XI

The Cluniac Priories of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Administration

1075-ca. 1230

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[305] One major consequence of the numerous errors and confusions that still impede valid assessment of the nature and historical significance of Cluniac expansion in the Iberian Peninsula has been the common failure to recognize the sharply regional distribution of the Burgundian abbey's trans-Pyrenean possessions. When we eventually possess a trustworthy geography of the Luso-Hispanic priories, subpriories, patrimonies and cotos, it is bound to become even more apparent than it is at present that the great majority of these lay in three principal areas -- the Rioja Alta, the Tierra de Campos (i.e., the diocese of Palencia) and the Galaico-Portuguese West. The reasons for this neglected but unmistakable pattern of Cluniac territorial concentration in medieval Iberia have yet to be seriously investigated; but in the first two instances it is reasonably clear that they derive in large part from the intimate alliance forged between Cluny and the Leonese Empire of Hispania under the king-emperors Fernando I and Alfonso VI, as the key initial cessions demonstrate: Santa María de Nájera [306] (1079), the nucleus of the far-flung Riojan network of holdings, and San Isidro de Dueñas (1073), which played a somewhat similar role in the Tierra de Campos prior to the rise of San Zoil de Carrión de los Condes.

The third case is at once more obscure and more complex. For one thing, none of the abbey's Gallego or Portuguese acquisitions was given by a reigning Leonese monarch, although that of San Vicente de Pombeiro (1109) can be linked to the imminent accession of Alfonso VI's daughter, the Infanta Urraca. For another, the documentation for most of the Luso-Gallegan priories is quite fragmentary, and on such basic question as the origins, development and impact of each community upon its locale; the numbers, national origin and recruitment of monks; liturgical and customary practices; expansion and exploitation of patrimonies; control by abbatial and provincial administrators; and relations with episcopate, crown and aristocracy; almost everything remains to be done. Furthermore, neither the circumstances of the original Burgundian establishment in this zone nor the subsequent historical evolution of the houses annexed have ever been closely examined as a distinctive chapter in Hispano-Cluniac annals.

It goes without saying that two topics are central to progress on all the rest, and it is to these that the present paper will address itself. First, the problem of acquisition, with the aim of discovering precisely what cessions of monasteries in Galicia and Portugal were made to the abbey, and when; the identity and connections of the donors; whether the grants were primarily due to Cluniac expansionism or to
specifically peninsular initiative; and if the latter, whether in addition to spiritual motives the benefactions can be related to identifiable conjunctures in the history of the Leonese-Cluniac alliance. Secondly, the problem of administration, where interest centers principally upon the separation ca. 1170 of the Luso-Gallegend priories from the vast Province of Hispania and their inclusion for some half-century in a second Iberian cameraria, the Province of Galicia, that has remained virtually unknown to students of the Burgundian federation.

I

The first step is to decide just which monastic communities fall within the scope of the inquiry, and here it is essential to take into account ephemeral as well as permanent acquisitions. Failure to do this, along with other errors of omission and commission, renders unreliable the Galica-Portuguese entries in catalogues of Hispano-Cluniac priories such as those provided by Berlière, Pérez de Urbel, Valous, Evans or Schmitz. The Great List of all Cluny's daughter-houses throughout medieval Europe, which Marrier published in 1614 and upon which all modern authorities have depended, assigns the following eight dependencies of the Pronincia Hispaniae to our zone:

1. Prioratus S. Saluatoris de Villa-viridi in Galicia, Austericensis dioecesis [San Salvador de Villaverde].
2. Prioratus B. Mariae de Cluniaco, de Villa-francha, alias de Valle-Carceris, in Galicia, Asturicensis dioecesis [Santa Maria de Villafranca].
3. Prioratus de Valle-viridi, in Galicia, Lucensis dioecesis [San Pedro de Valverde].
4. Prioratus S. Vincentii de Palumberiis, in Galicia, Lucensis dioecesis [San Vicente de Pombeiro].
5. Prioratus S. Saluatoris de Bondino, in Galicia, Tudensis dioecesis [San Salvador de Budiño].
6. Prioratus S. Martini de Iuina, in Galicia, Mindoniensis dioecesis [San Martín de Jubia].
7. Prioratus de Vmbreriis in Portugalia, Bracarensis dioecesis [Santa Maria de Vimieiro].

But of these eight houses two, San Salvador de Villaverde and Santa María (later San Nicolás) de Villafranca, must be discarded as in the dioecese of Astorga and hence not in Galicia but León. On the other hand, three Luso-Gallegend cessions for which acts of donation survive -- San Salvador de Villafriú, Santa Justa de Coimbra and Santa María de Ferreira -- are not mentioned at all in this roll, clearly because they had been lost to Cluny by the late 13th century, the earliest date Dom A. Wilmart suggests for the materials used when the Great List was compiled (sometime after 1350). Thus the correct number of priories in Galicia and Portugal can be set at nine, of which six -- Villafriú, Pombeiro, Jubia, Ferreira, Valverde and Budiño were in Galicia; and three -- Rates, Santa Justa de Coimbra and Vimieiro -- in Portugal.

For each of these nine houses it is necessary to determine the date of its transfer to Cluny, its location (approximately at least), the donor or donors, and the motives for and immediate circumstances of the grant.

A. The Cessions under Abbot Hugh the Great

1. 31 August 1075 : SAN SALVADOR DE VILLAFRÍO : Galicia, dioc. and prov. Lugo, p. j. Lugo, ayunt. Castroverde, in the parish of San Juan de Barredo, between Labio and Castroverde, some dozen kms. NE of the city of Lugo. This little-known monastery in the ancient territorium of Chamoso, given to Abbot Hugh and the monks of Cluny by the conuersus Enego Bermundo, i.e, Eneco Vermudo,
with its villas, churches, heredades, meadows, vineyards, mills and cultivated and uncultivated lands, rarely appears in lists of Cluniac holdings in Spain [309] and its identity has not hitherto been established. The subscriptions of Bishop Vistruario and Counts Vela, Sancho and Froila in the donation charter connect the house with the Lugo region; and the locative phrase "inter duos montes unus dicitur Cirius et alter Lapidus et iuxta riuulum quod dicitur Emeneda" can be paralleled in a diploma of 1130 by which Count Gutierre Vermúdez and his wife Toda give two parts of this monastery, obviously not by then in Cluniac hands, to Bishop Pedro III of Lugo; and in royal confirmations of the patrimonies of this see issued by Fernando II (1178), Alfonso IX (1189) and Fernando III (1231). [310] These texts establish San Salvador de Villafrío as a monasterio propio possessing a substantial abadengo and royal cotización, and with a somewhat checkered career of royal and aristocratic ownership before finally passing in 1130 to the Church of Lugo. The Cluniac phase, commencing in 1075 was certainly over before 1126, the latest year in which Queen Urraca could have ceded the house to Count Gutierre; and most likely well before this date since Villafrío is not mentioned among the Hispano-Cluniac dependencies listed in papal confirmations from 1076 on. [311] The donor Eneco Vermudo, son of Vermudo and Gerbira (Elvira), probably belonged to the family of the Count Vermudo whose ties with the Lugo region are discernible in diplomas of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, and whose widow, Elvira Pinioliz, after making various gifts to the see of Lugo and becoming a Christi ancilla, lived on to at least 1034. He may also be connected, perhaps as a brother, with Count Fernando Vermúdez, a leading Gallegan magnate of Alfonso VI's court ca. 1068-1080, whose Cluniac sympathies are suggested by his subscription to Countess Teresa's second donation charter to Cluny for the Leonese monastery of San Zoil de Carrión 29 January 1077. [312] In any event, like virtually all non-royal peninsular benefactors of Cluny in the eleventh century, Eneco must have been of noble origin, while the charter itself, drawn up in Spanish style and with Spanish subscriptions but claiming to be validated "in presentia domni Hugonis abbatis similiter et cuncte congregationis", must have been designed to be carried by him to Cluny for presentation at the time of his profession there.

Two similar instances can be cited for this same period of aristocratic Leonese conversions to Cluny followed by migration to Burgundy: the nobilissima femina Fronildi or Fronilda Guterriz, daughter of a count and probably at the time widow of a Leonese noble, who "exuit de locum suum et de auitacione suam et convertit se ad Sancti Petri Cluniacensum" and Justa, comitissa de terra spanensis, widow of the powerful Beni Gómez chieftain Asur Díaz and stepmother of the famous Count Pedro Ansúrez, who -- no doubt like Fronildi also a Deo uota -- entered the Cluniac convent of Saint-Pierre-de-Marcigny-sur-Loire. In the latter case donations of property accompanied profession; but the fact that at Justa's death this was immediately sold by Abbot Hugh to Pedro Ansurez suggests that Eneco's heirs may have been allowed to redeem Villafrío shortly after 1075. But it is also possible that for reasons that escape us the cession was never carried through.

San Salvador de Villafrío, then, should not properly be included in a roll-call of permanent Cluniac subject-house in Galicia and Portugal, yet for several reasons this ephemeral donation has importance for understanding Burgundian establishment in the western zone. It ranks as the very first peninsular abbey to be granted Cluny beyond the boundaries of the Leonese reino; and as a monastic cession it is remarkably early for the whole Leonese-Castilian area, being preceded only by King Alfonso's gift on 29 Dec. 1073 of San Isidro de Dueñas. [17] It provides striking testimony to the still unstudied wave of Cluniac piety and enthusiasm that, in the last years of Fernando I and especially after Alfonso VI's restoration with Abbot Hugh's aid in late 1072, swept the Leonese royal family and high aristocracy. Lastly, its speedy disappearance, reflecting Cluny's indifference or lack of success means that not until the acquisition of San Vicente de Pombeiro in 1108, thirty-four years after the Villafrío charter and
eight years after the first Portuguese cession, does Cluny gain a permanent outpost in Galicia.

2.-- March 1100: SÃO PEDRO DE RATES: Portugal, dioc. Braga, distr. Porto, conc. Póvoa de Varzim, at or near the surviving 12th century Romanesque church of this title ca. 28 kms. SW of Braga in the present freguesia of São Pedro de Rates.\(^{(18)}\) This allegedly previously derelict ecclesia or eremita, having been rebuilt, was given with its termini and ius to the Cluniac dependency of Sainte-Marie-de-la-Charité-sur-Loire by Count Henry of Portugal and his wife the Infanta Teresa, daughter of Alfonso VI.\(^{(19)}\) Since the Termo de São Pedro,\(^{(312)}\) with the church of the same patronage, had existed since at least the reign of Fernando I;\(^{(20)}\) since sometime between 1078 and 1091 the ecclesia received a small legacy from one Froila Crescones;\(^{(21)}\) and since the jantar or purveyance de sancto Petro de Ratis is listed in the primitive Censual of the Church of Braga (1085-1091);\(^{(22)}\) the donation act's allusions to ruin and long abandonment cannot be taken literally. No doubt extensive reconstruction was necessary to convert the parish church into the domicile of a monastic community.

It is evident that a substantial endowment of lands and juridical privileges accompanied this plantation of the first Cluniac priory on Portuguese soil. Henry and Teresa refer to termini and ius; these seem to have been the subject of a second, now lost, charter which fixed the boundaries of the Termo, extended various rights of cotização, and defined the monks' relations with the chief local population center, the Vila de Rates. For the Inquiriçoes of 1258 under King Alfonso III preserve testimony by an ex-prior of Rates, Stephen, whose deposition is supported by two of the monks, the juizes of the Vila de Rates and Faria, and other witnesses, that at that time the priory still possessed authentic charters (bonae cartae) of Count Henry and Queen (as she came to style herself) Teresa, by which these patrons gave the district of Rates to La Charité cautatum et demarcatum.\(^{(23)}\) Stephen also asserts that the priory was accustomed to pay the crown one-half the colheita, or purveyance to the king, owed by the Termo; that the men of the Vila owed military service to the king and for offenses committed outside the couto were subject to his domo-mor, which proves the priory possessed powers of justice within the couto even over the Vila; and\(^{(313)}\) that the monks avoided acquiring lands or foreiros involving loss to the crown. We learn also that the prior of Rates was barred from entering the Vila. In the absence of both the act of cotização and the royal foral of the Vila we cannot be sure that all these stipulations go back to 1100, and the references to Teresa as queen may favor a date subsequent to her husband's death in 1112; but everything suggests that in São Pedro de Rates the Cluniacs received a fairly impressive benefaction.

More difficult to perceive is why São Pedro was subjected not to Cluny herself, as normally with the earlier cessions in León and Castile, but to her great Nivernais daughter-house of La Charité, which had not previously obtained any peninsular affiliate. It should be noted that the gift was a double one, including not alone the priory and its temporalities but also an annual subsidy of all the dízimos or lay tithes due the condes from their domains (reguengos) between the Douro and Mondego rivers, i. e. a good part of the modern region of Beira.\(^{(24)}\) The choice of beneficiary does not seem satisfactorily accounted for by ascribing it to one or both of the ex-Cluniac bishops, Gerald of Braga and Maurice Bourdin of Coimbra, who were Henry's principal agents in his reorganization of the Portuguese church. The saintly Gerald, bishop from 1096 and metropolitan after Pope Paschal II's restoration of the metropolitical rights of Braga on 28 December 1099, just three months before the Rates cession, does not subscribe the donation charter and, more significant, his original monastic ties were with the Cluniac community of Moissac, not La Charité.\(^{(25)}\) Maurice Bourdin, to be sure, on 4 February 1102 gave La Charité the suburban church of Santa Justa de Coimbra; but Maurice had come to Spain from Limoges, and neither as archdeacon of Toledo, bishop of Coimbra, metropolitan of Braga nor anti-pope Gregory VIII, displays any other visible interest in the Nivernais community.\(^{(26)}\) It is therefore much
more likely \[314\] that his generosity to La Chanté was determined by that of Henry and Teresa two years before than the reverse.

As for Henry himself, family ties may well have been influential. He was a grandson of Hélie de Semur, and we know that the counts of Semur became patrons of La Charité, although unfortunately we cannot document this before 1162.\[27\] But behind the gift to what was then probably Cluny's most flourishing dependency there almost certainly lies a more decisive political factor, connected with the whole program of ecclesiastical and political autonomy then being vigorously pursued by the ambitious Count of Portugal.\[28\] By 1100 the intimate association, paternalistic and quasi-feudal, of Hugh of Cluny with Alfonso VI had given the abbey a powerful influence in dynastic and imperial affairs. We may be sure that Henry was fully aware of the secular as well as spiritual advantages in Burgundian gratitude and friendship. But the gift of a monastery and of annual revenues directly to Cluny, with the accompanying entry of the donor or donors into the abbey's \textit{societas}, entailed from this standpoint certain drawbacks. It was likely to be overshadowed by, even worse, confused with, the king-emperor's own much greater beneficences, his string of monastic cessions and famous doubled census of 2000 gold \textit{metcales} a year. The abbatial chamberlain sent annually to Spain by Hugh to collect the census and visit the peninsular priories could be expected to champion in Portugal the interests of Alfonso VI.

