pergaminos. Monfero, n. 02.15.5.5.2/18.0.0.0; ARG. Pergaminos. Monfero, ns. 88, 99 and 501.

123. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 92-623 (docs. No. 48, 54, 64, 65, 72, 89, 164, 189, 224, 297, 307, 355, 432, 467, 652, 684, 688 and 691).





pose an additional question: were the cartularies produced in the thirteenth century an attempt of self-representation of this social group? The production of the cartulary of Toxos Outos was ordered by the abbot Sancho coming from the *Mariño* family; in the case of Sobrado in the cartulary written around the first half of the thirteenth century, the genealogies of the knights which inserted their members in the monastery (like the *Transulfiz* or the *Heriz*), occupy an important place in the cartulary of the Cistercian abbey<sup>124</sup>. This was not a mere coincidence and I believe that the members of these families, once monks or lay-brothers, used the monastic cartularies to collect their genealogies and their memory. For this reason, not only medieval cartularies of the thirteenth century can be read as an instrument for trials or to rationalize the patrimonial structure of a monastic community, but also as a source to study the social changes in lay society<sup>125</sup>.

## 7. Conclusions

In these pages, I examined the relationships between the Benedictine monks of San Justo and Pastor de Toxos Outos and the local knights. The documents contained in the cartulary of the monastery of the archdiocese of Compostela show that while the *milites* played the role of donors, their relationships with the monastery were much more intense, as they were an important ally for the monastic community. At the same time Toxos Outos become for many knights a reference for their burials and their spiritual exigencies, as demonstrated by the numerous requests for prayers to the monks by the local aristocratic groups. The Benedictines monks of Toxos Outos were very well capable to go on competing and copying with the loss of royal and high aristocratic support by shifting their attention to the knightly class. The monastery of San Justo and Pastor was similar, for many reasons, to other Cistercian abbeys like Armenteira, Oseira, Oia, Oseira and Montederramo. However, it is important not to extend the “model” represented by Sobrado to all the other monasteries belonging to the Order of Cîteaux in Galicia. The huge and rapid development of Sobrado constituted a serious problem for the archbishops of Compostela, the Cluniacs of Xubia, the Military Orders and the same Cistercian monasteries. For these reasons it is better to avoid suggesting any mechanistic relationship between the development of Toxos Outos—and its geographically limited patrimony— and the affirmation of Sobrado in the thirteenth century. Toxos Outos accumulated patrimony perfectly comparable to those of other Galician Cistercian monasteries: one of the most important —Melón— mainly built its patrimony only in the bishopric of Tui, but this has not been considered as a limit for its importance by historiography. At the same time the sources of Toxos Outos help to examine

124. Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 74-88.

125. See the considerations of Bouchard, Constance. “Monastic cartularies: organizing eternity, Charters”, *Cartularies and Archives. Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, Adam Kostó, Anders Winroth, eds. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2002: 2-32.



in depth the military aristocracy in the north western Iberian Peninsula and its progressive growth in the first half of the thirteenth century in the same years of the decline of the Traba, the arrival of new families connected to the *Leonese* Crown and of a general change in the local political and social balances<sup>126</sup>. These knights deeply rooted in the territory show some interesting characteristics very similar to those of the Traba and the higher aristocracy, but were these local knights imitating the highest aristocratic families? It is important to remember that even the Traba in the second half of the eleventh century were a small group of *milites* controlling some lands in northern Galicia between Compostela and Mondoñedo. So, it seems that similar characteristics were typical of the Iberian military aristocracy. What was its evolution in the late middle Ages; what was exactly the role played by the ecclesiastical institutions in the promotions of this social group and whether these families with military specialization were able to make the same social climbing realized by the Traba between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries are questions still open to debate. My future research will seek to answer some of those questions through the study of how the Church, the monastic orders and the aristocracies and *élites* interacted in the medieval Iberian Peninsula.

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126. Pérez, Francisco Javier. *Os documentos de Toxos Outos...*: 101-546 (docs. No. 54, 83, 154, 212, 278, 333, 338, 342, 373, 403, 422, 522 and 583). See Renzi, Francesco. *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*: 97-125 and 262-269; Rodríguez, Ana. "Monastic strategy...": 183-192. See also Sánchez, Pablo. "Monasticism, Lineage, and Community: collective organization in medieval Galician society (San Pedro de Ramiranes, 1200-1300)", *Beyond the Market...*: 115-116.

