[1] In the years since the commemoration in 1956 of the eighth centenary of Peter the Venerable's death, the Spanish journey of 1142 has continued to attract scholarly attention, both as a notable episode in the abbot's own career and as marking the commencement, at least above the Pyrenees, of serious Western study of the Islamic faith. Three important contributions appearing in this interval devote particular attention to the peninsular visit: (i) the new fully annotated edition of the Petrine correspondence prepared by Professor Giles Constable; (ii) Father D. Van den Eynde's meticulous charting of all of Peter's principal travels; and (iii) the Islamicist James Kritzeck's investigation of the various translations from the Arabic and of the anti-Islamic polemical tracts preserved in the so-called Collectio Toletana, the mid-12th-century codex intimately connected with the abbot's "croisade intellectuelle" that follows his return from Spain.

In addition, studies by Martín Duque, Lemay, Sánchez Albornoz, Southern and Daniel, addressed to the whole movement of translation in 12th- and 13th-century Spain and to the rise of Christian apologetic against Islam, take due note of Peter's projects in the Peninsula. Lemay indeed ascribes to the abbatial presence (which he erroneously retains in 1141) a decisive influence as for the first time linking the peninsular translators with the cathedral schools of France, and as carrying the whole work of translation from the Arabic beyond its hitherto narrowly scientific limits into the philosophical and apologetic spheres, with far-reaching consequences for the orientation of the so-called Toledan School under the patronage of Archbishop Raimundo of Toledo. There is, however, much exaggeration in this claim, and Sánchez Albornoz, more judiciously, refuses to regard this contemporary extension of focus as the "obra exclusiva" of the Petrine visit.

It has been proposed that still another effect of the tour of 1142 should be acknowledged in the field of Hispanic historiography. Luis Sánchez Belda, when editing in 1950 the Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris, had suggested that this important work might be of Hispano-Cluniac provenance, the composition of Bishop Arnaldo of Astorga (1144-1152/3). In 1963 Angel Ferrari, without discussing this ascription, argued that both the Chronica and the appended Poema de Almería were the work of Peter of Poitiers, the learned French Cluniac who was Peter the Venerable's secretary and close companion during the journey through Spain. The objections to such a hypothesis appear insuperable: Peter of Poitiers was only briefly in the Peninsula, i.e. during 1142, and totally unpossessed of the mastery of Iberian interstate political complexities or the deep-seated pro-Leonese bias displayed by the Chronica. This narrative indeed and the Poema appear to be by different hands; the Poema reveals no Cluniac interest.
whatever; and the *Chronica* passes over in complete silence the abbot's presumably widely known presence below the Pyrenees and his conference with Alfonso VII at Salamanca. Its solitary mention of the Burgundian abbey is in fact an incidental notice that it served as a place of refuge for the Emperor's defeated opponent Count Gómez Núñez of Toroño, a magnate who (as we have to learn from other sources) had previously been the donor to Cluny of the Gallegan priory of San Salvador de Budiño.\(^{(9)}\)

As for Sánchez Belda's earlier Asturico-Cluniac conjecture, this rests exclusively upon the anonymous statement to this effect preserved in an appendix of 1727 to the final volume of the *Sinopsis histórico-cronológica de España* of Juan Perreras,\(^{(10)}\) and requires to be received with extreme caution. Further investigation is needed of the activities from 1121 of the Cluniac priory of San Salvador de Astorga and the possible Cluniac influences in the cathedral chapter of the Asturican see dating from the episcopate of the French-born Bishop Alo (1123-1131), the poet and scholar who had previously served as Alfonso VI's chancellor.\(^{(11)}\) In any case no connection whatever with the tour of 1142 is visible.

While the pertinent literature since 1956 continues to debate the question whether Abbot Peter's translation project preceded or coincided with the Spanish visit, the crucial contribution made by the Mozarab scholar Master Peter of Toledo, which I \[^{[3]}\] stressed, is becoming generally acknowledged, although it still merits closer scrutiny.\(^{(12)}\) Kritzeck, emphasizing the need for further investigation in still another direction, calls attention to the impress of the abbot's Spanish contacts upon the composition or final revision of his *Liber adversus iudeorum inueteratam duritiem*;\(^{(13)}\) and in this light the journey of 1142, affecting Peter's Jewish in addition to his Islamic studies, assumes even greater importance as the first true trans-Pyrenean intellectual confrontation not only with Islam but with the full range of the medieval Iberian tri-fideistic *convivencia*.

As for my reconstruction of the abbatial itinerary, this has received general agreement except on one point, the date of El Venerable's return to Cluny, where Van den Eynde makes a sound correction which I am happy to adopt.\(^{(14)}\) On page 175, in accordance with what I took to be the intent of the notice by Rodulfus in his *Vita* c. 16, that while on his way home from the Peninsula Peter celebrated at Le Puy the *missa de Ascensione*, I dated the abbot's presence in that town on Ascension Day, 13 May 1143, although not without calling attention to the apparent contradiction between this evidence for an unhurried movement across Southern France and the abbot's two extant epistles stating his imperative need to reach Burgundy as speedily as possible. Van den Eynde has now resolved this difficulty by explaining that at Le Puy, when called upon to cure a man into whose body a serpent had entered, Peter appropriately chose to offer as a votive mass that of the Ascension, the Gospel of which contains -- as Rodulfus had noted -- the words *serpentes tollent*. Since this Mass could be celebrated at any time, it in no sense fixes the halt at Le Puy on Ascension Day itself. This removes all objection to believing in a relatively rapid progress beyond Burgos (which the abbot must have left by mid-September 1142), so that even allowing for time spent at Le Puy to attend a formal *curia ecclesiastica*,\(^{(15)}\) Van den Eynde's conclusion that Peter reached Cluny during October is convincing, although November would probably fit as well. At any rate, the necessity for extending the trip into 1143 is thus completely removed. The abbot's Spanish sojourn can now be taken as falling entirely within the single calendar year 1142.