And the priory itself, as may already have been happening with the older houses in León, would tend to fall into administrative dependence upon Cluny's chief western Hispanic center, San Isidro de Dueñas, a natural stronghold of Leonese imperialism. It is then as a counterpart to the steps Henry is known to have been taking before and after 1100 to strengthen comital power and independence in Portugal that his gift to La Charité, not the mother abbey, is most logically explained. From 1100 on he had a firm line \[315\] of connection with the Cluniacs that Abbot Hugh would recognize, a distinctly Portuguese line quite separate from that of the monarch of imperial León.

3. 4 February 1102: SANTA JUSTA DE COIMBRA: Portugal, Beira Litoral, in the parish of this name adjoining that of the celebrated monastery of Santa Cruz, in the \textit{suburbium} of Coimbra to the N or NW of the city.\[29\] This second of Cluny's Portuguese acquisitions was presented to La Charité by Bishop Maurice Bourdin and the cathedral chapter of Coimbra through a mediator, Gaufredus, who is probably to be identified with the Compostelan archdeacon of this name, a close associate of Bishop Diego Gelmírez.\[30\] This is the only dependency the Cluniacs came to possess in trans-Douro Portugal, and it was evidently of modest size: we hear of the \textit{ecclesia sancte Iuste} and its conversion into a hospice before the transfer, but not of appurtenances.\[316\] As an episcopal cession Santa Justa is unique among grants of monasteries to Cluny anywhere in the Leonese-Castilian state; and its exemptive rights were narrowly restricted since the monks owed the bishop of Coimbra fidelity, obedience and respect for his \textit{ius episcopale totum}, even though in return they were to be protected against attacks by \textit{pagani} (Muslims) and lawless Christians. Presumably the expectation was that the monastic \textit{ecclesia} would also serve as a parish church; by 1137 and ca. 1155 we have specific references to the \textit{parochia sanctae Iuste};\[31\] and this helps explain why the house has left no traces in the La Charité documents or the confirmation of her possessions in 1144 by Pope Lucius II.\[32\]

Nevertheless, small as Santa Justa de Coimbra may have been, it remains a Cluniac center until at least the last quarter of the 12th century; and the few texts that survive for its history, bearing as they do on resistance to the see of Coimbra in matters of boundaries and tithes,\[33\] warn against underestimating the degree of independence and vitality of this house.

4. 22 February 1109: SAN VICENTE DE POMBEIRO : Galicia, dioc. and prov. Lugo, p. j. Monforte, ayunt. Pantón, ca. 17 kms. SW of Monforte de Lemos, at the confluence of the rivers Sil and Miño.\[34\] This ancient \textit{monasterio propio} of the Leonese crown, originally a double house, while not in a class
with such ranking Gallegan abbeys as Celanova or San Martín de Jubia, was nevertheless of distinct size and wealth at the time it was ceded to Cluny by the Infanta Urraca, daughter of Alfonso VI and totius Galletie domina. The original abadengo of lands, churches and the subject-house of San Victor in sauto Papelli dated largely from munificent endowments by the nun-queen Goto and King Vermudo II; and included, as its confirmation in 1139 by Alfonso VII to Prior Hugh of Dôle makes clear, a broad coto primarily on the north side of the Sil where the two great rivers of Galicia join.

Uncertainty regarding the true date of the donation charter, which the Chartes de Cluny incorrectly redates from 1079 to 1117, has long obscured the historical setting of San Vicente's passage to Cluny; but David's restoration of the original x aspada, as demanded by the subscriptions, fixes it firmly in 1109 and makes it possible to relate Urraca's benefaction to the climactic events in the imperial Leonese succession crisis during the last months of Alfonso VI's reign, particularly as these relate to Galicia. It will be recalled that after the death of Count Raymond of Galicia in November 1107 the king-emperor had recognized as co-rulers of the county his daughter Urraca, Raymond's widow, and her infant son. Alfonso Raimúndez, the future Alfonso VII; and had provided that in the event of his mother's remarriage young Alfonso would receive exclusive power over Galicia. But in the summer of 1108, following the unexpected death of his son and heir-designate Sancho at Uclés on 30 May, the grief-stricken, mortally ill monarch adopted a new plan of succession to the imperial throne. At a great assembly in Toledo of prelates and nobles Alfonso formally designated Urraca as the future ruler of the entire empire, her dominium to become effective from the moment of his death: at the same time he opened negotiations for her marriage to King Alfonso el Batallador of Aragón.

As seen from Galicia this meant complete abandonment of the settlement of December 1107 and denial of Alfonso Raimúndez' right to full sovereignty over Galicia despite his mother's imminent second marriage, and the Alfonsine formula is known to have aroused violent opposition on the part of the great majority of the county's nobles under the leadership of the powerful Pedro Froílaz de Traba, Count of Galicia. Even before the authentic timing of the Pombeiro diploma was determined, Gallegan hostility was patent in the fact that upon the king-emperor's demise on 30 June or 1 July 1109 Froílaz immediately proclaimed the three-year-old Alfonso Raimúndez king of Galicia; and over the next few years, as readers of the Historia Compostellana well know, he and his followers fought indefatigably to defend the child-monarch's cause against Urraca and the imperialists. to say nothing of the pro-Aragonese and pro-Portuguese factions, in the wars and political disorders to which Galicia fell prey.

With San Vicente's transfer to Cluny now known to have occurred in February 1109, midway between the summer convocation of 1108 at Toledo and the open rebellion of the Alfonso-traitors in July 1109, we can see that the origins of the grant lie in the months just before Alfonso VI's death when he and his daughter must have been seeking ways to counteract the rising threat of Gallegan separatism. In the donation act Urraca declares she makes the gift acting upon her father's advice (consilio patris mei). While styling herself Lady of All Galicia, she ignores the fact that she was legally sharing her power with her son, who is never mentioned explicitly in the charter, even in the pro remedio clause where his father Count Raymond, the Infanta herself and her parentes appear. On the contrary, when in the eschatacol Urraca cites her descent ex omni gente regali through her parents, the Emperor Alfonso and Queen Constance, she is deliberately excluding Alfonso Raimúndez as of only partially royal ancestry. This neo-Gothicist deprecation of her son was a theme popular at the time with the high Leonese clergy and undoubtedly propagated, if not inspired, by Alfonso VI himself. The charter of 22 February, thoroughly Gallegan in content, contains only Gallegan subscriptions but these are significantly few in number: beside the Infanta's own notary, only four, all ecclesiastics, confirm -- Bishops Diego Gelmiérez
of Santiago, Maurice Bourdin of Braga, Diego III of Orense, and Abbot Pedro of Celanova. Not a single supporter from the county's aristocracy, least of all Pedro Froílaz, whose name appears so regularly in previous pergaminos of Raymond and Urraca!

The Pombeiro cession, under these circumstances, takes on a distinctly pro-imperial and anti-Alfonsoraimundist significance. If from Cluny's standpoint -- and here again peninsular initiative, not Burgundian expansionism, underlies acquisition of a new priory -- the Infanta acted out of piety to create a major dependency in Galicia (the very first since the abortive transfer of San Salvador de Villafrión over three decades earlier), for Urraca as for her aged father the motives were as much political as spiritual. In peninsular eyes the grant constituted an affirmation of her independent authority in Galicia, apart from her son's; it extended to the county Cluny's influence as a loyal champion of the imperial crown as an ecclesiastical countermove to the recalcitrance and threatened revolt of the Alfonsoraimundists. Never before, during the many years that Urraca and Count Raymond had ruled Galicia, had either found it desirable to become a formal benefactor of the Burgundian abbey. Now Pombeiro forged a quite new personal bond between the empress-designate and Cluny, in effect giving assurance to Abbot Hugh that the ties of societas and coniunctio existing since Fernando I's reign between him and the Leonese sovereigns would be maintained, along with the annual census, by Alfonso VI's daughter and successor. And, no less important, Cluny's acceptance of a Gallegan monastery, San Vicente de Pombeiro, entailed, as I see it, her commitment to support Alfonso's final succession scheme and Urraca's legitimate right, not only to the imperial title, but to supremacy over Galicia, in the face of all opponents, including her son.

B. The Cessions under Abbot Ponce de Melgueil

5. 14 December 1113: SAN MARTÍN DE JUBIA: Galicia, dioc. Mondoñedo, prov. La Coruña, p. j. Ferrol, 6 kms. from El Ferrol, near the mouth of the Jubia river, in the rainy coastal district of extreme NW Galicia. Granted to Abbot Ponce of Cluny and his successors, with the approval of bishops Diego Gelmírez of Compostela and Munio of Mondoñedo, by Count Pedro Froílaz of Galicia, his brother Rodrigo and sisters Munia and Visclavara, both nuns, and all other heirs. From its foundation, originally as a double monastery sometime before 977 (the date of the oldest extant charter), this house had been the familial monasterio propio of the Counts of Traba, the ancestors of Pedro Froílaz and his co-donors, who -- as the diplomatic collection, the most complete surviving for any Hispano-Cluniac priory, shows -- endowed it generously with lands, villas and at least one subject monastery. San Julián de Mondego, near Miraflores. The primacy of the abbey in this whole comarca of Galicia is apparent from the section of the Historia Compostellana possibly written by the same Canon Pedro Anaya or Anáiz of Santiago who subscribes the donation charter to Cluny; this tells how in 1110 during Gelmírez' controversy with the see of Mondoñedo over the archpresbyterates of Besoucos, Seaya and Trasancos (in the last of which Jubia stood), the bishop forced all nobles, rectors of churches and abbots of the disputed districts to swear fealty to him in writing. In reproducing these oaths, the chronicler gives first and in full the special one taken by Abbot Nuño, who also reappears among the oath-takers of the Froílaz family, to which he must have belonged; but all other abbots, patently of minor houses, are thrown indiscriminately with the clergy and nobles into a common declaration. This confirms the impression gained from the pergaminos: that in San Martín de Jubia Cluny acquired a large, well-endowed abbey, one of the great foundations of contemporary Galicia.

The cession act for San Martin contains the names of four donors, but there can be little doubt that Count Pedro Froílaz himself was chiefly responsible. This would naturally follow from his position as family head, but it is corroborated by the fact that in the first nine months following the gift, the
other three co-donors each made a supplementary grant to the new priory. On 31 July 1114 the Deo uota Munia gave various properties belonging to her; on 11 August her sister, the Deo uota Visclavara Froilaz, did likewise; and ten days later on 21 August Pedro's brother Rodrigo followed suit. These three charters bear subscriptions of other members of the family; they seek assurance for the donors of rights of Cluniac societa, burial in the priory's church and liturgical intercession by its monks: and they all clearly reflect the outburst of pious enthusiasm that must have attended the arrival from Burgundy of Peter, the first prior. Count Pedro himself, it should be observed, makes no such further supplementary donation, never again ceding properties to Jubia until shortly before his death, on 27 February 1125: clearly, his share in the cession of 1113 outweighed that of his kin.

There is, moreover, good reason to think that Pedro's decision to cede San Martín was a sudden one. In a diploma dated 26 December 1113, i.e. twelve days after the Jubia cession, Count Pedro's second wife, Countess Gontroda Rodriguez (often styled Mayor) gave the abbey, as she still assumed it to be, the villa 'Coina' for the soul of Sancho Petriz, her son by a previous marriage, and this document seems unaware of the house's imminent conversion into a Cluniac priory and specifically alludes to its continuing governance by abbots. The fact that neither the countess nor Abbot Nuño, who confirms the charter, anticipated the change of status indicates that the cession to Cluny was almost certainly decided upon during the time when, as we know, Count Pedro and his brother Rodrigo were away from home, perhaps at Compostela.

The question then arises: since neither Froilaz nor his kinsmen had previously shown Cluny the slightest favor, and since from 1108 the abbey's adherence to the Urracan cause as manifest in its possession of San Vicente de Pombeiro had placed it in open opposition to the Alfonsoraimundist party, what happened to persuade the Count of Galicia to turn over to the Burgundian monks the monastery so long revered and patronized by his ancestors? The full story is much too long and complicated for presentation here, but the three central reasons must be noted. First, there is by this time Diego Gelmírez' radical change of front in dynastic politics. As the Pombeiro diploma, which he confirmed, discloses, the Compostelan prelate was originally a collaborator in the Alfonsine program for Galicia of setting aside Alfonso Raimúndez and subjecting the county to the rule of Urraca alone. But well before 1113, partly because like other Leonese-Castilian churchmen Diego could no longer accept the canonical validity of the Aragonese marriage, he had changed sides and was indeed responsible, along with Count Pedro, for the coronation of Alfonso Raimúndez at Santiago on 17 September 1111. This association with the Alfonsoraimundist party was reinforced in August 1113 by the convenio drawn up at Compostela in which Pedro Froilaz and his principal supporters swore fealty to the Church of Santiago, and in the same period both the count and other members of his family bestowed upon the apostolic see lands and churches that present a suggestive counterpart to the approaching Jubia donation to Cluny. Diego thus became one of the two leaders of the Alfonsoraimundists; and a striking feature of the San Martín charter is the prominence given this prelate's approval of the cession, which represents a complete reversal of his stand just three years previous, when in his quarrel with Bishop Munio of Mondoñedo he had exacted, with Rome's backing, an oath of fidelity from Abbot Nuño of Jubia and insisted that the house, as belonging to his diocese, owed obedience to the see of Santiago.

Second, the year 1113 sees renewed efforts by Pope Paschal II, who had already in 1110 condemned the Aragonese marriage, and by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, to rally the Leonese-Castilian hierarchy for a restoration of peace on the basis of Urraca's permanent separation from Alfonso I. This represented the definitive abandonment of Alfonso VI's succession plan by the Spanish bishops.
And, lastly, but most immediately decisive for the Jubia donation, there is the dramatic reversal of Cluny's previous policy towards Alfonso Raimúndez. Since Alfonso VI's death and down to 1113, Cluny under Ponce de Melgueil had remained loyal to the king-emperor's final succession plan despite Urraca's chronic estrangements from her impossible spouse, her continuing childlessness, and El Batallador's characteristically Aragonese coolness towards the abbey. But by 1113 this position had become completely untenable: no child had been born or was likely to be born of the disastrous marriage; Urraca's own short-lived alliance in the spring of that year with the Alfonsoraimundists against her husband and his Castilian supporters disclosed her own growing conviction that her son by Count Raymond was destined to be her heir; and papal and episcopal condemnations made the Aragonese marriage impossible to accept even during the intervals when the volatile queen-empress temporarily returned to her consort. The papal pronouncement in effect returned the dynastic situation to what it would have been without the marriage and restored Alfonso Raimúndez as the successor to the throne.

