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## **The «other prince»: piety and charisma of Ferdinand the Catholic in his courtly environment**

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### ABSTRACT

The Cluniac monasteries brought to society significant benefits: charity with the destitute and the needy pilgrims; contributed to the development of the economy through manual labor; in tampero algunas faltaron typical culturales del activities medieval monasticism, como las escuelas para niños, la puesta en marcha of libraries, these scriptoria for her transcription de los libros. In an era marked by violence and the spirit of vengeance, no less important were two other institutions, typical of medieval civilization, promoted by Cluny: the so-called "truces of God" long periods of non-belligerence were assured, on the occasion of certain religious festivals and certain periods of the week, and the "peace of God" called for, under penalty of canonical censure, respect for unarmed people and sacred places.

Keywords: Clunaic Monastries, society benefits, charity

The Benedictine order was key to the stability achieved by European society of the eleventh century, and partly because of its strict adherence to the Reformed Benedictine code, Cluny became the monastery exemplary of the monastic lifestyle in the West since the late tenth century. A succession of competent abbots were also relevant figures in the international arena. The same monastery of Cluny became the largest and most prestigious monastery, and the best prepared monastic institution in Europe. Cluny's influence extended from the second half of the tenth century to the beginning of the twelfth century.

Cluny is, in the eleventh century, the most efficient instrument in the attainment of peace and in the Gregorian reform. In the 12th century, it has two thousand priories, some of them considered as the largest monasteries of the time: La Charité-

sur-Loire , Souviny , Saint-Martin-des-Champs , near Paris . If most monasteries become mere priories, a small number of them, however, retain their rank of abbey, while accepting the common discipline and authority of the abbot of Cluny.

Accused by su enriquecimiento y un able temporal excesivo , la orden de Cluny pierde su spiritual influence at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century , when new orders were born inspired by an idealism of poverty and austerity: Cister , Prémontrés , la Chartreuse . St. Bernard holds a harsh dispute with Peter the Venerable defending the Cistercian ideal against the ideals of Cluny, one of the main focuses of the intellectual and artistic life of the West.

Cluny was the origin of many theologians, moralists, poets and historians.

The abbey of Cluny was sacked and destroyed for the most part by a mob of revolutionaries in 1790 . Today, only a small part of the original architectural ensemble survives.

Su portentous diffusion fue debida también to them abbots of Cluny con su spiritual autoridad, los cluniac monks who became bishops, some of them even Popes, were protagonists of this imposing action of spiritual renewal. And the fruits were not lacking: the celibacy of the priests was again esteemed and lived; in the assumption of the ecclesiastical offices were introduced more transparent procedures.

Personas verdaderamente worthy if sucedieron en la guía de Cluny y las numerous dependent monastic communities.

Bernon de Baume, would be the founder and first abbot of the abbey of Cluny .

Guillermo I of Aquitaine , El piadoso, Duke of Aquitaine y count of Auvergne , audio Cluny anything despicable privilege of liberating the monastery from any future obligation to him or his family which was not connected with prayer. Other "vassals" usually kept property on the property of the monasteries in an interested way, and hoped to install their descendants as abbots. Apparently Guillermo came to this agreement with Bernon, the first abbot, to free the monastery from the secular bindings.

Bernon established the observance of the rule of St. Benedict of Nursia , reformed by Benedict Aniane, respecting, nevertheless, the directives of the monasteries. Bernon died in 926 after a life dedicated to the expansion of the Rule by numerous monasteries; succeeding Abbot Odon.

San Odon of Cluny (el - born about 878 the 879 en el Maine - deceased el 18 de noviembre de 942 ), was el hijo de un señor feudal in Déols about Le Mans . In its infancy, the first intention of its parents was to dedicate it to the religious life, under the invocation of San Martin de Tours . Later they decided to continue their education in the court of the count of Anjou and later in the one of Guillermo the Pious one , Duke of Aquitaine, where it prepared to war. Due to increasing and severe headaches that no physician could alleviate, made the promise that if he were to be cured he would be re-consecrated to Martin de Tours, recovering lost health he fulfilled his vow.

Alrededor de 909, llegó to be monk Benedictine , y luego top de la escuela de la abbey abadía of Baume , where he took with him 100 books. He happens as third abbot of Aurillac in 920 to Jean d'Aurillac relative of the founder San Géraud and writes his life at the request of Turpin, bishop of Limoges that will order priest in 925 . Odon compiled them all testimonies y document them that habían conocido the Geraud y carefully Studio la Fundación y los de la statutes abadía "Aurillac" that served as a model for había Cluny. If desconoce during Cuánto tiempo fue abbot of Aurillac, where tuvo un coadjutor nombre que le Arnulphe sucedió en 926 as abbot of Aurillac.

