XII

Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain

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[163] Students of Cluniac history, the twelfth-century translations from the Arabic and medieval Franco-Hispanic relations commonly affirm the importance of Peter the Venerable's sole visit to the Iberian peninsula. Yet their references to it, frequently incidental to discussion of other themes, abound in error and confusion; and it is hard to see how a satisfactory assessment of the broader implications of this celebrated journey can be achieved without more precise determination of its motives, date and itinerary. It is to these basic questions that this reconstruction of Peter's Spanish tour addresses itself.

It is essential, first of all, to recognize that the abbots of Cluny rarely crossed the Pyrenees: in 1090 Hugh the Great went as far as Burgos; and in 1113, as I hope shortly to demonstrate, Ponce de Melgueil travelled all the way to Compostella. But these were the only precedents; hence Peter's reasons for undertaking this arduous journey must have been substantial. Two he names himself: *uisitatio locorum nostrorum* and the pilgrimage to Santiago.[1] A third, the procurement of translations from the Arabic, might be inferred from his statement in the preface to the *Liber contra sectam sine haeresim* Saracenorum that this project sprang from his conviction that without accurate knowledge of Islamic teaching Western scholars could not successfully refute its errors.[2] But, pending more precise dating of Peter's anti-Islamic interests in connection with his whole scheme of combatting heretical Christian, Jewish and Muslim doctrine, this motive must remain uncertain. Peter could easily have understood, prior to the Spanish journey, the importance of securing a Latin version of the Koran, but the fact remains that, despite the abundant opportunity afforded by Cluny's peninsular priories and the numerous French-born prelates of Cluniac background in the Spanish hierarchy, no steps to this end were taken until the abbot was himself in the Peninsula. Furthermore, his list of the translated works as 'perditi hominis originem uitam doctrinam legemque ipsam que Alchoran uocatur' corresponds too exactly with what was actually done to be a trustworthy record of original planning.[3] Thus the question whether the translation project, as, e. g., d'Alverny thinks, antedated, or was not in fact, as others like Mandonnet and Monneret de Villard believe, a byproduct of, the Iberian visit, would seem to be an open one, although in my opinion the latter view is more probable.[4]

In any case, such motives as these must be ruled secondary to a more compelling reason, one which Peter himself nowhere specifically mentions but which his itinerary and other evidence reveal, namely, the invitation extended by the Emperor Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile to meet with him on Spanish soil. [5] This invitation fairly clearly originated in the monarch's urgent need of Cluniac support at Rome for the imperial candidate in the politically crucial, disputed election to the archbishopric of Compostella. Peter accepted it, we may legitimately conclude from a principal accomplishment of his trip, as the opportunity to secure from Alfonso, in the midst of Cluny's extreme financial distress, a settlement of
the unpaid annual subsidy granted the Burgundian abbey in perpetuity by the Emperor's grandfather, Alfonso VI.

The date of the journey is variously given in modern accounts as 1141, 1141-1142, 1142 or 1143; but the documentation establishes 1142 for the commencement of the trip and the abbot's sojourn in the Peninsula. The first definite chronological notice we have is of 29 July 1142, when Peter was at Salamanca with Alfonso VII; but since he tells us himself that he was still at Cluny until after Christmas, and that by Pentecost he was in Spain, it follows that he must have left Cluny early in 1142 and have crossed the Pyrenees in the spring of that year. On the other hand, he disappears completely from the Spanish sources after 7 September 1142, and is next discovered, if we can trust the notice in the Rodolfus uitæ, at Le Puy, on his homeward march from Spain, on Ascension Day, which in 1143 fell on 13 May. In that case the correct date for the entire journey would be 1142-1143.

From Ep. 4.12 it appears that at Peter's request his friend Archbishop Geoffrey of Bordeaux undertook to serve as general protector (conseruator) of all the Cluniac houses during the abbot's absence. Of the company of monks, clerics and other companions, to whom Peter several times refers as comprising his escort, at least four can be identified with some confidence: Peter's own learned secretary, Peter of Poitiers; the monk Master Thomas, mentioned as present at Le Puy on the return journey; Bishop Amatus of Oloron, who doubtless joined the party in southern France and soon left it, presumably to go on to Compostella in advance of the abbot; and Bishop Stephen of Osma in Castile, who can be traced as far as the conference with Alfonso VII at Salamanca and who, it may be guessed, had previously carried to Cluny the imperial invitation that resulted in Peter's visit.