The abbot who came to Spain as papal legate in the summer of 1113, I have contended elsewhere against Flórez whom all scholars have followed, was not the unknown Italian Helmengaud of San Michele della Chiusa but Ponce of Cluny. In my opinion, one of the chief accomplishments of this journey, which took the abbot all the way to Compostela, was his meeting there with the two leaders of the Alfonsoraimundist party: Diego Gelmiérez, the old friend and socius of Cluny, and Count Pedro Froilaz. Although we have no direct testimony, the strong friendship now established between the Burgundian abbey and the Froilaz clan has left clear signs in the donation soon after of San Martín de Jubia and the henceforth close ties between this powerful family and the Cluniacs. This does not mean that Cluny abandoned support of Urraca, with whom indeed her relations are close for the remainder of the reign. But it does mean Burgundian acceptance of Alfonso Raimúndez as her successor, and explains why Pedro Froilaz, having gained with Gelmiérez' aid, the abbey's influential backing for his protégé, must have been eager to seal his new alliance with Abbot Ponce through entry into Cluny's privileged societas on the basis of a major monastic benefaction.

6. 8 July 1117: SANTA MARÍA DE FERREIRA: Galicia, dioc. and prov. Lugo, p. j. Monforte, ayunt. Pantón, ca. 10 kms. W of Monforte de Lemos. The donation charter, by which Count Fernán Fernándiz and his wife, the Infanta Elvira, daughter of Alfonso VI, granted Cluny and Abbot Ponce one-quarter of this familial monastery, with its appurtenant houses, churches, vineyards and lands, is the only charter extant for the Cluniac period of this house, which by 1175 was in the possession of Cistercian nuns.

The Gallegan count Fernán Fernándiz appears frequently among the foremost magnates at Urraca's court. Whether he is the same man who between 1108 and 1112 was in Count Henry of Portugal's service and can be found ruling Lamego in 1111, and who from 1112, the year of Henry's death, disappears from the Portuguese pergaminhos is uncertain but probable enough on chronological grounds and in view of Fernán's later connection with Toro, an area of much interest to Henrician expansionist schemes. There can, however, be no doubt that he is the count of this name who discloses pro-Cluniac leanings in his confirmation on 1 May 1112 of the diploma by which Countess Aldonza, daughter of Count Gómez Díaz and widow of Count Munio Fernándiz (possibly Fernán's brother) gave the Burgundian abbey her house of San Salvador de Villaverde in the diocese of Astorga. It would be helpful to know the precise date of Fernán's marriage to the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso VI by Jimena Muñoz, but all we can be sure of is that soon after the death of her first husband, the celebrated Count Raymond IV de St-Gilles in 1105 in Syria, Elvira must have returned to Spain. By 1115 both Fernán himself, then governing Toro as its count, and Elvira can be found among Urraca's loyal supporters in the dynastic conflict: both attend in that year the extraordinary assembly of the
imperialists at Oviedo, where Fernán was one of the three counts coming de campis Zamorae et Tauri. In 1116 he was in the queen-empress's company when on 20 January she granted San Isidro de Dueñas the aldea of "Vellosiello de cebico de la torre" (Cevico de la Torre) and the monastery of San Torcé; and again on 15 October when she gave Sahagún a charter confirming its immunities and granting its abbot the right of coinage. Most pertinent of all, on 4 July 1117, just four days before transferring his quarter-share of Ferreira, Fernán subscribes Urraca's donation charter giving San Isidro de Dueñas the villa of Baños.

Whether both Urraca's and Fernán's July donations should be taken as more than related expressions of gratitude for Cluniac support in general or ought to be linked more specifically to possible Cluniac intervention in bringing about the truce then prevailing between Urraquists and Alfonsoraimundists, we have no means of determining. Certainly, the count's friendship with the abbey can be understood also in terms of his friendship, if not relationship by marriage, with the Beni Gómez -- the most fervently pro-Cluniac of all the great Leonese noble families; and of his wife's probable attachment to the abbey not only through her imperial father but also through her mother Jimena Muñoz, who in 1120 gave Abbot Ponce the Asturian abbey of Santa Cruz de Castañeda. In short, everything places the Count of Toro in the narrow circle of Leonese and Gallegan aristocratic families upon which, along with the imperial dynasty itself, Cluny was dependent for her expansion in Hispania.

The causes for the failure of the Ferreira donation remain obscure. In spite of his giving a quarter share, Fernán assumes the right to place the monastery as a whole under the authority of the Cluniac abbot. Presumably he expected the other three-quarters to pass into Burgundian hands, and it may be that other members of the family, possibly including the Rodrigo Fernándiz whose name follows his own in the 1115 list of magnates at Oviedo from Zamora and Toro, did not fulfill his expectations. Whatever the reason, something went wrong: eight years later Honorius II's bull of 1125 confirming a long list of Cluniac possessions, omits Ferreira from among those in Spain; and a similar silence marks all subsequent papal confirmations, medieval lists of dependencies, and the visitation and general-chapter records. After 1117 Santa María is not heard of again until 1175 when it has become a Cistercian nunnery subject to Meira.

C. The Cessions under Abbot Peter the Venerable

7. 20 February 1125: SAN PEDRO DE VALVERDE: Galicia, dioc. and prov. Lugo, p. j. Monforte, ayunt. Monforte de Lemos, 6 kms. N of the town. This monasterium s. Petri de Valle Viridi, so often confused by both medieval and modern writers with the Cluniac priory in the diocese of Astorga of San Salvador de Villaverde (de Villa Viridi in Valle Vidriale), was given to Cluny by Munio Romániz and his wife María Pérez. The house can be traced back to at least 1115 when the same principals with their children gave it and its abbot Gudesteo the church of San Pedro de Canabal in the Tierra de Lemos. This was a church Queen Urraca had previously bestowed upon Munio Romániz for his buenos servicios in her cause, which proves that he must have been one of the few Gallegans loyal to her in these years. Munio's name occurs also in an Urracan diploma issued to the abbey of Samos on 31 May 1112.

Munio Romániz must therefore have been a good urraquista and likely to be a friend of Cluny. He was not a count or even, so far as we can tell, a magnate of high rank; and he was so little connected with the imperial court that I have not found his subscription in any other real pergamino than that of 1112. By 1125 the civil wars were long over and Alfonso VII, ruling jointly with his mother, was little more than a year away from her death and his imperial coronation at León. Lifelong adherence to the imperial house, the possible example of nearby San Vicente de Pombeiro, perhaps above all the
pervasive influence of Cluny in this corner of Galicia, evident also in the Villafrión and Ferreira donations -- these exhaust the discernible motives other than the usual ones of piety. Munio's cession of San Pedro de Valverde received prompt papal recognition, for as the obedientia de Valvert it is already listed among the peninsular priories Honorius II confirmed to Cluny by his bull of 2 April 1125; henceforth, for the rest of the Middle Ages, it appears regularly among the Luso-Gallegan dependencies.

8. 26 July 1126: SAN SALVADOR DE BUDIÑO: Galicia, dioc. Tuy, prov. Pontevedra, p. j. Tuy, mun. Porriño, ca. 9 kms. N of the city of Tuy and the Miño, close to its tributary the Louro and not far from the present Portuguese frontier. Ceded by Count Gómez Núñez and his brother Fernando, this abbey had been from its foundation (at an unknown date) in the family of the donors; but on the death without direct heir of their uncle, Count Fernando, one-half of it had escheated by judicial decision to the crown. It was after Alfonso VII's restoration of this lost portion to Count Gómez in a lost real privilegio that the two brothers acted to give Cluny the entire monastery, with its ancient coto, and all churches and lands within and without these limits.

[328] Count Gómez Núñez, the principal agent of this extensive grant, since at the time he was in possession of three-quarters of San Salvador, is well-known as the count of Toroño, a district lying immediately north of Tuy, and as principal Gallegan protagonist in the dynastic wars under Urraca. The Historia Compostellana describes him as one "qui fauebat regi puero et rebellabat reginae, potens situ et munimine castellorum et multitudine equitum atque peditum" and most historians class him with Count Pedro Froílaz and Bishop Diego Gelmírez as a chief of the Alfonsoraimundists. But the diplomatic sources reveal that in fact this mighty lord of the Gallegan marchlands of the Miño skilfully maintained ties with the rulers of Portugal no less than with the partisans of young Alfonso, and shifted his allegiance from one side to the other of the river as his own interests and survival dictated. This makes it necessary to define narrowly his exact political orientation in July 1126 so as to determine whether Gómez Núñez' donation of Budiño should be linked to Alfonso VII's imperial coronation at León some five months previous; or whether, in view of Queen Teresa's grant of Santa María de Vimieiro the very next year, we are dealing with a concerted Luso-Gallegan Teresist attempt to secure Cluniac support against both the Leonese king-emperor and the rising power of Alfonso Henriques in Portugal.

The first testimony we have to the political oscillations of the Count of Toroño comes from the diplomas of Count Henry of Portugal where he appears as a prominent mesnadeiro: in 1110-1111 as governor of the fortress of São Cristóvão, near Cerveira, and in 1112 as holder of the high office of mordomo-mor (maior domus palatti ipsius comitis). Not long after Henry's death in the latter year Gómez clearly abandoned Teresa and the Portuguese court, for by 1115 he turns up among the select group of leading Gallegan barons whom Diego Gelmírez selected as his sworn defenders in the event of Urraca's violation of her latest pact with the Compostelan prelate. In 1116, when Urraca came to Galicia to suppress the Alfonsoraimundists, she launched a major campaign against the Count of Toroño, only to be frustrated by the intervention in his behalf of Pedro Froílaz and -- significantly -- Queen Teresa of Portugal. Gómez Núñez participated in the suppression of the communal revolt of 1117 at Compostela, and in 1118, when the queen-empress and her son's partisans had joined in a campaign to drive Alfonso of Aragón from Castile, he fought in the allied army and doubtless accompanied its victorious march to Toledo, where it acclaimed Alfonso Raimúndez emperor: rex Hispaniae. But in 1120 a very different picture emerges. In April of that year Teresa's diplomas suddenly begin to carry the subscription of Count Gómez, and despite his presence at Compostela in 1121, when Gelmírez convoked the oath-takers of 1115, his political attachments were clearly with
Portugal and so continued to 1125 during the time when Teresa was successfully occupying the territories of Tuy and Orense.\footnote{95} This might be taken to indicate a Portuguese background for the transfer of San Salvador de Budiño; but in fact the signs are unmistakable that shortly before his benefaction of 26 July 1126 Gómez had once more changed camps and aligned himself with the newly crowned Alfonso VII of León. The count's last appearance in a Teresan pergaminho falls on 2 September 1125.\footnote{96} By the spring of 1126, when shortly after his death Alfonso VII faced a serious revolt in Galicia under the leadership of the noble Arias Pérez, the Historia Compostellana tells us that the king-emperor entrusted Bishop Gelmiñe and Count Gómez Núñez of Toroño with its suppression. Both men discharged this mission with success, besieging Lobeira and other [330] strongholds of Arias, and forcing the obstreperous magnate into surrender.\footnote{97} Two other episodes of the same year confirm this imperial allegiance. Gómez was present in the great assembly of Gallegan bishops and nobles at Zamora, which offered loyal submission to Alfonso VII.\footnote{98} He may or may not have been present at the conference nearby at Ricobayo where Teresa, her consort Count Fernando Pérez de Traba (Pedro Froilaz' son and successor) and other Portuguese leaders agreed to a peace pact of limited duration with Alfonso VII; but in any case his alignment with Alfonso must have been strengthened by the resultant Portuguese evacuation at this time of Toroño, Tuy and other districts north of the Miño.\footnote{99} Uncertain as the precise chronology of events in 1125-1126 remains, the general sequence is clear enough to show that when Count Gómez Núñez gave Cluny his family monastery of Budiño he was an adherent of Alfonso VII and thus of the Leonese-Cluniac alliance associated with the emperors since the time of Fernando I. It must have been in the spring or early summer of 1126, following his abandonment in September of Teresa, and after having given proof by the suppression of the Arias Pérez revolt of his loyalty to the newly crowned Alfonso VII, that the Count of Toroño received from his grateful sovereign the lost half of the familial monastery of San Salvador de Budiño, as recounted in the donation act. The now lost diploma effecting this restoration contained also, at Gómez' petition, a royal cotización of the house's ancient bounds, as we learn from the confirmation of these in Alfonso VII's real privilegio of August 1142, issued at Peter the Venerable's request in the course of the abbot's Spanish tour.\footnote{100} Then, at the end of July, Gómez Núñez, once more back in Toroño from the northern wars and the great assembly at Zamora, acted with his brother Fernando to give the entire house and abadengo to the monks of Cluny. In this chronological context the desire to confirm the new allegiance to Alfonso VII by simultaneously cultivating the friendship of his Burgundian protector appears decisive.

[331] The ties of benefactorial societas, once thus established, outlived the political alignment. For when, ca. 1138-1140, King Alfonso Henriques invaded Galicia in an effort to realize his mother's cherished dream of a Portuguese Alem-Minho, Count Gómez broke with Alfonso VII and once again took up arms under a Portuguese banner;\footnote{101} but this time to the ruin of his fortunes, for after the king-emperor had defeated Alfonso and his Gallegan allies, he dispossessed Gómez Núñez of the County of Toroño and all his lands. The old warrior fled for his life, not to Portugal but to Burgundy, there to end his days in the habit of St. Benedict as a monk of Cluny.\footnote{102}

9. 23 May 1127: SANTA MARÍA DE VIMIEIRO : Portugal, dioc. Braga, prov. Minho, distr. and cone. Braga, freg. Vimieiro, some 6 kms. to the SW of the Minhotan metropolis.\footnote{103} The monastery, then undergoing restauratio, was given with all its lands, churches and couto to Abbot Peter the Venerable and Cluny by Queen Teresa, daughter of the Emperor Alfonso VI, acting through the abbot's intermediary, the chamberlain Stephen.\footnote{104} This cession certainly sprang in part from the Portuguese queen's long-standing devotion to the Burgundian congregation, inherited from her father and
confirmed by her late husband, Count Henry. One can sense also the shadows cast by her half-sister Urraca's death some fourteen months before and her own advancing years, in the detailed stipulations regarding intercession and commemoration. But it is necessary also to understand the political conditions under which this donation, the first of a monastic [332] house in Portugal since Santa Justa in 1102, and the only one given directly to the mother-house, was made.