He was a traveling companion of Bernon, close to the conceptions of his predecessor. Chosen on your testament by Bernon to happen to him like second abbot of Cluny, takes possession to its death in 926 or 927. The abbey then had only 12 monks, small properties and was still being constructed. Odon traveled from convent to convent to teach the Reformation of Cluny, in Aquitaine, northern France and Italy, which became the model of monastic life for more than a century and was an example of the role of piety in everyday life in Europe. Between 936 and 942 visited Italy several times, having great influence, like adviser of the Pope Leon VII and Esteban VIII . He founded in Rome the monastery of Our Lady on the Aventine and reformed several convents, for example, Subiaco and Monte Cassino.

Its reputation for sanctity attracts numerous monks to the abbey and numerous hermits in the vicinity. It is called to reform other monasteries, among which are St. Paul Outside the Walls in Rome and St. Augustine in Pavia . He was a scholar being the first to gather manuscripts in the library of Cluny bringing books from San Martin de Tours. Gifted with a musical education, he wrote several works. In 931 he obtained by privilege of Pope John XI , that the abbey of Cluny had the same immunity as the Abbey of Saint-Géraud d'Aurillac. As head of the order that depends directly on the Holy See, he is allowed to direct and unite all the monasteries that the lay abbots want to entrust to him ( as in the case of Fleury-sur Loire), as well as to welcome in Benedictine monks Benedictine communities not yet reformed. The largest number of reformed monasteries, however, remained independent and became several centers of reform.

L the influence of Cluny va increasing pero lacks organización. The monastery gets the right to coin money; schools and a library are opened. On Odon's death, in 942 , Cluny's prestige is already very important.

Aimar Cluny es nombrado by Odon to sucederle, de la misma so that it Bernon había escogido the él. This work proceeds su, pero en el 948 ciego y fall escoge the Mayolo as assistant which will ultimately dirigiendo Cluny from 954 hasta 994 .

San Mayolo, from a wealthy and important family of Válenosle lords , Mayolo uses all the experience acquired to manage and manage the great strength of Cluny, was called the "Arbitrator of the Kings" for his relations with the aristocracy. Its prestige was remarkable, and refused to exercise the papal function in 973 . His funeral was run by Hugo Capeto, was beatified shortly after his death, becoming one of the most popular saints.

Saint Odilon, in 994 is named abbot of Cluny and directs the monastery during 55 years. Son of the lords of Mercoeur , maintains relations with the most illustrious personages of his time and takes advantage of the opportunities that are offered to the Order. But in a time marked by the collapse of the Carolingian structures and the lay dismantling, it can not count on the protection of the high aristocracy and allies with the lords, the preponderant force in the thousand year. It tries to appease their violence, relying on the Truce of God .

It helps the knights and resorts to the spiritual services of their monks to favor their families, and is responsible for affirming the vocation (sometimes forced) of the young hidalgos. The policy of Cluny in favor of the association and creation of large convents, diminishes, while the small ones are growing. Nevertheless they are still controlled, either by Odilo himself, or by the mediation of the great abbots.

Highlight el abad Odilon by entablar relaciones con el rey Sancho el Mayor of Navarra : the principles del siglo XI comenzo the decidedly apoyar la reforma de Cluny

en sus territorios, which entonces practically comprendían toda la España cristiana. When Odilón dies, there are 70 convents, and Cluny is associated with powerful abbeys, which, at times, maintain their autonomy. He is venerated as a saint.

San Hugo "The Great". (13/5 / 1049-28 / 4/1109). He was one of the most influential leaders of the monastic orders of the Middle Ages . He is appointed abbot and continues to expand the power of Cluny. It has a great eloquence and a great political sense. The integration with the feudalism that has just been born concludes. Small convents are still created. The hieratic principle is becoming more flexible towards 1075, when Cluny accepts in the order abbeys of other orders, different from the Benedictine, like Vézelay, who are ready to enter the Order without having to give up their rank to become priors. During his abadiato joined great abbeys, such as those of Moissac (South-West), Lézat ( Ariège ), Figeac ( Quercy ). The Order spread to Spain , Italy and England , with 10,000 monks. The abbot Hugo had a very important intervention in the " Querella de las Investiduras " which confronted the papacy with the Germanic emperor. He was canonized by SS Calixto II in 1121 as " Saint Hugo" (the Great).

Pons de Melgueil. (1109-1125) He is appointed new abbot, skillful but very uncompromising. He actively intervened at the end of the "Investiture Lawsuit," and continued with the idea of enhancing the Order. To this end, it begins the construction of Cluny III , a gigantic abbey that would end all the donations and commitments acquired from the Kingdom of Leon and Castile .

Pedro "The Venerable". He is also known as Pedro de Montboissier (about 1092 - 25 December 1156 in Cluny , France ). He has been honored as a "saint" even though he was never formally canonized.