Which of the roads across southern France to the Pyrenees was taken, we cannot be sure, since the abbot's passage seems to have left no traces in the published cartularies of the Cluniac houses along the way. Probably it was the direct Cluny-Lyon-Le Puy-Conques-Cahors-Moissac route, which led through Ostabat to Roncesvalles and Pamplona; this was the shortest route and the one by which Peter appears to have returned. In Spain, he unquestionably moved westward along the camino francés, the great pilgrimage road to the shrine of Santiago; and it seems clear that he early stopped at two regular stations on the road, Estella in southern Navarre, and Nájera in the Castilian Rioja below the Ebro. At Nájera the abbot apparently stayed some little time at the priory of Santa María de Nájera, the first Cluniac possession of significance he would encounter and one of the two chief Cluniac centers in all Spain.

Here, as Lacarra has rightly suggested, should doubtless be placed the well-known episode that Peter himself locates simply circa Iberum -- the commissioning of the four translators from the Arabic, Robert of 'Ketton', Hermann of Dalmatia, Master Peter of Toledo and the Moor Mohammed. This whole subject has been ably clarified in a recent study of M. Th. d'Alverny, but three additional points bearing directly upon the journey may be submitted. First, since Robert, Hermann and Master Peter were not Cluniacs and had no known ties with Santa María de Nájera, Peter's encountering at least the first two, and probably all four, scholars in the Ebro region, may indicate that they were in the vicinity because they were travelling with manuscripts from Toledo, with which city Master Peter and doubtless Mohammed can be linked, northward to Pamplona, where Robert's connections were intimate enough to secure for him an archdeaconate the following year.

Second, whether or not Peter the Venerable's purpose of securing Latin versions of the Koran and other Islamic doctrinal texts antedates 1142, it may be deduced that this interest was whetted, if not originally inspired, by the theological interests and manuscripts of the learned Mozarab Master Peter of Toledo. Neither Robert nor Hermann of Dalmatia, who under Chartrain influence devoted themselves almost
exclusively to Arabic astronomy, mathematics and philosophy, and who had to be liberally subsidized by the unscientifically-minded abbot, is likely to have transported religious writings or to have pressed their translation upon him (20). But Master Peter, who without complaint (and therefore, we may surmise, with less reward) put into his rough Latin -- which Peter of Poitiers was assigned to polish to literary standards -- the one polemic of the five works translated, the Risālatān of al-Hāshimi and al-Kindi, thus stands out as the probable link between the first translation of the Koran into a western language and Peter's anti-Islamic croisade intellectuelle, on the one hand, and the Toletan translators clustered about the cathedral school of Archbishop Raymond, on the other (21).

Finally, certain signs suggest that some, if not all, of the quartet accompanied the abbot of Cluny westward beyond Nájera and that the work of translating may have proceeded en route: the mention of sapientes in Peter's company when he heard the Peter Engelbert story recorded in Liber de miraculis, 1.28 (22); the completion of Hermann of Dalmatia's version of the De generatione Mahumet at Leon (23), through which city Peter must have twice passed on his way to and from Astorga, the junction point for Salamanca; and the need for continuing collaboration between the Peters of Toledo and Poitiers. That literary activity was possible during the slow abbatial crossing of Castile and Leon is attested by the fact that Peter himself was collecting and writing down several stories subsequently incorporated into the Liber de miraculis (24).

Beyond Nájera, Peter's first known stop to the west was at one of the small dependencies that Santa Maria possessed near the pilgrimage road -- perhaps San Pedro de Torrecilla or San Andrés de Cirueña, both satis contigua to Nájera -- where he heard from the lips of Peter Engelbert the dramatic story of the rescue of King Alfonso VI's soul from torment through the agency of the monks of Cluny (25). Exactly when the journey was resumed we cannot be sure, but since by 29 July the abbot was in distant Salamanca, he must have been on the march in June or, at the latest, early July. For this stage of the tour, between the Nájeran dependency and Salamanca, there is no direct information, but visitation of at least two important Cluniac houses on the pilgrimage road can safely be assumed. These were, in Castile proper, the priory of Santa Coloma de Burgos, Cluny's one extra-Riojan daughter-house in that kingdom; and, in Leon, the great flourishing monastery of San Zoil at Carrión de los Condes, the principal Cluniac center for all western Spain (26). From Carrión Peter would have to proceed west again on the camino francés to Astorga, the junction for the southern highway that crossed the Duero at Zamora and ran to Salamanca and the Extremaduran frontier zone. Both the selection of Salamanca, well off the pilgrimage road and as yet outside the sphere of Cluniac penetration in Spain (27), and the timing of what Peter calls his colloquium with Alfonso VII, were manifestly determined by the Emperor's military operations that summer against the Almoravid stronghold of Coria, to the south of Salamanca (28). When the siege of this Muslim town, begun in early May, ended victorious in June, Alfonso VII marched north with his army to Salamanca, and there Peter, who had probably tarried at San Zoil de Carrión until apprised of this by courier, joined him at the end of July.