In the long story of Teresa's ultimately frustrated effort to annex at least southern Galicia to the nascent Portuguese kingdom, the year 1127 set in motion a fateful series of events that leads straight to the battle of São Mamede (1128) and the queen's definitive elimination from the Portuguese scene by her son Afonso Henriques and his backers. 

In spite of her pact with Alfonso VII at Ricobayo in 1126 -- and perhaps because the tempus marcatum of this agreement had expired -- Teresa made war upon the king-emperor in 1127, sending her troops across the Miño, seizing Tuy and other districts, including presumably the county of Toroño with its new Cluniac priory at Budiño, and in general re-establishing the control over the area she had exercised during the last half-dozen years of Urraca's reign. 

Alfonso VII, however, once he was free to leave Castile after concluding the Peace of Támara with Alfonso el Batallador, moved swiftly westward and in a lightning campaign of six weeks expelled Teresa's armies from Galicia, invaded Entre Minho e Douro, and forced the chagrined Portuguese queen into renewed submission to his authority.

Once again precise chronology is difficult to achieve; but the six weeks war can safely be set in the second half of the summer of 1127, since until July Alfonso was detained in the East fighting the Aragonese. What remains unclear is, first, how long before midsummer the Portuguese forces crossed the Miño, and, secondly, how long even before this Teresa had decided upon war with León. The best we can now say is that on 23 May, the date of the Vimieiro charter, the queen must have been either actively preparing for, or actually in the midst of, her occupation of Galicia. It is even possible that the presence of the chamberlain Stephen in her company at this time is to be accounted for by his having entered Portuguese-held territory while making a visitation of the new priory of Budiño, acquired the previous year.

Thus, the donation of Santa María de Vimieiro, made directly to Cluny, and not to La Charité, might seem to find its natural explanation [333] in Teresa's break with Alfonso VII in 1127 and her hope of securing Cluniac sympathy in her defense of Portuguese autonomy from León, the same hope that had inspired her husband Count Henry and herself a quarter-century before in their transfer of Rates to La Charité. But on reflection this seems improbable, for the abbey's interests and tradition were far too closely bound to the imperial Leonese house to encourage Portuguese secessionist hopes. Indeed, Teresa's grant makes so little political sense in this period of open warfare with Alfonso VII, that it seems necessary to suppose her original promise of the Minhotan real mosteiro was made some time before the formal drawing up of the donation act on 23 May 1127, which indeed mentions the restauratio already under way. The logical moment for the pledge would seem to be during the period of reconciliation between queen and emperor after their meeting in 1126 at Ricobayo where they arranged the peace pact.

On this assumption, the donation to Cluny was promised during the latter half of the year 1126, partly perhaps out of gratitude for the chamberlain Stephen's possible aid in the negotiations, but also as a visible token of Teresa's submission to the imperial authority with which Cluny was aligned. By the spring of 1127, with Portuguese troops across the Miño, circumstances were very different, and when in May Stephen arrived to take formal possession of Vimieiro, Cluny's third and last Portuguese acquisition, the political situation was the reverse of that prevailing when the house may have been promised. It can then be concluded that Queen Teresa, faithful to her word and mindful also of the intercessional benefits so strongly emphasized in her diploma, carried out her earlier commitment.
If this reasoning is sound, the grants of Vimieiro and Budiño have much the same background. Both would have originated in mid-1126 during the honeymoon months just after Alfonso VII's coronation, with their promise of restored peace and unity in the Leonese empire. And both would have rewarded Cluny for friendly assistance in promoting good relations with the king-emperor while publicly proclaiming the donors' association with the paramount ecclesiastical protector of Leonese imperialism.

II

In the light of the foregoing survey, and more specifically on the basis of the nine donation charters, which are historically illuminating even where in the cases of San Salvador de Villafriío and Santa Maria de Ferreira the cession may have been only briefly, if ever, actually realized, certain conclusions may now be essayed regarding the chronology, geographical distribution, origins, and principal characteristics of Cluny's expansion in medieval Galicia and Portugal.

(1) With the exception of the early, ephemeral Villafriío grant of 1075, which properly belongs to the abbey's Leonese rather than Luso-Gallegan penetration, the establishment of Cluniac dependencies in westernmost Iberia falls within a single quarter-century between 1100 and 1127. In Cluniac terms, this covers the last decade of Hugh I, the abbatiate of Ponce de Melgueil, and the initial years of Peter the Venerable. In Leonese-Castilian annals, it embraces Alfonso VI's declining years, the reign of Urraca, and the initial biennium of Alfonso VII. We are therefore dealing with a significantly narrow span of time.

(2) The geographical pattern of the Galaico-Portuguese acquisitions differs perceptibly from that found in the other two chief areas of Cluniac concentration below the Pyrenees, the Tierra de Campos and the Rioja Alta. In contrast with the clustering in these regions of numerous large and small priories and sub-priories, dominated by the great centers of San Isidro de Dueñas, San Zoil de Carrión and Santa María de Nájera, the houses of Portugal and Galicia are dispersed -- despite the admitted concentration near Monforte de Lemos of Pombeiro, Valverde and the lost Ferreira. No Portuguese sub-priories of Rates, Santa Justa or Vimieiro have turned up, while those of San Victor in sauto Papelli, the only one known for Pombeiro, and such minor houses under Jubia as San Julián de Mondego, San Salvador de Mugía, Santiago de Franza and others, were quite insignificant. As regards diocesan distribution, the bishoprics involved are, in Portugal, Braga (Rates, Vimieiro) and Coimbra (Santa Justa) but not Porto; and in Galicia, Tuy (Budiño), Mondoñedo (Jubia) and Lugo (Pombeiro, Valverde, and the evanescent Villafríío and Ferreira) but not Orense or Compostela. In view of frequent generalizations regarding Cluniac influence at Santiago and the alleged deliberate planting of priories along the pilgrimage road, it should be observed (i) that no bishop of Compostela, including the notorious Cluniophile Diego Gelmírez, however generous in other respects to the abbey, ever bestowed upon the Burgundian congregation a single monastery or even lands within the diocese; and (ii) that of the Gallegan cessions, including the four in the Lugo area, not one was actually located on the great highway or even close to it. None, therefore, find mention in Uría's detailed reconstruction of the Gallegan stations.

(3) While the donors of the nine cessions include Queen Teresa of Portugal, and the hand of Alfonso VI in the Pombeiro grant of 1109, it is significant that neither Alfonso VI in his own name, Urraca after her accession, Alfonso VII nor Afonso Henriques appears among them. Four members of the imperial Leonese house are, however, present: Teresa as infanta (Rates) and queen (Vimieiro), Henry of Portugal (Rates), Urraca as señora de Galicia (Pombeiro) and the Infanta Elvira (Ferreira). Several counts or members of comital families are prominent: Eneco Vermudo, son of Count Vermudo (Villafríío), Count Pedro Froílaz. his brother Rodrigo and sisters Munia and Visclavara (Jubia) Count Gómez Núñez and his brother Fernando (Budiño). Munio Romániz, who gave Valverde. was a humbler baron in Urraca's service; Bishop Maurice Bourdin of Coimbra (Santa Justa), the unique episcopal
benefactor, a close confidant of Count Henry. The donations then can be ascribed to a quite small circle consisting mostly of non-reigning members of the royal house and a few comital families, although subsequent grants to the priories disclose a much broader range of fervor for Cluny on less exalted levels.\textsuperscript{(110)}

(4) Of all the Luso-Gallegan acquisitions only Rates and Santa Justa were not already monastic communities at the time of transfer to Cluny. Although Henry and Teresa claim to have built the former from the ground up, the church was an ancient one; and Santa Justa had been an ecclesia before Maurice Bourdin converted it into a hospicium and gave it to La Charité. Teresa reconstructed but does not claim to have founded Vimieiro; and all six Gallegan donations were of existing monasterios propios. Except for San Martín de Jubia and (much less fully) San Vicente de Pombeiro, documented details of the abadengo each priory possessed are largely lacking, but the donors' allusions to heredades, terrae (cultae, populatae, inculatae. non populatae), meadows, vineyards, villages, churches, cotos and rights prove temporal endowments of some amplitude.

A little light upon relative size and wealth is shed by (i) the incomplete surviving statistics for the amount of annual census each priory came to pay the mother abbey from the time of Peter the Venerable; and (ii) what came to be the fixed norm for the number of monks in each chapter. The donation acts of Valverde, Budiño and Vimieiro specify a rate of one-half mark a year for the first two, and a full mark for Vimieiro, this last to be increased (to judge by other cases, perhaps doubled) following completion of its rebuilding. Such figures, running well below the 4 marks contemplated in 1132 for Sahagún, the 10 gold florins paid by Carrión or the 5 marks of Nájera, can be compared with the standard size assigned each community, although these quotas must be used with caution since they have not yet been shown to date earlier than the middle 13th century.\textsuperscript{(111)} Valverde at this time was supposed to maintain 4 monks, Budiño 6, Vimeiro 3, Pombeiro 8 (or 12), and Jubia 6, in contrast with the 25 of Carrión and Nájera's 30.\textsuperscript{(112)} Correlation of these two types of data can be only approximate, since Vimieiro, for example, with only 3 monks, paid a higher census than Valverde or Budiño, with 4 and 6 respectively. But these figures agree with deductions based on the diplomatic sources and on statistical comparisons with the abbey's other peninsular holdings, in presenting the Luso-Gallegan priories as by Hispano-Cluniac standards well-established communities of substantial wealth and importance. None of them, even the larger, like Rates, Budiño, Jubia, Valverde, Vimieiro or Pombeiro, ranked with Carrión Dueñas or Nájera but they manifestly belonged to an intermediate class, well above the many communities of the Tierra de Campos and Rioja Alta that tended to become subpriories of the three foremost Hispanic daughters of Cluny.

(5) In making their grants none of the donors mentions propagation of monastic reform as a motive, but esteem for Cluny's discipline and spirituality is implicit, and comes out strongly in Pedro [337] Froílaz' insistence that Jubia's prior always be a senior monk from the mother house, trained in her customs and learned in the Scriptures, although the subprior might be drawn from an obedientia.\textsuperscript{(113)} But it is of course the note of liturgical intercession that is most frequently sounded, and obviously not merely as a commonplace of medieval ecclesiastical donations but out of a deep regard for Cluny's renown as a center of such intercessory prayer. Henry and Teresa expect to be remembered in the orisons of the religiosi uiri inhabiting Rates, while Maurice Bourdin looks to the monachornm orationes at both La Charité and Cluny. Counts Pedro Froílaz and Gómez Núñez expect that the Cluniacs placed in their erstwhile familial monasteries of Jubia and Budiño will continue to pray for their souls and their kinsmen's.\textsuperscript{(114)} And Queen Teresa, in the most detailed of such provisions, stipulates when ceding Vimieiro that she is to be associated henceforth with the merits and prayers of all Clunia obedientiae as well as of the abbey herself, and after death to receive a tricenarium of Masses and perpetual commemoration of her obit.\textsuperscript{(115)}
But central as are the spiritual motives, it is no less true that for understanding eight of the nine Luso-Gallegan cessions, all those which fall between 1100 and 1127, the political and military situation in the Leonese empire and Cluny's special relationship with the imperial dynasty, are as much or even more significant. Under Alfonso VI Rates and Santa Justa form part of Count Henry's drive for Portuguese autonomy just as Pombeiro is a crucial gambit in the preparation for Urraca's accession and the defense of her sovereignty in Galicia. In 1113, Pedro Froilaz' gift of Jubia coincides with Abbot Ponce's Spanish visit and the abbey's first formal acceptance of Alfonso Raimúndez as Urraca's rightful heir and future ruler of the Leonese state. Ferreira shows one of the queen-empress's prominent followers emulating her own example of donations to Cluny in Leon and Castile by a Gallegan grant similarly intended to confirm the ties between the imperial party and the Burgundian abbey; and Valverde comes from another such loyal urraquista. Budiño and Vimieiro, closely following Alfonso VII's accession as emperor, are most convincingly understood in connection with their donors' recently achieved reconciliation with the new monarch and as a politically meaningful gesture of friendship towards his monastic ally. In short it is not too much to say that all but one, and that the earliest, of Cluny's acquisitions in Galicia and Portugal require for the full explanation of their timing and motivation the closest attention to the protagonists and factions involved in this period of the Leonese empire's desperate confrontation with the twin problems of unity and succession.

III

In tracing the evolution of the Galaico-Portuguese priories subsequent to their acquisition, particular interest attaches to the fact that for some half-century between ca. 1170 and ca. 1220 the seven surviving communities appear to have been placed outside the well-known Cluniac Province of Hispania and administered in a separate cameraria or province of Galicia under the rule of the priors of Santa María de Nájera. Except for that learned 17th century Benedictine, Fray Antonio de Yepes, historians have ignored this second trans-Pyrenean province, and the circumstances under which it was created and eventually abolished have never been investigated. Yet an attempt to explore the subject, meagre and indirect as the evidence is, seems worth making, especially since the history of this unknown Iberian circumscription can be related to Cluny's little studied efforts in the later 12th and 13th centuries to defend her peninsular holdings against the growing forces of decline and despoliation.

Down to about the year 1170 the abbey's administrative connections with its remote subject-houses in Galicia and Portugal were little different, except for the La Charité subjection of São Pedro de Rates and Santa Justa de Coimbra, from those maintained elsewhere in Spain. Each priory received from Burgundy its governor, a religious versed in Cluniac customs, discipline and spirituality, and for long most, if not all, of its monks. Abbatial visitation was rare: before 1200 only three abbots crossed the Pyrenees -- Hugh I (1090), Ponce de Melgueil (1113), Peter the Venerable (1142), and of these only Ponce reached Galicia. From at least the time of Hugh V's Statuta [339] (1200) all Cluniac priors were supposed to attend the annual meetings of the chapter-general in Burgundy, but we have no evidence that the heads of the Luso-Gallegan houses complied with this requirement.

In practice, the true link between the mother church and the Peninsula was the abbot's personal representative, the camerarius abbatis or abbatial chamberlain, who travelled back and forth from Burgundy to Spain. Primarily, as his title implies, a financial agent, this confidential official negotiated donations of monasteries and lands, collected installments of the Alfonsine census, and exercised authority over the growing chain of dependencies. Around the middle of the 12th century the Cluniac itinerant abbatial chamberlain developed into a resident administrator, stationed below the Pyrenees and serving also as prior of either Santa María de Nájera or San Zoil de Carrión, with his house the headquarters of what was now emerging as a Hispanic cameraria, or province, stretching from the Najeran sub-priories in Navarre westward across Castile and Leon to the communities of
Portugal and Galicia.