A more difficult question is whether to expand Peter's peninsular itinerary so as to allow for a penetration of Catalonia, Aragon and eastern Navarre preceding his march through western Navarre, the Rioja, Castile and Leon, as reconstructed in my article. Although the data supporting this, much less firm or documentable than that for the western stages, has been ignored or little studied, a positive answer is strongly indicated. It has often been noted that in his polemical treatise *Contra Petrobrusianos heréticos* the abbot cites the personal visit he has made *in orientalibus Hispании partibus*, a phrase that presumably includes all northeastern Iberia. Conjecture relating to the chronology of this trip has almost always placed it well before that of 1142; but this frequently
encountered assumption of an earlier Hispanic tour is in my judgment untenable. On the other hand, certain diplomatic evidence from the years 1133-1145 concerning the foundation of what became the Cluniac priory of San Adrián de Vadoluengo near Sangüesa seems to point to a now unknown Petrine visitation of this house in the spring or early summer of 1142. A review of these questions will demonstrate that there are convincing grounds for placing at the start of Peter's traverse of Spain two now unrecognized stages: first, an entry into Catalonia; thereafter -- though less certainly -- a passage via the pilgrimage road through Aragon and across eastern Navarre to Puente la Reina.

1. Sant Pere de Casserres and the Rock-Salt Mountain of Cardona

In one of the more remarkable sections of the *Contra Petrobrusianos* Peter the Venerable describes at some length an extraordinary mountain of salt located in eastern Spain of which he had been told and subsequently saw with his own eyes: "... in orientalibus Hispamie partibus ... miraculum quod prius audiens uix credidi, sed post quod audieram uidens, dubitare non potui." The passage occurs in connection with the refutation of Petrobrusian disbelief in Eucharistic transubstantiation. Peter, in keeping with the new scientific materialism of his time, undertakes to demonstrate the validity of the Aristotelian formula of substantial without accidental change in physical things by noting how water can be transformed from a liquid into a solid substance, ice, and in the case of the Spanish mountain even more astonishingly, into salt. For this mountain in eastern Hispania, he writes, has rocks and cliffs not of stone but of hard shining-white rock salt (*sal gemma*), superior in purity to that recovered from the sea or springs, and which is the subject of a large-scale profitable trade on the part of the local inhabitants. Yet, despite the daily sinking of deep shafts into the mountainside, every year during the rainy season all such excavated places fill with water that hardens into salt, so that whatever has been removed is completely replenished, demonstrating that, as with the Eucharist, an element from heaven (water in this case) can be transformed on earth into a different physical substance.

Now there can be little, if any, doubt as to the precise geographical location of Peter's montane miracle. Not only are major rock-salt deposits rare in northeastern or northern Spain, but at only one place do they take the extraordinary geologic form of an authentic hill of salt: the great rock-salt mountain of Cardona in Catalonia, to the west of Vich and between Solsona and Manresa.

Of the many modern descriptions of this still noteworthy spectacle, one of the last century may be cited in part, that of Sebastián de Miñano in his *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico* of 1826-1828 -- a description at points so reminiscent of Peter's own as to suggest a common source in local tradition or the propaganda of an unusually long-lived tourist bureau. At Cardona, says Miñano, "es muy célebre el mineral de sal gema de esta villa... un peñasco de sal maciza que se levanta encima de tierra, cosa de 400 á 500 pies ... 1 legua de circuito, y su elevación no es menos que cualquiera de las otras montañas circunvecinas ... Esta prodigiosa montaña de sal, desnuda de otra cualquiera materia, es única en Europa... y ni las aguas la disminuyen, ni ha podido agotarse con la continua extracción por espacio de tantos siglos; las lluvias no disminuyen la sal."

This is firm proof that at some time in his travels Peter the Venerable reached central Catalonia, and it at once suggests that his presence here is to be accounted for in terms of a visitation to the nearby Cluniac priory of Sant Pere de Casserres (San Pedro de Caserras), a house lying to the south of Berga which had been given to the Burgundian monks in 1079 by Viscount Ramón Folch of Cardona. In all probability it was at Casserres that the itinerant abbot first learned of the noteworthy saline mountain of the *comarca*; at any rate, it must have been from here that he made his excursion to behold the miraculous phenomenon for himself. Furthermore, it is to be recalled also that in 1142 Catalonia contained two other Cluniac dependencies in this vicinity which the abbot would surely have sought to visit at the same time -- Sant Pere de Comprodon (San Pedro de Camprodón), 40km. northwest of Gerona, and Sant Pere de Ciará (San Pedro de Clarano), of uncertain location, but presumably near...
the village of this name not far from Ripoll and its venerable Benedictine abbey, and within reach from Comprodon. We can posit with some confidence, therefore, an abbatial entry into Catalonia which may have touched at all three houses but very probably included Sant Pere de Casserres.