The colloquium of Salamanca between the Leonese-Castilian emperor and the Cluniac abbot is in my opinion our chief key to the understanding of the whole iter Hispanicum. It is often erroneously interpreted as the scene of an act of pure generosity towards Cluny on the part of Alfonso VII, because in the well-known diploma of 29 July 1142 emanating from the conference, that ruler refers to the annual census of 2000 gold metcales (mithqals) conferred upon Cluny by his grandfather, Alfonso VI, and then formally cedes to Cluny the great Castilian abbey of San Pedro de Cárdena near Burgos, certain minor properties in Burgos, and an annual stipend of 200 maravedís from the royal revenues of that city's public baths (29). Serrano has correctly interpreted this donation by a ruler notorious for lack of funds and for coolness towards Cluny, as embodying in fact an agreement reached at Salamanca between Peter and Alfonso to wind up the arrears of, and abolish for good, the Cluniac census of
Given the desperate state of Cluny's finances in this period, there can be little doubt that it was to secure some such measure of compensation for what had once been one of the Burgundian abbey's major sources of revenue, that Peter the Venerable went to Spain.

But the Salamanca charter cannot be attributed solely to the Leonese-Castilian emperor's sudden remorseful desire to discharge by a single stroke his legal indebtedness to Cluny, nor can it be correctly understood except as part of an agreement by which abbot Peter in turn undertook to persuade Pope Innocent II to approve the election and translation to the archiepiscopal see of Compostella of Alfonso's candidate, Bishop Berengarius of Salamanca. This is not the place to examine this hotly contested election or Alfonso VII's determination to obtain a friendly, financially generous metropolitan in a Galicia threatened by the rising power of the new Portuguese monarchy and torn ecclesiastically, as well as politically, by pro-Portuguese, pro-Castilian and pro-independence factions.

It should be remembered also that Compostella's suffragan sees, located in the Luso-Hispanic borderlands of the old Visigothic ecclesiastical province of Mérida, added to the political importance of the Gallegan [171] metropolitanate [31]. From an extant letter written soon after his return to Cluny, we know that Peter sent a carefully chosen envoy to Innocent II, the Cluniac monk Natalis, former royal chancellor of France and ex-abbot of Saint-Pierre de Rebais, to press the emperor's case. And in the letter itself, after praising Alfonso VII as a generous benefactor of Cluny, Peter assures the pope of the canonicity of Berengarius' election, warns him against the lies and bribes of the contesting claimant (presumably the successful Pedro Helias, the next archbishop of Santiago) and strongly urges the immediate recognition of Berengarius [32].

This Compostellan side of the Salamanca colloquium is important also for its bearing upon the difficult question of whether Peter's Spanish itinerary included a visit to Santiago and Cluny's Gallegan priories. That the crossing of Galicia, if it did occur, belongs in this stage of the journey rather than as might alternatively be conjectured, in June or July prior to the meeting with Alfonso VII, seems strongly indicated not only by the lack of any pre-Salamanca clues, but also by the virtual certainty that before leaving Cluny Peter was made well aware of the Emperor's anxiety over the archiepiscopal election and would naturally consult with him before going on to Compostella. Particularly indicative of a Gallegan visit are the sudden importance Galicia and the abbot of Cluny jointly assume in certain imperial charters, presently to be detailed, for August and September of 1142; Peter's assurances to Pope Innocent II of his having collected testimony from scholars, magnates, clergy, prelates and monks in support of the canonicity of Berengarius' election; [33] and Alfonso VII's confirmation, issued at Peter's specific request, of the cotización or grant of immunities to the Cluniac Gallegan priory of San Salvador de Budiño and its abadengo [34].