For the present inquiry the most pertinent fact is that after some twenty years the Province of Hispania was subdivided and a second Ibero-Cluniac circumscription, that of Galicia, came into being. The existence of this new cameraria, which had disappeared well before 1250 and therefore receives no mention in our late medieval descriptions of the Burgundian federation, can be proved from four different witnesses:

(a) an undated letter of Abbot Radulfus (Raoul de Sully, 1173-1176), directed to all the Cluniac priors of Hispania. This text, one of three found in a small register or cuaderno of the late 12th or early 13th century preserved among the pergaminos of San Zoil de Carrión, confirms the authority of a Prior Humbert of San Zoil as camerarius Hispaniae in these words: "Volumus autem uobis omnibus esse manifestum quod omnium rerum que per Hispaniam preter Galiciam possidemus, ipsum toto tempore uite sue camerarium et ordinatorem ex integro constituiimus" (120).

(b) a diploma of Santa María la Real de Nájera, issued in 1183 by its prior Guido, who styles himself "ego Guido prior de Naiera et camerarius Gallecie" (121).

c) a letter of Pope Innocent III dated 28 January 1205, requesting archbishop of Toledo and his suffragans to assist Abbot Hugh V of Cluny in his projected visitation "ad partes Hispaniae et Galiae pro reformatione ordinis circa domos quas in partibus illis habere dignoscitur" (122). This geographical terminology, which must echo that supplied the papal chancery in the abbot's earlier request, shows Cluny still possessing two peninsular camerariae.

d) the appearance by at least 11 July 1225 of a new formula for the Hispanic chamberlain: "camerarius totius Hispanie" or, in Romance, "carnerero de toda España de la Orden de Crunego". (123) This subsumes the abolition of the Gallegan province and the restoration of its constituent houses to the original Hispania.

These four texts confirm the existence of a cameraria Gallecie in the later 12th and first quarter of the 13th centuries. But when, and why, was this second Iberian province created? How is the strange link with Santa Maria to be explained? Did Cluniac 'Galicia' include the three priories in Portugal as well as the four of Galicia proper? None of these question can now, or perhaps ever, be answered with finality but some progress towards their solution can be made, particularly since the role of Nájera as camerarial capital allows us to draw not only upon the limited Gallegan and Cluniac evidence but also upon Santa María's fuller documentation.

1. The establishment of the Cameraria Gallecie. The subtraction from the Hispanic chamberlaincy of certain priories placed under a camerarius Gallecie must already have occurred before the dispatch of Radulfus' epistle to the priors of Hispania, for the phrase preter Galiciam here is too casual, too devoid of juridical formality to have effected the actual institution of the new administrative district. Furthermore, the two other letters of Radulfus also contained in the Cuaderno Carrionense and of the same date, of which one is addressed to the prior-chamberlain himself while the other is directed to Gerald, custos ordinis, and the chapter of San Zoil, are silent regarding Galicia. The assumption must be that the recipients already knew the territorial limits of Humbert's authority. All three texts cannot date later than 1176; actually their content and purpose place them early in Radulfus' abbatiate, which began in late 1173, so that they are most likely to have been written soon after his election, probably in 1174 (124).

But how long before late 1173 or 1174 can the division into two provinces be placed, and under what abbot? Humbert must have been appointed to his double office of prior of Carrión and Hispanic chamberlain by Radulfus' predecessor Stephen (1161-1173) some time between 13 January 1167, when
he was still serving as prior of San Isidro de Dueñas, and before 28 March 1169, when Fernando II's real privilegio ceding Cluny as a new priory the church of Santa Águeda de Ciudad Rodrigo names him as prior-chamberlain at San Zoil. This same diploma offers a terminus post quem for the carving out of the Gallegan circumscription, since the Leonese monarch, acting as he says "in manu domini Aumberti prioris de Carrione et camerarii Cluniacensis" uses this occasion to confirm to Cluny a select list of five priories in Leon and Galicia: San Salvador de Falaz de Rey in the city of Leon, San Salvador de Budiño, Santa Maria de Villafranca, San Vicente de Pombaio and San Pedro de Valverde. The inclusion of three of the four Gallegan dependencies in this list shows that as late as March 1169 the houses of the area were still under the jurisdiction of the provincial chamberlain of Hispania.

This narrows the interval for the emergence of the second Iberian carneraria to the some five years between the end of March 1169 and the promulgation of the three Radulfan epistles in late 1173 or 1174. These chronological limits could be further narrowed if we were sure which one of the immediate predecessors at Nájera of Guido, who in 1183, as we have seen, calls himself prior de Naiera et camerarius Gallecie, ought to be recognized as the first such Riojan administrator of the westernmost dependencies. Santa María's pergaminos supply the names of four different priors commencing in 1169: Raymond, Humbert, Achard and Hugh. Of these, the first two can confidently be ruled out. Raymond, whose stormy career terminated in 1169 with his expulsion from Spain by command of both Pope Alexander III and Alfonso VIII of Castile, clearly exercised authority over all the Hispanic houses. His successor, Humbert of Carrión, who by at least March 1169 had become prior of San Zoil and chamberlain of Hispania, can be found also in pergaminos of 1170 and 1171 using the title of prior Naierensis. This means that for several years following Raymond's departure, doubtless during a period of recovery from the latter's disastrous regime, Humbert acted as locum tenens at Santa Maria; and that all the peninsular houses of the Leonese-Castilian area were still in one province under his jurisdiction. With Achard and Hugh the picture changes, for these men became priors of Nájera while Humbert retained only the post of prior-chamberlain at Carrión. Hugh, who does not appear in the Rioja before 1175, and therefore presumably after the composition of Radulfus' epistle mentioning Galicia, is too late to be a serious contender. This leaves Achard who, we know, had been prior of San Román de Entrepeñas, the important Leonese neighbor of San Zoil de Carrión, as late as 1174 before being transferred to Nájera, where he can be found as prior in 1174.

The uncertainties here are many but it looks very much as if the creation of the Gallegan province falls most naturally at the crucial point when Humbert, after temporarily holding the three highest Cluniac offices in the Peninsula, surrendered Nájera and confined himself henceforth to San Zoil's prioracy-chamberlainship. The installation at this time in the restored Riojan house of Prior Achard, whom Humbert would have known during both his Dueñas and Carrión periods as the experienced ruler of Entrepeñas, must have been on the chamberlain's recommendation. We can go even further and posit that it was Humbert also who must have persuaded the abbot of Cluny of the desirability of a separate cameraria under the headship of Santa María. In this light, the establishment of the new Province of Galicia can be assigned to the biennium 1172-1173, in which Achard replaced Humbert at Nájera, and to the abbacy of Stephen, Radulfus' predecessor, who abdicated in 1173.

This hypothesis of Humbert's primary responsibility for the Gallegan cameraria, finds further support from what we know of this able administrator's vigorous steps, dating from the commencement of his chamberlaincy, to overcome the critical problems of internal discipline, financial stability, and external attack by laymen and bishops that ca. 1170 confronted the Hispano-Cluniac communities, and especially those of Galicia and the Rioja. We have cited Fernando II's donation charter of 28 March 1169 for Santa Agueda de Ciudad Rodrigo, with its unique clause confirming to Cluny five of her...
priories and warning off violators of their rights and properties. In another diploma issued on 23 March 1169, five days before, the Leonese monarch had extended royal protection to Prior Constantine and the monks of San Martín de Jubia against *milites et satellites et rustici* who were invading the priory's *coto*, seizing its lands and carrying off into marriage elsewhere women from its *aldeas*. Thus all four of Cluny's Gallegan houses were under attack and in need of the king's assistance.

Such threats to stability were not unknown in Leon, as the mention of San Salvador de Palaz de Rey and Villafranca in the [344] charter of 28 March disclose; but it is in the Rioja that dangers even more serious than the Gallegan troubles can be found. Here the prior-chamberlain Raymond of Nájera had been engaged for over a decade in a bitter conflict with the see of Calahorra, whose bishops had urged the cardinal-legate Jacinthus during his Spanish tour of 1155 to annul Alfonso VI's donation of Santa María to Cluny on the grounds that it was really the Burgundian queen Constance who had connived at this alienation. Calahorra also challenged the priory's title to the tenth of the portazgo of Logroño, granted it in 1149 by Alfonso VII, disputed her possession of churches, tithes and lands, and the monks' right to perform parochial duties; and episcopal agents (according to Raymond) invaded the monastery, flogged the monks, stole their library, despoiled the altars, and caused damage amounting to over 500 *aurei*. By 1169 Raymond had personally suffered defeat, for on 31 August Alexander III ordered him sent back to Cluny as a simoniac for having purchased a forged document declaring him abbot of San Millán de la Cogolla, and for having hoodwinked Alfonso VIII into believing that this incredible fantasy had the approval of the monks there as well as of Count Lope Díaz and the Calahorran bishop. The king banished the unhappy prior-chamberlain from the realm on grounds of simony and illegal alienation of Nájera's patrimonies, and Santa María was left demoralized and pilotless, to be rescued by the labors of Humbert of Carrión.

For Humbert, occupied down to at least 1171 in restoring stability to the Riojan priory, and more cognizant than any other Cluniac official of the multiple difficulties harassing the abbey's dependencies elsewhere, the creation of another province must have seemed urgent, not primarily because of conditions in Galicia, but in order to avert the threatened ruin of Santa María de Nájera. A second *cameraria* would provide the once flourishing priory, with its complex of sub-priories, churches and domains extending beyond the Rioja into Navarre and the Castilian Bureba, with a governing official of far greater authority than a mere prior, who would be permanently resident in the house to guide its course as no intermittently present Carrión chamberlain could do. Furthermore, its establishment would diminish the danger that the Nájeran chapter, resentful of the inevitably austere measures required for its recovery, and mindful of Nájera's former position as camerarial seat of Hispania, might defy an authority imposed upon it from its rival San Zoil.

But why choose the priories of Galicia to provide the subordinate dependencies for a Riojan *cameraria*? Not certainly out of regard for contemporary provincial organization in the secular church, or the political boundary lines of the Iberian kingdoms. The diocese of Calahorra, in which Santa María lay, faced east as a suffraganate of Tarragona; and the division does not correspond to the then separated kingdoms of Castile and Leon. To be sure, ca. 1170 both Galicia and the Rioja were areas of intense inter-state conflict. From late in Alfonso VII's reign and on into that of Fernando II -- at least until the latter's victory at Badajoz in 1169 -- much of southern Galicia, and specifically the Toroño district with San Salvador de Budiño, was controlled by the armies of King Alfonso Henriches of Portugal. In the same period the Rioja witnessed attempts by Sancho VI and Sancho VII of Navarre to annex this fertile region to Pamplona, although by 1179 Alfonso VIII of Castile had regained control of most of the area. But no Cluniac plan to avoid enmeshment in these struggles or to appease Portugal and Navarre by placing the priories of the contested zones outside the Leonese-Castilian sphere of Hispania can be discerned; this could only have antagonized Fernando II and Alfonso VIII,
with whom the abbey had far more intimate ties of friendship than with any other peninsular ruler.

A more likely explanation lies in the peculiar geographical and juridical structure of the Cluniac holdings below the Pyrenees. In Castile beyond the Rioja, as far as the former boundary with Leon at the Pisuerga river, there was only one authentic major dependency, the house of Santa Coloma de Burgos, acquired in 1081 from Alfonso VI;\(^{(142)}\) a Castilian province contiguous with the Riojan cluster under Nájera was therefore impossible. Across the Pisuerga, which \[^{[346]}\] with Alfonso VII's partition between his sons Sancho III and Fernando II had ceased to be the frontier between Castile and Leon, there began the tightly knit complex of Cluniac possessions in the Tierra de Campos centering around Carrión and Dueñas. These formed the heartland of the Province of Hispania and a dichotomy along political lines would have placed Carrión in the same circumscription as Nájera. In Galicia, on the other hand, the four surviving congregations of Jubia, Pombeiro, Valverde and Budiño had all been originally ceded not to Dueñas or Carrión but directly to the abbot; and such communities could be readily separated from Hispania and placed in another cameraria.

As for the question whether the three Portuguese priories were included along with those of Galicia in the new province, this can not be proved from the scanty documentation, but seems very likely. The limited number of houses in both Galicia (four) and Portugal (three), the already noted disregard of political frontiers, the fact that the route of camerarial visitations to Portugal would naturally run through Galicia, not Leon, all favor this assumption. Vimieiro, like the Gallegan quartet, had been placed directly under the abbot by Queen Teresa and on geographical grounds would most naturally be grouped with them. Rates and Santa Justa were subpriories of La Charité, but even if these were visited from the Nivernais house (and we hear nothing of this until 1292, when São Pedro claimed to be exempt on this ground from intervention by the camerarius and the prior of Pombeiro acting as uisitatores),\(^{(143)}\) it is probable that on all important matters they looked to the provincial chamberlain. Certainly from 1259, when the surviving capitular acta and visitation reports commence, these make no distinction between Rates and Vimieiro.\(^{(144)}\) Once again certainty is impossible, but the impression is strong that Cluniac 'Galicia' embraced Portugal as well as the county proper, and that all seven Luso-Gallegan priories were placed under the governance of the prior-camerarius of Nájera.

2. The suppression of the Cameraria, Gallecie. The history of the Province of Galicia from its foundation in 1172-3 is extremely obscure, and what data we have bear chiefly upon the problems of its abolition. The earliest date that suggests itself for the event is 1205, the year of Innocent III's already mentioned letter of 28 January \[^{[347]}\] asking the archbishop of Toledo and his suffragans to welcome Abbot Hugh V of Cluny on his journey "ad partes Hispaniae et Galliciae pro reformatione ordinis circa domos quas in partibus illis habere dignoscitur".\(^{(145)}\) The urgent reasons for such abbatial reformaria of the peninsular dependencies can be discerned in three papal bulls, also of January 1205. On the 20th, in response to the petition of the archbishop of Braga, the pope orders the bishop, dean and precentor of the Church of Tuy to enforce sentences of excommunication and interdict already imposed upon the Cluniac monasteries of São Pedro de Rates and Vimieiro and upon the persons there who dare to engage in sacerdotal functions in defiance of the archbishop.\(^{(146)}\) On 29 January -- the very next day after the letter to the Spanish bishops on Hugh's tour -- two other bulls of general tenor, but obviously intended for early use in Spain, were dispatched: one instructs all bishops in whose dioceses Cluny had possessions to aid the abbey in recovering any of these that had fallen into lay hands;\(^{(147)}\) the other confirms the Cluniac abbot's right to exercise full powers of disciplinary correction over his subject-houses.\(^{(148)}\) All four texts illumine the grave situation confronting Cluny below the Pyrenees: breakdown of order within the priories; lay confiscations of their temporal; conflict with the episcopate over parochial activities of the monks under the abbey's privilege of exemption, this last applying specifically to the two Portuguese houses in the diocese of Braga.\(^{(149)}\)
We might hypothesize therefore that in the course of a traverse of the Peninsula in 1205 Abbot Hugh V, personally witnessing the troubled conditions there, and the ostensible failure of the dual provincial system, ordered a return to the original single Iberian Province of Hispania; and that this explains why no explicit reference to the cameraria Gallecie or its chamberlain occurs after 1205. There are however two objections to dating the extinction of the Luso-Gallegan circumscription this early. The first is that we have absolutely no evidence, Burgundian or peninsular, that Hugh's trip was ever made; even with our fragmentary documentation some reflection of this first abbatial crossing of the Pyrenees since Peter the Venerable's visit of 1142 might be expected. The second is that Santa María de Nájera, the seat of the Gallegan camerarius, seems to be in a relatively stable state ca. 1205, and hence unlikely to attract the abbot's unfavorable attention. From the turn of the century the priory had been under the capable rule of a native Riojan, Semeno (Romance: Xemeno, Jimeno), apparently the very first Hispano-Cluniac prior of peninsular birth, under whom it recovered or first acquired a number of revenue-producing patrimonies, as we learn from Semeno's lengthy report on his administration of the Nájeran temporal. To be sure, this is a statement implying recovery from earlier troubles; however, between the end of 1202, by which time Semeno had retired to be replaced by a Frenchman, Girard, and 1205, Santa María could hardly have declined so speedily as to discredit her capacity to govern Provincial communities. Thus, unless we argue that her priors, however effective in Riojan affairs, failed badly in meeting their responsibilities in the Galaico-Portuguese west, the necessity for suppressing the second camerario, at this time is difficult to discover.