But when in fact are we to suppose that such a Catalan tour could have been carried out? Conjectures abound that the Venerable made one or more journeys into Spain previous to that of 1142 and the possibility continues to find support in the most recent literature. Constable admits that Peter may have been in Spain in either 1124 or 1127, although noting at the same time that "he is not known to have gone there before 1142-3"; and Van den Eynde, with particular reference to the Catalan visit attested by the saline passage of the Contra Petrobrusianos, warns against dismissing as "simplement fantaisiste" the thesis of an earlier peninsular trip than that of 1141-42 (sic). Should we then regard the Catalan visitation as occurring in the course of such a hypothetical earlier crossing of the Pyrenees by Peter? Speculation on this point has ranged loosely over the years 1124, 1126, post-1126, 1127 and 1134, all but the last of these hypotheses apparently stemming from a false assumption of Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire, who in the true spirit of 19th-century "pan-clunisme" had concluded that a reconciliation, which he placed in 1126, between the warring monarchs Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile and Alfonso I el Batallador of Aragon-Navarre could only have been achieved by the abbot of Cluny while in the course of inspecting his peninsular dependencies. But this surmise lacks all foundation. The circumstances surrounding the so-called Paces de Támara have now been given close scrutiny by two experts: R. Menéndez Pidal, who rejects the usual ascription of this treaty to 1127 as recorded in the Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris and favors a date of 1124; and J. Ma. Lacarra, who after exhaustive analysis of the diplomatic texts bearing on the itineraries of both rulers during the quadrennium 1124-1127 demonstrates -- in my opinion, irrefutably -- that the 1127 dating is correct. More importantly, neither of these investigations disclosed the slightest trace of Petrine intervention, least of all in the form of the abbot's actual appearance in the Peninsula during the years in question. As for 1124, it is to be further noted that the donation act by which on 23 June in this year Alfonso VII's sister, the Infanta Sancha, gave Cluny the Leonese monastery of San Miguel de Escalada, although addressed to Peter, specifically declares that it is being placed in the hands of the camerarius Hugo de Crécy for transmission to the abbot, who must then patently not have been in Spain. Similarly, Emperor Alfonso VII himself in 1132, when ceding the venerable abbey of Sahagún to the Burgundian monks, for identical reasons entrusted his real pergamino to this same abbatial intermediary.

In short, all the hypotheses regarding Peter's supposed advent in Spain during the decade 1124-1134 remain without substantiation, and stand in flat contradiction to the fact that Cluniac affairs in Spain, including the annual inspection of the priories, were regularly administered by itinerant (eventually resident provincial) chamberlains (camerarii). Only for truly extraordinary reasons, therefore, did the Burgundian abbot himself ever undertake the arduous journey to Spain, as when in 1090 Hugo the Great came to Burgos to insure continuation of the Alfonsine census duplicatus; or Ponce de Melgueil, as the legate of Paschal II, sought in 1113 to resolve the catastrophic succession crisis arising from the ill-fated marriage of Alfonso VI's daughter Urraca and King Alfonso el Batallador. Peter's own trip in 1142, which followed receipt of an express inuitatio of Alfonso VII, and can be linked to the fate of the ever more indispensable Hispanic census and to a disputed election to the see of Compostela, was clearly another such exceptional venture.

If the earlier dates can thus be eliminated as both inherently unlikely and without any support whatever from the known documentation, the question whether we can validly accept the abbot's undoubted Catalan penetration as part of the journey of 1142 has to be confronted anew. The major objection, and at first sight a formidable one, is the universal agreement of scholars that the Contra Petrobrusianos was composed before this year, so that the narrative of the personal visit to the saline mountain must
necessarily be attributed to some previous Spanish experience. To be sure, once again opinion has been widely divergent regarding the precise date of composition of this treatise. It was long customary to place it in the 1120s, usually at 1126-1127; then the 1130s, especially 1137, became favorites; and, most recently, J. Fearns, the able editor of the new *Corpus Christianorum* edition, has decided in favour of 1139/40. But none of these views precludes the possibility that, following his return from the Peninsula and before releasing the work for circulation, Peter could have revised or made interpolations in the text in the light of his visit to Spain in 1142. Constable, in fact, while assigning the first draft of the *Contra Petrobrusianos* to ca. 1137/8 and its subsequent revision and publication to 1140/1, nevertheless acknowledges "that some finishing touches were perhaps added after 1143", citing specifically the visit to the rock-salt mountain in eastern Spain as an example of these; and Van den Eynde notes that the same may be true of the references in the treatise to the person and work of Muhammad. In the latter regard I would suggest that this is particularly evident in Peter's brief summary of Islamic religious practices as against his usual concentration upon the doctrines. Here, in his comparative analysis of the role of sacrifice in the world's four theistic faiths -- Christianity, Judaism, Islam and paganism -- he characterizes Muslims as practising circumcision, given to frequent ablutions, prostrating themselves in prayer at fixed times of the day and night, allegedly (*ut fertur*) after taking food and drink, and [presumably, thereafter] allowing free rein to license. This not altogether accurate assessment -- note, for example, the usual western misunderstanding of post-abstinence consumption of food and drink during Ramadan -- may owe something to the *Dialogus* of Petrus Alfonsi or the *Collectio Toletana*; this remains to be established. What is striking is that similar language regarding *circumcisio*, *gula* and *libido* appears in the *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* and Letter 111 (IV, 17), both of which belong in the biennium 1143-1144, and that the allusions in the *Contra Petrobrusianos* passage to frequent ablation and the daily prayer cycle, which are not mentioned in these two texts, may well represent information collected in Spain in 1142. Another of Peter's major apologetic treatises, the *Liber adversus iudeorum inueteratam duritiem*, the study of which has been unduly neglected but which has generally been attributed to an earlier point in the abbot's career, contains various passages Kritzeck identifies as drawn from the Toledan Collection and therefore interpolated into the work after the return from Spain. This further demonstrates the abbot's eagerness immediately to incorporate the fruits of his peninsular travels and his commissioning of translations into his apologetic writings.