Yet the evidence against an abbatial traverse of Galicia is also impressive. In neither Peter's writings nor the Spanish documentation [172] is there any express statement of a visit to Compostella. Peter does not say that he collected the information concerning Berengarius' election in Galicia, even though his language might suggest that only there could he have found so great a cloud of witnesses; nor do the known diplomas of any Gallegan dependency of Cluny, including Budiño, attest his actual presence. Thus it seems possible to contend that Peter may have remained at Carrión and that the Gallegan notables, and perhaps also the priors of the Gallegan houses, were summoned there to meet with him. This would dispose of the necessity of assuming a rather hurried trip of considerable length between late July and late August, and would support the hypothesis that the Emperor's involvement during May, June and July in the affairs of Coria explains Peter's leisurely movements before Salamanca and the lack of time for a Gallegan trip following the conference. There is also the possibly significant uelut in Peter's reference to himself in Ep. 4.12 as 'uelut ad peregrina tendentis', which may point to an original, but unfulfilled, intention of proceeding all the way to the Apostle's tomb. At the moment, on the basis of the evidence presently available, it seems difficult to be certain one way or the
other, but on the whole the indications against Peter's having gone on beyond Carrión and Astorga to Compostella seem to carry greater weight.

Whatever the truth about the Gallegan traverse, it is clear that for Peter's movements from Carrión eastward the diplomas of Alfonso VII for August and September 1142 constitute an invaluable guide if arranged chronologically and geographically in the context of the homeward passage. There are five of these pergaminos: 1) the already-cited confirmation of the cotización to San Salvador de Budiño, issued at Peter's request at Carrión, August, no day(35); 2) the confirmation of its properties and privileges to the cathedral church of Tuy, also issued at Carrión, in Peter's presence, August no day(36); 3) the grant of a crown estate to the mayordomo Diego Muñoz, issued at Abia de las Torres, August, no day(37); 4) the confirmation [173] of its fueros to the burgo of San Zoil de Carrión, issued at Burgos in Peter's presence, 7 September(38); and 5) the grant of a crown estate at Villagómez to Rodrigo Muñoz Lavegio, same place, same date, in which Peter is also mentioned(39).

These diplomas I have listed in what, from study of their subscriptions and other internal clues, appears to be the correct chronological sequence. What do they tell us? The two Carrión diplomas surely belong together: they mention Peter; deal with Gallegan matters; and carry the subscriptions of at least three prominent Gallegans, Bishop Pelayo of Tuy, Count Rodrigo Vélez and Pelayo Curvo, who do not appear in the other pergaminos of the group. If during August Peter did visit Galicia, it seems likely these three men, all key figures in Gallegan and Compostellan affairs, accompanied him back from Galicia and, after consultation with the Emperor, returned thither. The alternative would be to assume that Alfonso VII had previously summoned them to Carrión to give Peter testimony regarding the Compostellan election, in which case we might assume they brought with them other clerics and nobles, as mentioned in Ep. 4.9. Again, the charter issued at Abía de las Torres, which is located northeast of Carrión in the direction of Burgos, must postdate the Carrión charters, since it shows Alfonso VII, and therefore Peter, moving towards Burgos; and all three diplomas must belong at the end of August, since by 7 September abbot and emperor were in the Castilian capital, as the two September documents affirm.

Thus the evidence shows that on the return journey Peter and Alfonso VII travelled together from Carrión eastward to Burgos. This whole curious business of the Emperor's tarryng near Carrión in late August and accompanying the Cluniac abbot to the Castilian [174] capital, can, I think, only be explained in the light of the Salamanca colloquium and the cession to Cluny of San Pedro de Cárdena. This astonishing surrender into foreign hands of the great historic abbey of Castile, located close to Burgos, and connected in the national mind with the Cid and the exploits of ancient Castilian counts and kings, was certain to arouse strong opposition. Only by a solemn transfer of Cárdena by the Emperor in person, it may be conjectured, could the cession to Cluny, already effected on parchment, be carried out in fact. That Cardeña's annexation to Cluny did occur in September seems certain, but it is no less significant that Cluny was able to hold her new acquisition for less than four years. This was, however, sufficient time, as the Chronicon de Cardeña laments, for the Cluniacs to strip the abbey of its great movable wealth(40). Given Alfonso's notoriety as a ruthless despoiler of monastic communities, and Cluny's pressing need, in 1142, for cash rather than another remote dependency, we may legitimately infer that this sequence of events had been foreseen at Salamanca.