But if the cameraria Gallecie survived, as in the absence of testimony to the contrary we may suppose it did, Hugh V's projected journey, its life cannot have extended beyond the abbatiate of Gerard of Flanders (1215-1220). The evidence for this, indirect and intricate, comes almost wholly not from Galicia and Portugal, but from Santa María de Nájera, which in the first half of the 13th century constitutes our principal key to the fate of the Galaico-Portuguese cameraria. Here three unstudied episodes, all of which can be linked to the Spanish policies of Abbot Gerard as regards Hispano-Cluniac administrative reorganization, require close examination. These are (i) the intervention at Nájera of the Cluniac visitatores Eustorgius and Aymeric; (ii) the abbot's own journey to the Peninsula; and (iii) the activities at Nájera and Villafranca of the monk John, Gerard's appointee as camerarius Hispanie.

The Eustorgius-Aymeric visitation. The sudden appearance at Nájera of two French Cluniac priors, Eustorgius of Saint-Flour in Auvergne, who also bears the title of camerarius in Hispania, and Aymeric of Saint-Germain, is the first example I know for Spain of the abbey's later practice of sending pairs of annual visitors to inspect the dependencies. Since the exercise of authority at Nájera by a chamberlain acting in Hispania implies the absence of a resident prior-chamberlain there, and Santa María's re-incorporation into Hispania, it is essential to extract what information we can regarding the date and circumstances of this visit.

Virtually all the evidence consists of two marginal annotations in Semeno of Nájera's just mentioned account of his patrimonial administration while prior. First published by Havet in 1883 from the British Museum original, and again in the Chartes de Cluny, this relatively lengthy document consists of (a) a detailed account of all properties recovered or gained, buildings constructed (particularly after a great fire swept the town) and new collazos acquired, as a result of Semeno's own purchases or gifts secured by him; and (b) a statistical survey by individual domains showing progress made in agricultural equipment, livestock and crop output between the beginning and end of Semeno's prioracy. Two annotations have been added in this document's margins at some time subsequent to its composition, by another hand. The first, placed near the close of the domanial survey, reads thus: "Hec omnia probata fuerunt sicut suprascripta sunt coram priore Sancti Flori, camerario in Hispania, domino Eustorgio et fratre Aymerico, priore Sancti Germani, et magistro Alano et omni conuentu."
Najarensi". The other, opposite a passage on the domain of San Jorge de Logroño, runs as follows: "Status domus Sancti Georgii apud Lucronium probatus fuit coram domino E., priore Sancti Flori et camerario in Hispania, et fratre Aimerico, priore Sancti Germani, per juramentum prepositi Stephani de Sancto Georgio et [350] Lupi Nauarri de Torrauento, clauigeri, qui dixerunt ita esse et si aliter inueniretur se emendaturos".\(^{(156)}\)

From the action of the two extraordinary visitors from Cluny, one of whom is \textit{camerarius in Hispania}, in inspecting the state of the patrimonies as here attested, and from the reference to Master Alan and the chapter, it is evident that the Nájeran prior is no longer a chamberlain and that Santa María's headship of the province of Galicia is either suspended or terminated. But where does the Semeno report, which is undated, really belong? Havet suggests 1201-1215;\(^{(157)}\) Bruel the unacceptable '1201 (?)'.\(^{(158)}\) The original text must have been drawn up some years after Semeno had ceased to hold the office of prior: not only does he style himself merely \textit{frater} and consistently speak of his administrative measures in the past tense, but he specifically mentions the arrival at Nájera of the prior Master Alan.\(^{(159)}\) Since Semeno's immediate successor was Girard (1202 to at least 1205),\(^{(160)}\) we must locate after the latter date the term of Master Alan. This name and academic title are sufficiently distinctive in the Cluniac prosopography of the period to enable us to identify this prior with confidence as the "Magister Alanus Agitus", the notary of Abbot William II of Cluny, who appears prominently among the high officials representing the Burgundian abbey in a settlement of a dispute with the abbot and monks of Moissac in October 1209.\(^{(161)}\) This means he could not have been sent to Spain to become prior of Nájera before 1210 at the earliest; on the other hand, since a bull of Honorius III of 21 October 1216 names Guigo as prior of Nájera,\(^{(162)}\) Master Alan must have either died or been relieved of his post by that time.

This places the Eustorgius-Aymeric visitation between 1210 and 1216, but the chronology can be still further narrowed. Among the San Román de Entrepeñas charters in the Archivo Histórico Nacional\(^{(351)}\) is one by which a certain Dom Nichola transfers to this Cluniac house and its prior Hugh several \textit{solares}, on condition that he hold these for life in \textit{prestimonio} and enjoy the right of burial in the priory church.\(^{(163)}\) This contract Hugh negotiates "assensu et uolumtate circe cluniacensis domni Eustorgii". The charter, which contains the sole Spanish reference I have discovered to Eustorgius other than the Semeno annotations, bears no date, but another San Román \textit{pergamino} of 1215 also names Hugh as prior. This is not conclusive, however, since he may have been in office since 1206; but the naming of the \textit{priorem Sancti Flori} in connection with the enforcement of the settlement of a dispute between Cluny and the see of Macón in April 1213 implies it was only after this date that Eustorgius was sent to Spain.\(^{(164)}\) The Nichola agreement does establish one decisive point: that as \textit{camerarius in Hispania} Eustorgius exercised jurisdiction not only over Nájera and therefore by implication over the Luso-Gallegan houses, but also in the rival province of Hispania, which included Entrepeñas. Such authority over the circumscription ruled from Carrión\(^{(165)}\) in turn allows us to perceive that the prior of Saint-Flour's mission to the peninsula must have followed the death of the Hispanic prior-chamberlain Peter of Carrión, whose term of office reached back to at least 1196.\(^{(166)}\) In February 1213, Peter, describing himself as \textit{debilis et infirmus}, prepared a detailed list of all the patrimonies and revenues of San Zoil, obviously as a final report on his two decades of administration there;\(^{(167)}\) he must have died not long thereafter.

All this makes it probable that Eustorgius as \textit{camerarius in Hispania}, accompanied by his colleague from Saint-Germain, was sent to the Peninsula some time after the spring of 1213, when the double office of the Carrión priory and the resident Hispanic chamberlainship had become vacant, and while at Nájera Master Alan was still prior. In short, the Eustorgius-Aymeric mission has to be put between [352] 1213 and 1216, which places it either in the last two years of Abbot Wilham II of Cluny (1207-15 April 1215) or the incumbency of his successor Gerard of Flanders (15 April 1215-1220). Between the
weak, faltering William, whose incapacity to avert the abbey's threatened spiritual and financial collapse led his monks to depose him, and the able, experienced reformer and administrator Gerard, who after a successful career as the Cistercian abbot of Molesmes was elected to succeed William on the very day of his abdication, we need not hesitate to opt for Gerard, particularly in view of his display of special interest in Spain. On this basis, therefore, I believe the terminus post quem of the Eustorgius-Aymeric episode should be set at April 1215; and since the ante quem has already been established by Honorius III's mention of Prior Guigo as October 1216, the visitation must have occurred in 1215 or 1216.

(ii) Abbot Gerard in Spain, 1217-1218. The intervention at Nájera in 1215-1216 of the two French visitatores, with its implications for the collapse or suppression of the Gallegan province, can hardly be separated from Abbot Gerard's own trip to the Peninsula very shortly thereafter. Of the three sources for this extraordinary abbatial visit, two are reales privilegios of January 1218: one, of the 6th, issued at Benevente by King Alfonso IX of Leon; the other, of the 13th, drawn up at Burgos in the name of the young Fernando III and his mother Berenguela. Both charters assign Cluny certain royal revenues intended to defray the annual expenses of holding the chapter-general. The third text is a letter-patent of Gerard himself, composed at Nájera on 18 January, in which he declares that during his visitation of the "domos et prioratus in Hispaniis nobis subiectos" he has witnessed Najera's "magnam et intolerabilem uestium penuriam" under prior Guigo, and therefore bestows certain newly constructed dwellings near the priory gate upon the monks to provide additional income for their clothing.

All three documents can be taken as charting the homeward leg of a trip across Spain that must have been begun in the preceding year 1217, during which in the fortnight 6-18 January 1218 the abbot halted at the Leonese and Castilian royal courts, then in Benevente and Burgos, and at Santa Maria. This must have been a return visit to Nájera; whether the trip had taken him all the way to Galicia, we do not know. What is certain is that Gerard's activities reflect concern for Cluny's increasingly serious fiscal state and that he saw for himself the poverty at the traditional capital of the Gallegan cameraria. The chances are thus extremely good that it was in the course of this journey that the abbot convinced himself of the urgent necessity of reuniting all the Iberian priories in a single province under the headship of the stronger and stabler San Zoil de Carrión. This hypothesis is further supported by what we know of the provincial chamberlain John, Gerard's appointee to the post of administrator over all Spain.

(iii) The Hispanic chamberlain John at Nájera and Villafranca. We first hear of this new chamberlain in Fernando III's real privilegio of 6 January 1220, in which after affirming his reverence for his venerable friend, Abbot Gerard of Cluny -- a palpable allusion to the visit of two years before -- the Castilian monarch speaks of the service done him by "uos Johannes prior Carrionensis et hispanie camerarius eundo in Alamanniam pro karissima uxore mea regine Beatrice filia Philippi quondam regis romanorum". Since the company of Castilian envoys was entertained in Germany for almost four months before escorting Duke Philip of Swabia's daughter Beatrice to Spain, where the wedding took place at Burgos on 30 November, 1219, it follows that John must either have accompanied Gerard across the Pyrenees or have been sent out on the abbot's return to Burgundy, he was therefore in Spain by 1218 or early 1219, and clearly a Gerardian appointee.

Now it can be firmly established that John, unlike his predecessor at Carrión, the chamberlain Peter, but like Eustorgius, although not an itinerant official, exercised authority over Santa María de Nájera. A lengthy pergamino of the priory survives, entitled Hee sunt distractiones seu alienationes Nazarenis ecclesie jacte per Johannem camerarium Ispanie, which must have been drawn up by the senior monks of the chapter not long after John left the Peninsula for good ca. 1230.
bitterly assails him as "iste bonus camerarius" who out of sheer goodness of heart has outrageously despoiled Santa María in the interests of the see of Calahorra and various laymen. It accuses him of having alienated tithing and parochial rights and various itemized properties; of reducing the monks -- with the aid of his nefarious English famulus Kaolin (Rawlin) and despite Prior Guigo's opposition -- to such straights that by the end of his chamberlaincy they were dependent for their very daily bread upon the charity of the Riojan magnate, Don Lope Díaz de Haro; and of having proclaimed the priory's indebtedness as 8600 aurei, instead of the 1600 Prior Guigo had previously sworn to in an assembly of the monks, the burgurers of Nájera and the magnates of Castile, with King Fernando himself present. Whatever the justice of these charges -- and the chamberlain's desperate measures to ward off Santa Maria's bankruptcy and threatened collapse might well have seemed intolerable to the monks affected -- the crucial point here is that the Distractiones never deny John's constitutional right to intervene in the priory as camerarius Hispanie. Furthermore, by the autumn of 1222, if not before, John has replaced Guigo as Najeran prior, and thus revived under similar emergency conditions the union in the same hands of the three great Cluniac posts in the Peninsula, just as Humbert of Carrión had temporarily done on the eve of the establishment of the cameraria Gallecie.

In this same period John appears in a Najeran diploma of 1225, preserved only in Romance translation, as not merely chamberlain of Hispania but as "camerero de toda España de la Orden de Gruniego". This earliest example of a formula subsequently employed by later camerarii strongly implies the recent extinction of the dual provincial system and the restoration of the old large Hispania. It is interesting also that two years later we hear of the camerarial capital of All Spain's being fixed not at Carrión or Nájera but at the house of Santa María de Villafranca. An agreement between Cluny and the see of Braga, defining in November 1227 their respective rights in the Portuguese priory of Santa Maria de Vimieiro, depicts the abbey as represented by two usitatores et legati, the sacrist Thomas and Martin, and also by "Johannem camerarium Villefrance"; and the text goes on to declare that the prior of this house is to be named by "abbas Cluniacensis uel camerarius de Villafranca uel uisitator qui ex parte Cluniacensis monasterii uenerit ad partes illas uisitandas" and may be removed by the camerarius Villefrance. This is unmistakably official language since after receipt of the agreement at Cluny, presumably in 1228, Abbot Roland de Hainault issued a formal confirmation of this settlement likewise designating John as camerarius of Villafranca. This shift of administrative base westward to Villafranca may possibly reflect troubles facing John at Carrión as well as at Nájera; but the choice of a priory located in the northwestern corner of the diocese of Astorga at the point where the pilgrimage road clears the mountain pass leading to Galicia, suggests even more a deliberate plan to govern the all-inclusive Tota Hispania from a strategic and neutral site at the junction of the two older camerariae. The fact that this experiment can hardly have outlasted John's own incumbency, since by 1235 his successor Guy has returned to the traditional headquarters at Carrión, does not alter the fact that it must have followed close on the recent amalgamation of Hispania and Galicia.