These various indications make it altogether likely that shortly after 1142 Peter the Venerable inserted into the final redaction of the *Contra Petrobrusianos* an argument in favor of transubstantiation based upon his recent visit to the rock-salt mountain of Cardona and by implication to the priory of Sant Pere de Casserres. We can add further corroborative evidence from other sources. First, there is Peter's own flat statement in the *Liber de miraculis*, the completion of which falls after 1142, that he had travelled to Spain only once: *semel*, i.e., once and for all, not, be it noted, *olim*, *aliquando* or the like; and it is clear that throughout his works he uses *semel* in its strict classical sense. This information of course agrees perfectly with what we have said above concerning the silence of the sources regarding any earlier Hispanic venture. Secondly, in view of the abbot's similarly explicit declaration of his intention on his journey to Spain to carry out a *uisitatio locorum nostrorum*, we must assume in the absence of any indication to the contrary that he did in fact reach the Catalan dependencies of which Sant Pere de Casserres, not far from Cardona, was the most important.

Thirdly, there is an overlooked passage in Peter's Letter 111 (IV, 17) which offers a final compelling proof. This celebrated and lengthy epistle, written in 1143 or 1144 to St Bernard of Clairvaux, attempts to persuade the great Cistercian leader to undertake a refutation of Islam on the basis of the materials just gathered by the abbot of Cluny in connection with his recent trip to Spain -- and indeed the letter
was accompanied by a manuscript of one of the new translations, very likely that of the Risāla of al-
Kindi. (39) But Peter had still another objective, one that takes up considerable space from the beginning
of Letter 111—a plea for amity between Cluniacs and Cistercians. Here, in words that in the context of
the abbatial visit to Cardona take on previously unenvisaged significance, Peter remarks that he is
sending on to Bernard -- no doubt along with the letter and the anti-Islamic manuscript -- a personal
gift of rock-salt (sal gemma), to be used for the seasoning of food but intended also to be the symbol of
the brotherly love that in spite of all differences of dress or custom should prevail between the religious
of the two Orders. (40) To be sure, the Cluniac abbot could have acquired this piece of rock-salt years
before his trip of 1142 and from another source than a personal visit, but Peter's express statement in
his account of the mountain of Cardona that it was the practice there to confer pieces of the valuable
sal gemma upon visitors [9] from distant parts, sounds like an allusion to an experience of his own. (41)
At any rate, this saline present to Bernard and his fellow-monks at Clairvaux is so closely associated
with a letter crowded with references to Spain, touching not only on the urgent need for anti-Muslim
apologetics but even on socio-anthropological topics such as, for example, the peninsular use of black
for mourning in contrast with that of white then current above the Pyrenees, (42) that it is difficult to
believe that this salty symbol of Cluniac-Cistercian friendship can have any other provenance than
Peter's trip of 1142.

Nor do we need to hesitate long as to just where to allocate the Catalan stage in the traverse of 1142.
Everything we know regarding Peter's hurried homeward march that autumn from Burgos -- his receipt
of gloomy news regarding conditions at Cluny during his long absence, his cancellation of projected
visits to Archbishops Geoffreys of Bordeaux and Arnaldo of Narbonne (both premising an intended
homeward route far west of Catalonia), the urgency of transmitting to Pope Innocent II his promised
endorsement of Alfonso VII's candidate in the disputed Compostelan election -- rules out a halt, not to
say sight-seeing at Cardona. (43) In contrast, at the start of the journey across Spain to distant
Salamanca, the abbot's slow-paced movements during the spring and summer, indeed all the way to his
meeting with Emperor Alfonso VII in late August, his extended stays at priories such as Nájera and
Carrión, raise no chronological objections whatever. We conclude therefore that the travels in Catalonia
of the as yet unwearied Burgundian compiler of natural and supernatural wonders can safely be
assigned to the spring of 1142.