From Burgos Peter would pass through Nájera and Pamplona again, moving towards Roncesvalles before the snows of winter blocked entry into France. At Pamplona, if we adopt d'Alverny's hypothesis, he may have left Peter of Poitiers, and the secretary and Robert of 'Ketton' (who did not complete his translation of the Koran until sometime between 16 June and 16 July, 1143) may have collaborated in the assembling of the codex of translations from the Arabic which still survives, according to d'Alverny, in the Paris Arsenal MS 1162(41).
Somewhere in Spain, on the return to France, the abbot possibly received reports of serious conditions at Cluny requiring an early return and resulting in a change of route north of the Pyrenees. For, in letters addressed to the archbishops Geoffrey of Bordeaux and Arnaldus of Narbonne, he declares that his intended visit to these prelates on his way home from Spain has had to be abandoned for reasons vaguely described as *fortuitus rerum euentus* and *multiplex curarum distractio*[^2]. But whether we are to take one or both of these letters at face value is hard to say. If at the time both archbishops were residing in their sees, which is by no means certain, [174] visits to both would have entailed a very long and circuitous route home. In any event, if we accept the testimony of Rodolfus that on Ascension Day (which would have to be 13 May 1143) Peter, returning from Spain, celebrated mass at Le Puy[^3], he would seem to have returned to Cluny by the shortest route from Roncesvalles. Yet the possibility that he spent the winter and spring of 1142-1143 in southern France, where we have no trace of his movements, would indicate no great hurry to reach his abbey, an attitude at variance with not only the letters to the two archbishops but also with the financial crisis at Cluny. The best hope for a satisfactory determination of the date of his return is more intensive chronological scrutiny of Peter's activities connected with the Spanish visit once he was back home: the date of the epistle urging St. Bernard of Clairvaux to undertake the doctrinal refutation of Islam on the basis of the translations; the possible correspondence with Peter of Poitiers over the publication of the new versions; the dispatch of Natalis with the letter to Pope Innocent II; and the writing of Peter's own anti-Islamic *Summula breuis*. But the dating and analysis of these important matters fall outside the scope of the present paper.

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Notes for Study Twelve

1. 'Cum in Hispaniis pro usitatione locorum nostrorum quae ibi sunt demorarer', *Ep. 4.17* (Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, ed. M. MARRIER, Mâcon 1915, 1115; *PL* 189, 657-658); 'ad remotas Hispaniarum partes et velut ad peregrina tendentis', *Ep. 4.12* (Bibl. Clun. 824-825; *PL* 189, 318; for the application of this text to Peter's journey, cf. n. 10, below). [To the editors of this volume, Drs. G. Constable and J. Kritzeck, I am indebted for various valuable corrections and suggestions].

2. *PL* 189, 671.

3. *PL* 189, 671.


6. The date 1141, found in *PL* 189, 671 (PETR. VEN., *Prologus in Libro contra sectam siue haeresim Saracenorum*) and which (according to Dr. Kritzeck) occurs in Douai MS 381 fol. 180r dex, has been followed by many historians; but Peter's simultaneous assertion that this was the year when 'cum domino Adefonso uictorioso Hispaniarum imperatore colloquium habui', indisputably refers to Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile's siege of Coria in May-June, 1142 and Peter's conference with him at Salamanca ca. 29 July that same year.

7. BERNARD-BRUEL., *Chartes de Cluny, loc. cit.*

8. A miracle occurring in the archdiocese of Lyon after Christmas and reported to Peter at Cluny before he set out for Spain was ordered written down 'eodem anno in Hispaniis ante Pentecosten' (*PL* 189, 899).

10. The entire passage, which merits citation in view of possible conflicting interpretations, runs as follows: 'Ago quas possum gratias quia non imparem in mutui amoris constantia uos inueni, quem de amici ad remotas Hispaniarum partes et uelut ad peregrina tendentis mandatis et precibus tam deuotum conseruatorem habui. Commendaui ei monasteria nostra abbatias prioratus et cellas; et ecce non eius tantum sed et omnium nostrum uoce attestante fidissimum etiam in hoc comissmo reperi '. I take this to mean that Peter is expressing gratitude to his devoted friend, the archbishop of Bordeaux, who served as Cluny's protector during the Spanish journey, and to whom Peter entrusted all Cluny's houses, an office Geoffrey discharged with great fidelity according to his own account and the witness of the monks of Cluny.

11. *PL* 189, 339, 649, 661; also, assuming the identity of Peter of Poitiers with Peter of St. John, 26-27.


13. PETR. VEN., *Liber de miraculis*, 1.28 (*PL* 189, 904); but Amatus does not subscribe the Salamanca charter of 29 July. The presence of this bishop from southern France might imply that Peter had come into Spain via Oloron-Somport-Jaca rather than the Roncesvalles route; but the bishop could easily have taken the crossroad from Oloron to the Roncesvalles route or have joined Peter west of Puente la Reina, where the two highways from France met. See map in Luis VÁZQUEZ DE PARCA, J. M. LACARRA and J. URIÁ Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* (Madrid 1948-1949) 2,63.