To summarize, finally, this discussion of the abolition of the province of Galicia, I would conclude (i) that the second Iberian cameraria survived the 1205 trip, whether made or not, of Abbot Hugh; (ii) that under Priors Girard, Master Alan and Guigo between 1202 and 1217 Santa María de Nájera, rapidly descending into penuria from its stability under Semeno, became increasingly impotent as an administrative center for the Galaico-Portuguese priories; (iii) that the Gallegan cameraria was in a state of de facto collapse at the time of the extraordinary intervention by Eustorgius and Aymeric; (iv) that Abbot Gerard, speedily following up this mission's alarming report, hastened to Spain in 1217-18 and then ordered the suppression of the moribund chamberlaincy; and (v) that from 1218-19 on Gerard's agent, the chamberlain John, despite opposition at Nájera and Carrión, and probably also in Galicia and Portugal, as the Villafranca experiment suggests, labored to re-unite all the peninsular
priorities in a single Province of Hispania.

The Cluniac Province of Galicia can thus be assigned to the years between 1172-1173 and 1218. Behind the reasons for its abandonment -- a definitive one, as by their silence the capitular acta and visitation reports make clear -- lies not only Santa María de Nájera's failure as a camerarial seat but the general deterioration of Cluny's vitality and prestige everywhere, in which her peninsular daughters shared, a decline that goes back to the 12th century and becomes increasingly acute in the 13th. The capitular and visitation materials underscore repeatedly how after 1250 the six surviving Luso-Gallegan houses were inextricably enmeshed in the apparently insoluble problems having to do with recruitment of monks, incapable or dishonest priors, widespread immorality in the shrunken chapters, and mismanagement or permanent loss of revenues and lands. From without, as the same sources reveal, these internal evils had their counterpart in ever more aggressive attacks by bishops upon the exemptive rights and parochial activities of the monks, and in the insatiable hunger for their lands evinced by the Leonese-Castilian nobility. This is, however, but one chapter, which cannot properly be detached, in the painful history of the decline of all Cluny's Hispanic houses in the later Middle Ages -- a large and complex subject that requires investigation on some other occasion. Meanwhile, it must suffice to have explored here the chronology and circumstances of acquisition of the Cluniac dependencies of the Galaico-Portuguese zone, and to have resurrected, however tentatively, the forgotten Cluniac Province of Galicia.

University of Virginia August, 1964

Additional Notes

[357A] The cessions to Cluny of the six Gallegan and three Portuguese monasteries which came to be included in the abbey's Province of Galicia can now be viewed in the light of further studies bearing on their motivation, political setting and protohistory. Peter Segl's substantial monograph on the Cluniac connection with the Leonese-Castilian dynasty to ca. 1150 re-examines thoroughly for the entire kingdom the circumstances and implications of the transfers made from Alfonso VI to Alfonso VII. It also provides the most complete bibliography of the sources and secondary literature. As regards the Luso-Gallegan houses and their donors, Segl's conclusions do not differ significantly from my own, a few minor points excepted; nor, despite the emphasis given monastic reform in his title, has he succeeded in demonstrating that this was a prominent factor in any of the nine known cases.

On the priories in Galicia limited data will be found in the historical sketch by Arias of all the Benedictine communities of this province. Linage Conde's massive study of Ibero-Benedictine origins does not deal directly with the priories of Galicia and Portugal, but has brief notices on their pre-Cluniac phase in the "Monasticon Hispanum" constituting the third volume. Mattoso's concern with the Cluniac impulse toward Benedictinization in Minho and Beira, and the spread in northern Portugal of Cluniac customs from an assumed propagation center at Leonese Sahagún, does not pose these questions with specific reference to Rates, Santa Justa de Coimbra or Vimieiro. The same is true of Feige, whose approach, basically political and oriented towards the secular church, is helpful chiefly on the general background of the three Luso-Cluniac dependencies.

Bernard Reilly's masterly critique of the entire diplomatic documentation for Urraca's reign makes it possible now to relate the Galaico-Portuguese cessions more accurately to their political and prosopographic context. At the same time, despite Reilly's focus upon the queen-empress' shifting
alignments in the complex party struggles of the years after 1109, he does not seem to me to make sufficient allowance [358A] for Cluniac influence upon her policies as reflected in the benefactions of monasteries and lands in the Gallegan cases and throughout the Leonese-Castilian realm -- a factor operative of course in other directions, and stemming from the imperial dynasty's special para-feudal bond with the Burgundian abbey. Thus, he neither mentions nor explains why in a pergamo of 1118 -- five years after (according to my dating) the 1113 visit of Abbot Ponce to Spain (Study X in this volume), and four after Urraca's initiation of her new censive policy, almost certainly a result thereof -- she eulogizes, surely significantly, the Cluniac provincial chamberlain Stephen (who was also prior of San Zoil de Carrión de los Condes in León) as "fidelissimus amicus meus". (188) In short, there is still much to learn before the cessions under Abbot Ponce have been utilized to their full testimonial value for Hispano-Cluniac affairs.

Like my own paper, the above works leave untouched topics that also merit exploration: the domanial economy, relations with the local population and seigneurial administration of Cluny's Luso-Gallegan abadengos. (189)

Notes for Study Eleven

1. [This study was presented in abstract at the V Semana de Estudios Monásticos, held at the Monastery of El Paular, Spain, 23-28 September 1962, where Dom García M. Colorabás, O. S. B., very kindly read it in his own Castilian version. For support in the preparation of this paper I am indebted to the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia.]
   Cf. R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos, Madrid, 1950, 86-133; and my Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of Leon in Studia monastica, t. 3, 1961, 53-76.

2. Of the nine Luso-Gallegan priories, only for S. Martín de Jubia (cf. infra, n. 46) do we have cartularies and a relatively full diplomatic collection; for S. Vicente de Pombeiro a fair number of rent contracts survive (cf. infra, n. 38) but these commence in some number only in the 13th century. Otherwise, we are largely dependent upon the donation acts; scattered later charters; occasional references in secular, episcopal and papal texts; and from 1250, the extant visitation reports and acts of the chapters general for Spain, which have been published by Ulysse ROBERT, État des monastères espagnols de l'Ordre de Cluny, aux XIIIe-XVe siècles, d'après les actes des visites et des chapitres généraux in Bol. de la R. Academia de la historia, t. 20, 1892, 321-431. For the Portuguese sources, see Avelino de Jesus DA COSTA, A Ordem de Cluny em Portugal in Cenáculo, t. 4, 1948 (also, separately, Braga, 1948).


6. Mapa Militar Itinerario de España, hoja 12; Sebastián DE MIÑANO, Diccionario geográfico-


9. E.S., XLI, 14 and 304-306 (Apénd. iv): "...duas partes monasterii sancti Salvatoris quod uulgo Villarfrigidum nuncupatur... in territorio Flamosi et capite montis quem Cirium uocant super riuulum aquae Recamundi nuncupatae discurrente ad aquam de Ameneda et inter alios duo maximos montes suis nominibus dignos quorum alter Cuperius alter uero Lapideus uocatur".


11. Cf. the count's grant of 1130 to Lugo: "quod uidelicet monasterium habuimus ex datione bonae memoriae regiae dominæ Urrachae, quae nobis contulit illud per scripturam firmam et authenticam concedente postmodum filio eius rege domino Adefonso ut omnibus notum est" (E. S. XLI, 304-5).

12. Cf. the bulls of Gregory VII (9 Dec. 1076), Urban II (1 Nov. 1088), Pascal II (20 Nov. 1100, 16 Oct. 1109, 7 Nov. 1114) and Honorius II (2 Apr. 1125) in *Bullarium sacri ordinis Cluniacensis* (ed. P. SIMON, Lyons, 1680), 18-20, 22-23, 32-33, 34-35, 36-37, 37, 42-43.


15. Note also the preservation at Cluny of the original *pergamino*, which is unknown in peninsular archives.


17. *Chartes de Cluny*, IV, 3452, under date of 29 May; but a superior (though less complete) version in Acad. de la Hist., Colección Velazquez, t. IV, leg. 4, no. 1388, to be included in my forthcoming edition of the charters of San Isidro de Dueñas, reads "iiii kls Januarias", i.e., 29 December. For the significance of this date, the anniversary of Fernando I's death in 1065, see my "The Liturgical Context of Fernando I's Last Days according to the So-called *Historia Silense*", in the special number of
Hispania Sacra dedicated to Dom Marius Férotin.


21. DA COSTA, op. cit., II, 381 (no. 26); ibid., 17, no. 38.

22. DA COSTA, II, 17; and cf. his scepticism regarding both the duration and extent of ruin, I, 23-4; but his assumption that São Pedro before 1100 was already a mosteiro is rightly rejected as without documentary proof by Dom José MATTOSO in his important review of O Bispo D. Pedro in R. d'hist. ecclés., t. 57, 1962, 170-176. Mattoso also questions the dating of the Censual.

23. FERREIRA, Origens, 93-4; on Stephen as prior ca. 1227, cf. Chartes de Cluny, V, 4554.

24. By the time of Afonso III (1248-1279) these dízimos are known to have been paid to São Pedro itself, and this may have been true from the beginning; cf. FERREIRA, Origens, 100; DA COSTA, Cluny em Portugal, 34.


26. Pierre DAVID, L'enigma de Maurice Bourdin in Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal, Lisbon-Paris, 1947, 441-501, and references there cited; but on Maurice's Cluniac ties DAVID fails to consider his possible connection with the Rates cession or his known gift to La Charité in 1102 of Santa Justa de Coimbra.


29. The precise location remains uncertain but the parish of this title adjoined the well-known one of Santa Cruz: see the boundary delimitation charter of the latter (June 1137 or 1139?) in E. A. REUTER, Chancelariás medievais portuguesas, Coimbra, 1938, no. 90; E. Austin O'MALLEY, Tello and Theotonio, the Twelfth century Founders of the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, Washington, 1954 (Catholic University of America, Studies in Mediaeval History, N. S., XIV), 90-1. On the priory's history, cf. DA COSTA, Cluny em Portugal, 15, 21, 23, 39-40; P. DAVID, Coïmbre in D.H.G.E., t. 13,

30. Donation act, from the Livro Preto of the see of Coimbra, in Docs. med. port., Particulares, III, Lisbon, 1940, no. 523; T. DE SOUSA SOARES, Alguns diplomas particulares dos séculos XI-XIII, Coimbra, 1942, no. 13. The text is not included in LESPINASSE, Cart, de la Charité or Chartes de Cluny. The date, given by its editors as '1102(?)' or elsewhere as '1102-1103' because of uncertainty whether the year of the Incarnation should be reckoned from 1 January or 25 March in a Portuguese document of this period, can be fixed with some confidence as 1102. A diploma of 5 April 1102, by which Bishop Maurice of Coimbra grants one Seguin " unam terram pro almunia que est sub monasterio Sáncte Iuste" (Docs. med. port. Partic., III, no. 64), proves the church of Santa Justa then already belonged to a monastic house; and other Coimbran charters establish that by 18 August 1102 the capitular prior Martin of the Santa Justa donation charter had been supplanted by his successor Gongalo, who in the Cluniac act of 4 February appears as still archdeacon. Compare, ibid., nos. 67 (23 April 1102), 72 (1 May 1102), and possibly 79 (31 July 1102), with no. 81 (18 August 1102; "Gunsalo Menendiz prior sáncte Marie"). DAVID, Études, 362, n. 1, assumes the intermediary Gaufredus was an otherwise unknown abbatial chamberlain of Cluny herself, but like Count Henry Maurice Bourdin would not have found persona grata a Cluniac envoy "accredité auprès du souverain" [i. e., Alfonso VI]. On Archdeacon Gaufredus (Gauffridus), cf. Hist. Compost., I, 16,20; alternatively, even if not the "Gaufredus filius Rainaudi Gaudet" found in a late 11th-century La Charité charter (LESPINASSE, no. 38), this intermediary may have been sent from La Charité directly and may have come to Coimbra in connection with the collection of the dízimos of Entre Minho e Mondego.

31. REUTER, Chancelarias, no. 90; DA COSTA, Cluny em Portugal, no. 18.

32. LESPINASSE, no. 167.

33. REUTER, loc. cit.; DA COSTA, nos, 18, 19.


35. Donation act: Chartes de Cluny, IV, 3533 (wrongly dated '1079?'); Antonio DE YEPES, Corónica general de la Orden de San Benito, Irache, 1609-21, V, 136-7; E.S., XVII, 20-1. Both these authors are ignorant of the donation act.

36. Near the Miño and Villamirón; cf. the privilegio of 1 March 964, cited in the following note.


38. YEPES, V, Apénd., 439v-440. Very few 12th-century Pombeiro charters are know but the more ample number from the 13th-14th centuries registered in E. LEIRÓS FERNÁNDEZ. Catálogo de los pergaminos monacales del Archivo de la S. I. Catedral de Orense. Santiago, 1951, could be used in mapping the patrimonies.

39. V, 3925.


RAMOS, 76-88.


RAMOS, 46-48, 58-9. Due to the erroneous date attached to the Pombeiro donation charter, Ramos fails to discuss this text; and in general his otherwise brilliant monograph omits all attention to Cluny's role in the succession crisis. I hope to examine this subject at an early date.


Donation act: *Chartes de Cluny*, V, 3906. This text is omitted from the edition of the Jubia charters by Santiago MONTERO DÍAZ, *La colección diplomática de San Martín de Jubia in Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela*, t. 7, 1935, n. 25, pp. 1-159 (also separatly); hence his superfluous speculation, p. 15, regarding the date of annexation to Cluny. On San Martin's history, see FLÓREZ, E.S., XVIII, 61-2 and, above all, MONTERO DÍAZ, 3-41.

MONTERO DÍAZ, 57-117 (130 pergaminos, 15 May 977 to 8 November 1199); no diplomas are given for the 13th century but pp. 146-156 contain a register of documents dating after 1300. For San Martin's acquisition of San Julián de Mondego, see ibid., no. 9 (9 November 1086).


MONTERO DÍAZ, no. 21.

MONTERO DÍAZ, no. 22.

MONTERO DÍAZ. no. 23. On all three donations, see ibid., p. 16.

MONTERO DÍAZ, n. 30.

MONTERO DÍAZ, no. 19.

We cannot be sure where the Jubia donation act was drawn up but the presence of Bishops Bernard of Toledo, Gelmírez and Munio of Mondoñedo, and of three canons of Santiago, points to Compostela; the *Hist. Compost*, leaves obscure the itineraries of these prelates and of Pedro Froílaz during the last months of 1113 (cf. LÓPEZ FERREIRO. III, 404-7; BIGGS, *Diego Gelmírez*, 97-9) but it would have been natural for the archbishop, after attending at the end of October the Council of Falencia from which Diego had absented himself, to visit the shrine of the Apostle.