II. Roncesvalles or Somport? San Adrián de Vadoluengo-Sangüesa and the Aragonese Route to
Puente la Reina

The testimony to Peter's presence in Catalonia at the commencement of his peninsular traverse raises in
turn the question of his itinerary beyond Casserres and Cardona to that point on the main pilgrimage
road near Estella where we again pick up the little company on its approach to the Rioja and Santa
María de Nájera. Estella lies westward of Puente la Reina, the junction point of the Aragonese Somport
and Navarrese Roncesvalles sections of the great highway, and to reach this station the abbot could
conceivably have proceeded from Casserres across Urgel and Ribagorza, or else have dropped down
south to strike the line of the Ebro. But he might also have returned from Catalonia into southern
France, and, after taking the much travelled road above the Pyrenees via Arles, Montpellier, Narbonne
and Carcassonne to Toulouse, re-entered Spain farther to the west. (44) If so, this would have been either
at Roncesvalles, as has always been supposed with regard to his original entry, or by [10] Somport, the
Aragonese gateway through the mountains leading to Jaca, the Navarrese frontier near Sangüesa, and
on to Puente la Reina. In the complete absence of direct documentary notices, the evidence on this
point must remain purely circumstantial, but for what it is worth it would seem to favor the Somport-
Sangüesa alternative, for the following reasons.
To assume an abbatial journey beyond Catalonia entirely within Spain raises formidable difficulties. Any east-west transverse route across the rugged mountain country of southern Ribagorza and the Cinca Valley would have imposed arduous, painfully slow passages in thinly settled lands, as yet imperfectly pacified outside the few larger towns. In later centuries, as indeed also in the Muslim epoch, the normal route would have been to move down the Segre River to its junction with the Ebro and then to follow up the valley of the latter stream past Zaragoza to the Rioja. If this route had been viable in 1142, we might even speculate that Peter was crossing the diocese of Tarazona at the very time when its French-born Bishop Michael and his learned canon Magister Hugo Sanctalliensis (of Santa Eulalia?) were preoccupied with the preparation of translations of Arabic works on astronomy, astrology, geomancy and mathematics; and thus it would be tempting to place near Tarazona or Tudela the fateful meeting *iuxta Iberum* with the translators Hermann of Dalmatia and Robert of Ketton who shared these same scientific interests. But in 1142, with Lerida still in Muslim hands (to 1149), this possibility can be eliminated. Furthermore, so famous a city as Zaragoza finds no mention in Peter's writings; it did not contain, as frequently alleged, a Cluniac priory; most fatally of all, such an itinerary would have led straight to the Rioja and Santa Maria de Nájera well to the southwest of Estella, thus contradicting Peter's own declaration of the *itineris necessitas* that explains his presence in the latter area.

In this light, the alternative of a return from Catalonia to France and thereafter movement westward above the mountains to the trans-Pyrenean passes of Somport or Roncesvalles, offers the more probable solution; and of these two famous entry-ports into the Peninsula not Roncesvalles, as now believed and as supported in my original reconstruction of the abbatial journey, but Somport, has the stronger claim on at least three grounds, (i) If Peter did in fact recross the Pyrenees, he would be travelling on the pilgrim highway that ran from Toulouse, Auch and Oloron to Somport and Jaca, a much shorter route to Puente la Reina and Estella than by the pass of Roncesvalles farther to the west, (ii) Such an itinerary provides a logical explanation of why Bishop Amatus of Oloron, whose cathedral church lay directly north of Somport, turns up in Spain in the abbot's company, (iii) Peter's program of a *uisitatio locorum nostrorum* creates a presumption of his having sought to visit the Cluniac priory of San Adrián de Vadoluengo in northeastern Navarre close to the Aragonese frontier and precisely on the line of the Somport-Jaca-Puente la Reina highway at the point where this routeway to Compostela crossed the historic bridge over the River Aragón. Peter had no such visitational reason for taking the Roncesvalles road, although a desire to pass through Pamplona cannot be altogether ruled out. Moreover, in the years just before and after 1142 the canonical status of the Cluniac holdings at San Adrián de Vadoluengo was sufficiently controversial as to warrant, if not compel, the intervention of the Burgundian abbot while passing through Spain.

To explain this last factor calls for a summation of evidence I have presented elsewhere *in extenso*. In 1133 a leading Aragonese nobleman, Fortún Garcés Caxal or Cajal, when terminating many years of service under Alfonso *el Batallador* as señor of Nájera, Viguera, Grañón and Belorado in the Aragonese-occupied territories of the Rioja and eastern Castile, gave Prior Peter and the Cluniacs of Santa Maria de Nájera a parting gift. This consisted of the church and heredad of San Adrián at Vadoluengo just below Sangüesa, two *heredades* more to the west near Abar, and a valuable tract, the *soto* of Alcatén, well to the south at Tudela in the reconquered middle Ebro Valley. The church of San Adrián then lay within the confines of the kingdom of Aragon, and from the terms of the donation charter, issued in the name of Cajal and his wife Toda and reserving to them vitalicia! retention of all the ceded properties, it can be suspected that the intention was to prepare the way for eventual creation under Santa Maria's control of what would have been Cluny's first monastic dependency on Aragonese soil. Any such scheme however certainly foundered soon in the cataclysmic changes that transformed...
the political map of north-central Iberia following *el Batallador's* untimely death on 8 September 1134. Alfonso VII's swift conquest of the Rioja, the collapse of the Navarro-Aragonese federation and the emergence of an independent Pamplonesse state under King García Ramírez, the latter's successful annexation of Sangüesa and Vadoluengo from Aragon, Aragon's fateful alliance in August 1137 with the County of Barcelona under Ramón Berenguer IV, and the long years of warfare between García Ramírez and his hostile neighbors on either side -- such factors would have told heavily against the viability of a Burgundian subpriory located on the extreme eastern edge of Navarre yet attached to Nájera in the once again Leonese-Castilian Rioja. (53)