15. *Lib. de mirac.* 1.28. For maps of the pilgrimage road stations in Spain, see VÁZQUEZ DE PARCA, LACARRA and URIÁ, *op. cit.* vol. 2.


17. *PL* 189, 650.


21. *PL* 189, 339; D'ALVERNY 87-96. Neither Angel GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA in his biographical sketch *Noticias sobre D. Raimundo, arzobispo de Toledo* in *Moros y cristianos en España medieval* (Madrid 1945) 101-176 nor José María MILLAS VALLICROSA, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid 1942) 10 throws any light upon the otherwise unknown Master Peter, who requires to be checked in the cartularies and pergaminos of the cathedrals of Toledo and Pamplona. The suggestion of GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA 167-168 and Marcelin DEFOURNEAUX, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Paris 1949) 46 that the archbishop influenced the translation project has little to be said for it: Raymond and Peter did meet at Salamanca in late July (BERNARD-BRUEL 5, 425 for the prelate's subscription to the charter of 29 July), but this was long after the commissioning of the translators at Nájera. A related problem to the translations from the Arabic that still awaits investigation is the Latin version of, or extracts from, the Talmud, which Peter used in his *Tractatus aduersus Judaeorum inueteratam duritiem* (*PL* 189, 507-
650); if, as SÉJOURNÉ asserts (DThC 12.2, 2073-6), this tract appeared ca 1140, it may have suggested the Koran translation later. But if this date is correct, it would not be possible to link mention in the Tractatus of Jewish paper manuscripts (PL 189, 606: *ex rasuris ueterum pannorum*) to Peter's having discovered this novel writing material for the first time in Spain, as is asserted by Ramón MENÉNDEZ PIDAL in *Historia de la nación argentina* (ed. Ricardo Levene, Buenos Aires 1939) 2, 117 and André BLUM, *Les origines du papier*, in Rev. historique 170 (1932) 441-442.

22. PL 189, 904.

23. HASKINS 47; D'ALVERNY 80-81.


26. Peter's use of *morarer, demorarer* (*Bibl. Clun.* 1115; PL 189, 339) with reference to his Spanish stay suggests, as does the necessity of his waiting upon the termination of the Coria siege before joining Alfonso VII, a somewhat leisurely traverse of northern Spain in June and July, possibly punctuated by stop-overs of some length at Nájera and Carrión.

27. The following year, however, on 29 October 1143, Alfonso VII ceded Peter and Cluny the church of San Vicente de Salamanca for conversion into a Cluniac priory (BERNARD-BRUEL 5, 428-430).


29. BERNARD-BRUEL 5, 423-426. I have in an advanced state of preparation a study of Cluny's Spanish census in which the act of 1142 is examined with reference to the story of Alfonso VII's financial relations with Cluny from the time of his accession.


32. *Ep.* 4.9; 3.5. Note St. Bernard of Clairvaux, after being visited by Berengarius on his way back from Rome to Spain, also urged Innocent II to confirm his translation (S. BERN., *Ep.* 212).


34. BERNARD-BRUEL 5, 426-427.


39. Fray FRANCISCO DE BERGANZA, *Antigüedades de España propugnadas en las noticias de sus
reyes y condes de Castilla la Vieja (Madrid 1719-21) 2,76: 'Facta carta Burgis tempore quo domnus Petrus Cluniacensis abbas Hispaniam intrauit'. Berganza refers to the text of this document as printed in extenso in his appendix (escritura 142), but no consta. L. SERRANO, Fuero de Cuevacardiel y Villalmundar, in Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 3a época 16 (1907) 419-420, has published a diploma of Alfonso which he dates 28 July 1142, but the persons mentioned in the text and subscriptions demonstrate that this document actually belongs in 1150-1155. In Juan DEI, ALAMO, Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña (Madrid 1950) I, 220-221, is a charter of 1142 showing the Emperor at Burgos, but unfortunately neither month nor day is given and there are few signatures.

40. España Sagrada 23, 372.
41. D’ALVERNY 96-103.
42. Ep. 4.11, 12.
43. RODOLFUS, Vita Petr. Ven. c. 16; Vita altera ex Chronico Cluniacensi BIBL.. CLUN. 648; PL 189, 26-27).