LÓPEZ FERREIRO, III, 346-367; BIGGS, 65-84.

LÓPEZ FERREIRO, III, 405-7; BIGGS, 97-8.
58. Hist. Compost., I, 93-4, 100; LÓPEZ FERREIRO, 404-5; BIGGS, 274-5.
59. Cf. n. 49, supra.
60. LÓPEZ FERREIRO, III, 397-9, 424-5; BIGGS, 95-99.
61. See my The Spanish Journey of Abbot Ponce of Cluny in Ricerche di storia religiosa, t. I, 1957, 311-319; for the long-established view, which also places the visit in 1112, cf. LÓPEZ FERREIRO, III, 386-96; BIGGS, 89-90.
62. Mapa Milit. Itin., hoja 12; MADOZ, Diccionario, VIII, 47. This house should not be confused with the nearby Santa María de Pallares (YEPES, Corónica, IV, 302-303V), which never belonged to Cluny.
63. Chartes de Cluny, V, 3927.
65. ESCALONA, Hist. Sahagún, no. 149; Chartes de Cluny, V, 3900.
66. L'art de vérifier les dates, Paris, 1770, 742; Laurita and John HILL, Raymond IV de St-Gilles, Toulouse, 1959, 20-21, 140.
69. ESCALONA, no. 149.
70. Col. Velazquez, t. IV, no. 1395.
71. Chartes de Cluny, V, 3948. Note also Fernán's subscription to Urraca's real privilegio of 4 January 1118 giving the monastery of San Martín de Frómista to the Cluniac priory of San Zoil de Carrión (YEPES, VI, esc. xviii).
72. MANSI, loc. cit
76. Chartes de Cluny, V, 3900, p. 251. Examples of this confusion can be found in the printed text of Paschal II's bull Apostolicae sedis auctoritate of 7 November 1114 (Bull. Clun., 37; P.L. t. 163, 358); Fr. DE BERGANZA, Antigüedades de España, Madrid, 1719-21, I, 13; A. HERCULANO, Historia de Portugal, Lisbon, 1914-16, II, 245; F. FITA, El concilio nacional de Burgos en 1080 in Bol. r. Acad. hist., t. 49, 1906, 363, miscaptions 'Villaveza de Valverde' Alfonso VI's donation of San Salvador de Villaverde to Sahagún on 25 January 1100 (ESCALONA, Hist. Sahagún, no. 133; Chartes de Cluny, V, 3725); EVANS, Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny, 47, omits Valverde while listing a non-existent 'Villaverde Palomar' and confusing San Salvador de Villaverde with Villafrio. Other examples could be cited.
77. The donation charter, if still among the pergaminos of Valverde preserved with those of San Vicente de Monforte, where Risco saw it (E.S., XLI, 12), remains unedited; but my search some years ago did not locate it in A. H. N. Clero, legs. 778-9 (San Vicente de Monforte). For this house alone of the
Gallegan group the donor's text did not survive in Cluny's archives, which explains its absence from the *Chartes de Cluny*. My knowledge of it depends upon Risco's all too brief résumé, which says nothing about intercessional provisions or the possibly illuminating subscriptions.

78. *E.S.*, XLI, 5-6.
79. Ibid.
85. I, III.
86. E. g., LÓPEZ FERREIRO, loc. cit.
89. *Hist. Compost.*, I, 104 (*E.S.*, XX, 100; *P.L.*, t. 170, 1000 C, with error 'Vermiz' for 'Gómez'); LÓPEZ FERREIRO, III, 371-2. 'Gomez' name occurs as late as 1 August 1112 in Teresa's *carta de cauto* to the monastery of Santa María de Pombeiro, conc. Felgueiras (not to be confused with the Cluniac priory of San Vicente): *Docs. med. port. Régios*, I, I, no. 35; Antonio da Assunção MEIRELES, *Memorias do mosteiro de Pombeiro*, Lisbon, 1942, 121-2.
92. *Hist. Compost.*, I, 117 (*E.S.*, XX, 249-250; *P.L.*, t. 170, 1030 A); LÓPEZ FERREIRO III, 496.
95. PERES, *Como nasceu Portugal*, 74-5.
100. *Chartes de Cluny*, V, 4073: "per eosdem terminos quibus rogatu comitis Gomes, quando illud possidebat, cautau".

102. Ibid., I, 87: "...et rex abiecit a se comitem Rodericum et comitem Gomez Nunnii, pro eo quod ipsi inmiserant discordiam inter imperatorem et regem. Comes Gomez Nunnii, ut cognovit se esse reum, verecundatus est, et transiens fugiendo montes Pirineos, vellet nollet, quia non erat ei locus ad habitandum, fecit se monachus in monasterio Cluniacensi." SÁNCHEZ BELDA, xli, n. 27, thinks the documentary sources do not support a collaboration of Gómez Núñez with Afonso Henriques but the reported flight to Cluny rings too true to be without foundation: probably the chronology of the count's rebellion against Alfonso VII requires further study.

103. *Grande enc. port. e bras.*, t. 36, 150-1.


108. Jubia acquired after passing into Cluniac hands, Mugía (1114), Francia (1114), San Andrés de Teijido and San Pelayo de Ortigueira (1162), and San Julián de Narón (1163): MONTERO DÍAZ, *Colección diplomática de Jubia*. nos. 22, 23, 58,65.


110. This last point comes out very strongly from an examination of Montero Díaz' edition of the Jubia pergaminos.


114. The Jubia charters demonstrate how after cession of a familial monastery to Cluny the donors and their descendants continued as generous patrons.

115. Version [B] of the donation act, *Docs. med. port. Régios*, I, I, p. 97, presents a more complete text than [A] on this point. Here Teresa, in addition to requesting intercession "in obediencialibus ecclesiis" also asks as a member of the Cluniac *familia* for the "speciacilis et familiaris oracio pro me". On this special prayer for *familiares* cf. my *Liturgical Intercession*, 56.


120. Arch. Hist. Nac., Clero, leg. 1164., no. 2 p bis. My analysis in detail of this Cuaderno Carrionense, which appears to have been brought together as a dossier of important juridical acts for the use of Prior Humbert of San Zoil between 1174 and 1190, along with the complete text of this and the two other letters of Radulfus, dating in or around 1174, will be found under the title "El abad Radulfo de Cluny y el prior Humberto de Carrión, 'Camerario' de España: Tres cartas inéditas de hacia 1174" in *Anuario de estudios medievales*, Barcelona, t. 1, 1964, 197-216.

121. Arch. Hist. Nac., Clero, MS 258, Cartulario de Nájera, I, 218-9; Julián CANTERA ORIVE, *Un cartulario de Santa María la Real de Nájera del año 1209* in *Berceo*, t. 12, 1957, no. 86, p. 496. Guido appears earlier as the Nájeran prior on 19 April and 13 October 1179: GONZÁLEZ, *Alfonso VIII*, II, nos. 323, 329 (in the latter of which GONZÁLEZ, p. 552, corrects 'Haimoni' to 'Guidoni'). The Santa Maria charter, ibid., no. 221, dated 14 March 1175 (also *Bibl. Clun.*, 1433-6, with date 1177; YEPES, VI, esc. xxv; *Chartes de Cluny*, V, 4258, with date 1177; CANTERA ORIVE, *in Berceo*, t. 15, 1960, 201-218, no. 5, also with date 1177) which contains in version [C], p. 371, n. 17, the phrase "Guidone priore in Nazera existente" is considered by GONZÁLEZ, p. 366, a falsification.


123. Pamplona, Arch, de Navarra, Cámara de Comptos, cajón I, no. 97 (11 July 1225); Arch. Hist. Nac., Clero, leg. 1165, no. P-28 (1240); *Chartes de Cluny*, VI, 5259 (1279).

124. See note 120, supra.


127. FITA, loc. cit., p. 356 reads 'Vall(eolet)i' but Cluny had no priory at Valladolid, and the contraction should be expanded as 'Vall(e Virid)i'.


130. Arch. Hist. Nac., Clero, leg. 1164 (San Zoil de Carrión), no. 91. Note that the prior Humbert found at San Isidro de Dueñas in 1174-5 (Col. Velazquez, IV, nos. 1416, 1408) is not the Carrión chamberlain, but the Humbert who succeeded his namesake at Dueñas by May n, 1169 (ibid., no. 1417; published by Antonio SUÁREZ DE ALARCÓN, *Relaciones genealógicas de la Casa de los marqueses de Trocifal*, Madrid, 1656, Apénd., esc. xxv). The two Humberts can be found together confirming the document of 13 January 1167 cited in note 125, supra, where one appears as prior, the other as sacrist.

132. On Achard's prioracy of Entrepeñas, see Arch. Hist. Nac., Clero, leg. 1183, no. 16 bis (1153), unnumbered perg. (1164), no. 21 (1172); and on the shift to Nájera, RODRÍGUEZ DE LAMA, Col. dipl. riojana, no. 6, pp. 105-6: "prior Acchardus ste Marie de Nazara" (dated mense Septembrio, 1174).

133. See n. 126, supra.

134. MONTERO DÍAZ, Col. dipl. S. Martín de Jubia, no. 81; GONZÁLEZ, Fernando II, no. 18.


136. KEHR, no. 89.

137. FITA, Concilio de Lérida, no. 3; RODRÍGUEZ DE LAMA, Col. dipl. riojana. in Berceo, t. 12, 1957, no. 80.

138. KEHR, no. 109.

139. FITA, Concilio de Lérida, no. 4; GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso VIII, III, n. 937 ('sin fecha').

140. VALDEAPELLANO, Historia de España, I, 2, 560-1; GONZÁLEZ, Fernando II, 22-4, 32-3, 36-8, 41-4, 58-9, 67-9, 78-86.

141. GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso VIII, I, 774-820.

142. Chartes de Cluny, IV, 3582.

143. ROBERT. État des monastérés espagnols, 352, 378.

144. Ibid., passim.

145. POTTHAST, 2395; Bull. Clun., 99-100.

146. DA COSTA, Ordem de Cluny em Portugal, no. 3, p. 29.

147. POTTHAST, 2396; Bull. Clun., 100.

148. POTTHAST, 2397; Bull. Clun., 100.

149. The other Portuguese house, Santa Justa de Coimbra, if not already lost by this time, was doubtless so effectively subjected to episcopal control under the terms of Maurice Bourdin's charter as not to raise the question.

150. Chartes de Cluny, V, 4403, with date '1201 (?)'. On this document and its correct dating, see further, infra. On various topics in the history of Santa María de Nájera in the late 12 th and 13th centuries, see GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso VIII, I, 483-493; but a comprehensive study, monastic, administrative, economic and cultural, of this great priory is an imperative need.

151. Semeno's prioracy can be traced between 1197 (GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso VIII, III, no. 661), by which time he had succeeded Durandus (last attested for 1194: FITA, Concilio de Lérida, no. 11; KEHR, Papsturkunden Nav. u. Arag., no. 208), and 1201 (Chartes de Cluny, V, 4402). Girard appears first in 1202 and down to 1205 in the Nájeran charters published by RODRÍGUEZ DE LAMA, Col. dipl. riojana in Berceo, t. 10, 1955, nos. 12a, 12b, 133, 136.

152. The lamentably few documents between 1186 (no. 19) and 1223 (no. 22) in Marcellin BOUDET'S massive Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Flour, Monaco, 1910, do not name the prior; the index makes plain that Eustorgius was a fairly common appellative in noble families of this part of Auvergne. Aymeric was presumably the prior of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre in the time of Abbot William I, 1208-1220; cf. Gallia Christiana, XII, 385-6.

154. V, 4403.

155. HAVET, 177, n. 4; 178, n. i; *Chartes de Cluny*, V, p. 771, n. 3; 772, n. i.

156. I have followed here Havet's reading, based on the original, as against Bruel's conflation of this with Lambert de Barive.


158. P. 768.

159. Cf. *Chartes de Cluny*, V, p. 771: "modo dicimus de statu domorum quae sub potestate nostra erant, quomodo dimisi illas" and similar passages, passim; p. 772: "Ego frater S. dimisi in domum de Najera, quond dominus Alanus recept prioratum de Najara". Of the transactions catalogued in the report, the latest that can be dated is of 1201 (*Chartes de Cluny*, V, 4402); since Don Diego Lope de Haro, who at the end of the report affirms its accuracy, died 16 September 1214 (GONZÁLEZ, *Alfonso VIII*, I, 310), the text falls between 1206 and 1214.

160. Cf. n. 151, *supra*.


162. FITA, *Concilio de Lérida*, no. 15.


164. Entrepeñas, leg. 1184, no. 53-P; cf. nos 34-P (1204) and 36-P (1206) on Hugh's predecessor William. For the prior of Saint-Flour in April 1215, *Chartes de Cluny*, VI, 4471, p. 25.

165. On recent interventions of the prior-chamberlain Peter of Carrión in the affairs of Entrepeñas, cf. leg. 1184, nos. 29-P (1196), 30-P (1196), 35-P (1206).


171. FITA, *Concilio de Lérida*, no. 16.

172. Arch. Hist. Nac., Clero, leg. 1165 (San Zoil de Carrión), no. 4-R (orig.).

173. On this Castilian embassy to Germany, which also included Bishop Maurice of Braga, the Prior of the Hospitallers, the abbot of San Pedro de Arlanza, and a former Master of the Order of Santiago, see the *Chronique latine des rois de Castille*, ed. G. CIROT in *Bulletin hispanique*, t. 15, 1913, 35. Cirot, n. 40.4, confesses his inability to identify in this passage the *comarium carrionen*, who was unquestionably our *camerarius Carrionensis* John. On the date of the marriage, L. VAZQUEZ DE PARCA, in *Diccionario de historia de España*, Madrid, 1952, I, 1121.

175. FITA, *Concilio de Lérida*, 376, cites a document he fails to identify of 7 September 1222 in which John appears as prior of Carrión and Nájera. A second *pergamino* of 8 October 1222 (*Chartes de Cluny*, VI, 4539) speaks of "domno abbate ac conuentu Cluniacense uolentibus predictas sententias inpugnare per domnum J. priorem Najareensem procuratorem suum ad hoc specialiter constitutum".

176. Arch, de Navarra, Camera de Comptos, Cajón i, no. 97; and cf. n. 123. *supra*.

177. *Chartes de Cluny*, VI, 4554.

178. Ibid., 4555.

179. Note that in a 1228 Carrión charter the *uisitator* Thomas acts "pro priore sancti Zoili" which hints at trouble at Carrión (leg. 1165, no. 2-E).

180. Leg. 1164, no. 26-P: "Yo don Gui carnerero de Sant Zoyl...".


188. Yepes, *Corónica*, VI, no. 18.