Furthermore, in this turbulent epoch Cajal himself, although at first enjoying high position as a chief counsellor of Alfonso I's fleeting successor Ramiro II *el Monje*, suffered a serious setback in both personal wealth and political influence in mid-1136. (12) While travelling across Navarre as royal envoy to negotiate an anti-Navarrese alliance between Aragon and the Hispanic Empire of Alfonso VII, he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by agents of King García Ramírez. (54) Only by paying the Pamplonesse monarch an extremely high ransom was the magnate able to secure his liberation in 1137, and to raise this sum he had to turn over most of his numerous domains in Aragon, Navarre and the Ebro Valley to San Salvador de Leire in return for that wealthy abbey's provision of the necessary cash. (55) Although by Ramiro II's express order the lands Cajal had previously promised the Cluniacs of Nájera were excluded from this transaction, (56) those at Tudela and Aibar were in fact lost to them at this time.

It is however certain that although much impoverished and with visibly shrunken influence at a court that was now looking eastward to union with Barcelona, Cajal did not relinquish his commitment of 1133 to establish a Cluniac outpost near Sangüesa. In the course of the year 1137 he bestowed upon his recognizably French and very probably Cluniac chaplain Peter a *palacio* and *heredad* within the Sangüesan Burgo Nuevo, properties which he had succeeded in redeeming from Leire. (57) Once again, the language of the gift, made together with his wife Toda on behalf of themselves, their deceased son García Cajal (a casualty in late 1133 of Alfonso I's campaign against Mequinenza), and the magnate's own kinsmen (*parentes*) Kings Pedro and Alfonso of Aragon, implies the projected foundation of a monastic house capable of carrying out the donor's intercessional purpose.

This intention becomes plain in 1141, when, by a little known diploma, Cajal and Toda transfer directly to the abbey of Cluny not only the same church and heredad of San Adrián at Vadoluengo which in 1133 they had ceded to Santa María de Nájera, but also the *palacio* and *heredad* of the Burgo Nuevo given to the chaplain Peter just four years previously. (58) On this latest occasion Sancho de Larrosa, bishop of Pamplona, lent his formal sanction to the benefaction by consecrating the church of San Adrián to its changed function as the chapel of a new Cluniac community, no longer envisaged as a subpriory of Santa María de Nájera but a priory in its own right directly subordinate to the abbot of Cluny. From Cajal's subsequent diploma of 1145 we learn that from the date of the *dies consecrationis*, monachi Cluniacienses were in residence at Vadoluengo and in full possession of its temporal. The changed political boundary after 1135 meant however that instead of becoming, as foreseen in 1133, the first Burgundian outpost in Aragon, San Adrián de Vadoluengo, or as the Cluniac records designate it, San Adrián de Sangüesa (and often erroneously San Adrián de Zaragoza), now assumed a comparable role in Navarre, although, to be sure, in the latter kingdom Santa María de Nájera already possessed near Estella the subject-house of San Jorge de Azuelo at Berrueza. (59)

This substitution in 1141 of the mother abbey in Burgundy for the Riojan Santa María as the immediate superior of San Adrián can hardly have been effected without Peter the Venerable's knowledge and assent, and to his natural interest in visiting this latest peninsular dependency would have been added the circumstances of its disputable canonical status. This last factor becomes manifest in 1145 when it
proved necessary for Cajal to repeat his cession of four years before by promulgating a second [13]
donation charter for San Adrián, the only one destined to be preserved by the mother abbey and
eventually to find its way into Bruel's *Chartes de Cluny*.\(^{(60)}\) In this text Cajal appears alone, Doña Toda
evidently having died in the interval, but the *abadengo* attached to the church is identical, as is the list
of persons for whom commemoration is sought: Cajal, Toda, their son García, the royal *parentes* Kings
Pedro and Alfonso. No re-consecration was necessary but the bishop of Pamplona remains prominent,
this time not Sancho de Larrosa but his successor Lope, to whose *interuentus et auctoritas* the diploma
attributes itself. The fact that abbots from three major monasteries on both sides of the Navarro-
Aragonese border also attend as witnesses -- John of San Juan de la Peña, Peter of Leire, Peter of Santa
María de Irache -- further underscores a determination to remove all juridical clouds surrounding the
grant.

In this context it is difficult not to speculate that the amicable relations the acts of 1141 and 1145
disclose between Cluny and the Church of Pamplona owe something to Peter's friendship with the
erudite English cleric Robert of Ketton who headed his Koranic translation team of 1142 and with
whom the abbot, after returning to Burgundy, remained in scholarly correspondence. Master Robert can
be found in the 1140s as a particularly prominent archdeacon of the 'Iglesia Iruniense', a principal
episcopal counsellor, and the stalwart defender in his archdeaconry of Valdonsella -- the valley of the
Onsella and middle Aragón rivers below Sangüesa -- of Pamplona's rights to various churches there
against the counter-claims of the bishops of Zaragoza and Calahorra.\(^{(61)}\) Since this was a time when the
prelates of the latter see were also seeking papal annulment of Alfonso VI's 1079 cession of Santa
María de Nájera to Cluny and hoping to resume full episcopal authority over the great Riojan
community, it is tempting to posit some degree of collaboration between Robert and Peter in the denial
of jurisdiction over San Adrián to Nájera, which lay in the diocese of Calahorra no less than in the
hostile kingdom of Leon-Castile. This relationship, however, doubtless developed too late to lend its
strength to the case for a Petrine stopover at Vadoluengo in 1142.

Nothing the preceding paragraphs have adduced can be taken as definitely proving that in 1142 Peter
the Venerable touched at the priory of San Adrián. Yet if we take into consideration the factors just
presented, the presumption would seem reasonably strong that after leaving Catalonia Peter re-entered
Spain by the Aragonese gateway of Somport and Canfranc rather than that of Roncesvalles, and visited
San Adrián de Vadoluengo-Sangüesa in person.

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Notes for Some Further Observations (Study Thirteen)

   Historical Studies*, LXVIII), especially II, 262.

2. Damien Van den Eynde, O. F. M., "Les principaux voyages de Pierre le Venerable," *Benedictina*, XV,
   no. 1 (January-June 1968), 58-110 (especially 95-100). Cf. also, idem, "Remarques sur la chronologie

to Spain" (3-14); idem, "Peter the Venerable and the Tooledan Collection," *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156-
1956* (Rome, 1956; *Studia Anselmiana*, XL), 176-201; also M. T. d'Alverny, "Quelques manuscrits de
la 'Collectio Toletana'," *ibid.*, 202-18.

4. Angel J. Martín Duque, "El inglés Roberto, traductor del Corán. Estancia y actividades en España a
mediados del siglo XII," *Hispania*, XXII (1962), 483-506; Richard Lemay, "Dans l'Espagne du XIIe


10. Sánchez Belda, xvii, citing Juan Perreras, Sinopsis histórico-cronológica de España (Madrid, 1700-1727), XVI, Apéndice, 10.


12. José Muñoz y Sendino had already made this point much earlier in his "La Apología del cristianismo de al-Kindi," Miscelánea Comillas, XI-XII (1949), 363-70. See also now Kritzeck, Peter the Venerable and Islam, 56-8; Daniel, 230 (and cf. 399-400, where Daniel strangely overlooks the possibility that Peter is the Mozarab whom he posits as annotator of Robert of Ketton's Koran in the Collectio Toletana).


17. "Extant in regionibus illis sallita, ut ita dicam, uel salsa montana, que pro saxis uel rupijus lapideum sal continent, sique perlucidum, ut quia gemmeam preciosorum lapidum claritatem emulatur, salis gemma uocetur. Quod tam perspicuitate quam utilitate marino puteali omnique sali prepositura de montanis illis multo labore ab incolis eruitur et remotis quibusque pro magno munere datur aut pro magnó lucro uenditur. De quibus montibus, cum diutinus rusticorum labor lucri auidus multam lucidi illius lapidis quantitatem eruerit et eruendo fossas multas eo sale inanes reliquerit, processu temporis pluiali inundatione fossarum illa uacuitas repletur, ac repleta, post paululum in naturam illius cui
admiscetur lapidis commutatur. Tali recompensatione effossus mons pene annuatim dampna illata restaurat, et quicquid de lapide amisit, aqua in lapidem conversa compensa! Fit ergo celestis aqua lapis terrenus, que licet naturalem mollitiem in lapideam duritiam commutans, in alienam substantiam transeat, formam tamen priorem et speciem, sicut de christallo supra dixi, consuerat. Sed sicut nee de omni glacie nee de omni christallo hec dixi, sic nee de omni montis illius lapide hoc dico, sed de illo qui non de cenosa sed de limpidissima concretus aqua originis sue claritatem etiam in aliud mutatus non mutat" (ed. Fears, loc. cit.).


21. Donation act of 1078 to Moissac by grant of Count Bernardo II de Besalú: Chartes de Cluny, IV, 645-7 (no. 3523); cf. J. Miret y Sans, Relaciones entre los monasterios de Comprodon y Moissac (Barcelona, 1898); M. Álamo, "Comprodon (San Pedro de)," DHGE, XI, cols. 664-71.

22. The gift of Adalet Guadaldis on 3 (or 11) December 1080: Chartes de Cluny, IV, 682-3 (no. 3554).


24. "Voyages," 94-7, where however Van den Eynde concludes that "il n'y a plus de raison pour maintenir l'hypothèse d'un voyage dans la péninsule ibérique avant 1141-42" (p. 97).


27. Chartes de Cluny, V, 327-8 (no. 3970): "per manum domni Hugonis camerarii." The attack upon the authenticity of this charter by Fidel Fita, "San Miguel de Escalada. Documento apócrifo del siglo XII. Auténticos del XIII," Bol. R. Acad. Hist., XXXII (1898), 25-37, was made in ignorance of the full text as published by Brulé and is clearly unacceptable, although this is not the place to give this act the exegesis it merits. The biographical sketch of the chamberlain Hugo de Crécy in Constable, Letters, II, 311-5 (Appendix 0) does not cite the pertinent Spanish privilegios and requires revision at several points.


29. On all these points, see my article "Peter the Venerable's Journey" (Study XII in this volume).


34. Sarraceni... circumcisionem suscipiunt, lauachris frequentibus utuntur, certis horis die certis nocte orationi maxime post cibum et potum, ut fertur, incumbunt, luxui omnino frena relaxant" (Contra Petrobrus., ed. Fears, 94, c. 161; PL 189, col. 793D).
36. James Kritzeck, "Peter the Venerable and the Toledan Collection," in Petrus Venerabilis, 1156-1956 (Rome, 1956; Studia Anselmiana, XL), 192-5. The possible connection of the Islamic data in the Contra Petrobrusianos with the Collectio Toletana, not here explored by Kritzeck, would doubtless repay investigation.
37. Lib. de mirac., I, c. 28: "Et quia semel Hispani [i]s ingressi sumus, quod in eisdem partibus de re simili contingisse ibidem constituti audivimus, praeterea non est" (PL 189, col. 903D). Cf. the similar use of semel in, for example, Letter 109 (IV, 15): "ut nunquam illum apud Cluniacum nisi semel uidere potuerim" (Constable, I, 272; PL 189, col. 320B); Letter 111 (IV, 17): "epistolam... quam Cluniaci semel legi, sed nunquam postea ad relegendum habere potui" (Constable, I, 299; PL 189, col. 343D).
38. Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum: "cum in Hispaniis pro uisitatione locorum nostrorum quae ibi sunt demorarer" (ed. Kritzeck, Peter the Venerable, 210; PL 189, col. 657A),
40. "Misi gemmeo amico salis gemmam, cuius corporalem usum uobis utilem olim audiui, et cuius spiritualem intellectum supra scriptis necessarium esse putau" (Constable, I, 294; PL 189, 339B).
41. "... de montanis illis multo labore ab incolis eruitur et remotis quibusque pro magno munere datur aut pro magno lucre uenditur" (Contra Petrobrusianos, ed. Fears, 109c. 184; PL 189, col. 805D).
43. Lib. de mirac., I, c. 28 (PL 189, cols. 903D-904A). Peter does not specifically mention his stopping at Estella, as he does at Nájera, but this can legitimately be inferred from his admiring description of the castle there and its surroundings, and also from the phrase ut aestimo used to justify the toponym Stella.
44. Consult the map of 'Los caminos de Santiago en Francia,' in L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M." Lacarra and J. Uria Riu, Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela (Madrid, 1948-1949), II, 45; and Lacarra, "Rutas de peregrinación. Los pasos del Pirineo y el camino de Santa Cristina a Puente la Reina," Pirineos I, no. 2 (1945), 5-27.
46. The study by J. M. a Lacarra, "Una aparición de ultratumba en Estella (Pedro el Venerable, De miraculis, Lib. I, cap. 28)," identifying iuxta Iberum as a Riojan site in the neighborhood of Nájera, originally published in Príncipe de Viana, V (1944), 173-84, has been reprinted, with additional bibliographical data, in his Estudios de historia navarra (Pamplona, 1971), 139-52, 179-80. Cf. also Angel J. Martín Duque, "El inglés Roberto," 483-506, especially 483-90.

47. The confusion by medieval Cluniac scribes of Sangos(s)a (Sangüesa) and Saragassa (Zaragoza), explains the appearance of a non-existent Caesaraugustan priory of San Adrián in the catalogues of Ibero-Cluniac houses compiled by Robert, Valous, Pérez de Urbel, Joan Evans and others.

48. "Peter the Venerable's Journey" (Study XII), note 13.

49. See Lacarra in Peregrinaciones a Compostela, II, 427, on the branch that diverged from the main readjust beyond San Salvador de Leire and led to Sangüesa and the bridge over the Aragón.

50. Sancho de Larrosa, bishop of Pamplona (1122-1142), perhaps mortally ill in the summer of 1142, died on 10 September, being immediately succeeded by Lope de Artajona (1142-1159). Sancho and Lope unquestionably continued this see's friendship with Cluny which was initiated under the French-born Pamplonesse prelate Pedro de Anduque (1084-1115); note (see below) the part played by Sancho and Lope in the donation acts of 1141 and 1145 for San Adrián de Vadoluengo. On both prelates, see J. Goñi Gaztambide, "Los obispos de Pamplona en el siglo XII," Anthologica annua, XIII (1965), 134-358, at 204-78, where however their attitude towards Cluny is not examined.


52. Donation act in F. Fita, "Primer siglo de Santa Maria la Real, de Nájera," Bol. R. Acad. de la Hist., XXVI (1895), 271-2 (no. 9); I. M. Rodríguez de Lama, "Colección diplomática Riojana," Berceo, XII (1957), 107-8 (no. 65).


54. Carta Pergamenea in Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, ed. P. de Bofarull y Mascáror (Barcelona, 1847-1910), IV, no. CL.

55. Chartes de Cluny, V, no. 4046, where Bruel's reading of 'era M\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{a}LXXII' (1134) requires to be corrected to read 'era M\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{a}LXXV (1137).

56. Carta Pergamenea, ad finem (364).

57. J. de Moret, Anales del Reino de Navarra (Tolosa, 1890), III, 319.

58. See L. M. de Lojendio, Navarre romane (La-Pierre-qui-vire, 1967), 197.


60. Chartes de Cluny, V, no. 4104.