Peter was "consecrated to God" at birth and delivered to the monks of the monastery of the Order of Cluny in Sauxillanges . He made his vows there at the age of 17, getting in a short time to be highly esteemed, validating him to be appointed professor and the 20 years prior of the monastery of Vézelay .Later it was transferred to the monastery of Domène . He was so successful in fulfilling his functions in the monasteries of Vézelay and Domène that at the age of 30 he was elected "General of the Order". Pedro was a tireless defender of the need to reform his order since he was terribly in need of reconstruction after being deposed by the pope the previous abbot, Pontius.

The Order of Cluny was object in those moments of attacks by other religious orders as well as prominent monks and theologians among whom the Cistercian monk St Bernard of Clairvaux stood out . Pedro successfully dealt with these attacks and also managed to complete the reform of his order, receiving the nickname "Venerable".

Pedro became a prominent figure of the Catholic Church with great projection both internationally and in his country, where he collaborated with important civil and ecclesiastical personalities. He attended many of the most important councils of his time, including the Council of Pisa which was celebrated in 1134 and in which he collaborated to avoid a possible schism in the Church by giving his support to Pope Innocent II . He also attended the Council of Reims in 1147 . He assumed the defense of the French theologian and philosopher Pedro Abelardo after he was condemned by the Council of Sens for his rationalist interpretation of the Trinity . He took him in Cluny and tried to soften the sentence of the Council, managing to reconcile

Abelard with his main accuser St. Bernard. Tras la muerte Abelard, Peter le dio la acquittal sus sins petición of Eloísa.

THE weigh of su intense life y de la del importance Desarrollado paper europea en la historia, el Peter's greatest achievement was the very important contribution he made to the re-evaluation of the Church's relations with Islam. He was a strong promoter of the project to carry out a study of Islam based on his own sources. Peter used the new material translated for his own writings on Islam; among them the most important are the "Summa Totius heresis Saracenorum" Compendium of the heresy of Islam and the "Liber contra sectam sive heresim Saracenorum" The refutation of the sects and the heresy of the Muslims. In these works Peter considers Islam as a Christian heresy that believes that he is close to paganism, for this reason explains to Saint Bernard that his objective is "the same that arises from the teachings of the Fathers of the Church who never gave up fighting against heresy but opposed it with all the force of their faith, revealing with its arguments and writings that heresy is detestable and deserving of condemnation".

Sin embargo si bien su interpretación del Islam was basically negative, consiguíó "that establish a more reasonable approach to Islam ... by employing original Islamic texts rather than those previously used that were only the result of the overactive imagination of early Western Christian writers." Although this alternative approach to Islam was not widely accepted emulated by other Christian scholars of the Middle Ages, did manage to influence a small number of influential and erudite persons of the Church, including Roger Bacon.

He is the author of a large number of correspondence and many writings on issues theological doctrines such as: the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ, the heresies of his day and the theme of miracles. His writings are considered as some of the most important documents of the twelfth century.

The Cluny constructions

Cluny Abbey (Cluni or Clugny) was founded in a forest reserve of hunting in the zone of what later would be the homonymous French municipality the 2 of September of the year 910 by Guillermo I of Aquitaine, count of Auvergne, which installed there to the abbot Bern of Baume, and placed the abbey under the immediate authority of the Pope Sergio III. The abbey and its constellation of dependencies soon became the example of the type of religious life of the eleventh century.

The town of Cluny, located in the department of Saône-et-Loire, in the Burgundy region of central-eastern France, grew up around the former abbey.

The rapid growth of the Cluny community needed growing buildings. Cluny's constructions profoundly affected architectural practices in Western Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century.

The three successive churches are conventionally called Cluny I, Cluny II and Cluny III.

Cluny I: In 910 begins the construction of the first temple of Cluny, which was consecrated in the year 927. It must have been a building of Ottonian style.

Cluny II: Years later the second construction of Cluny II is attacked, between 955 and 981 began after the destructive Hungarian incursions of 953. It is consecrated in the year 981 and was vaulted in 1010, giving rise to the tendency to build stone vaults in the churches. It has been possible to reconstruct the internal distribution of the temple by the reflection that it left in several cluniacenses buildings, mainly of the Swiss zone.

It was a church without a portico, only with a kind of open atrium with arcaded galleries. Through this atrium was acceded to the church, that had three ships, surely separated by pillars of circular section. There was a prominent cruiser on the floor and a very compartmentalized head with seven chapels around the headboard. The presbytery was divided into three naves. It had two towers to the feet and another one in the cruise, surely with decorative influence Lombardy.

At the end of the eleventh century there was a need not only to expand the church of "Cluny II" but also the rest of the premises.

Cluny III: Between 1088 and 1118 a new and immense church was built, "Cluny III", but during its construction, Cluny II continues in operation until his disappearance almost completely to extend the cloister. "Cluny III", undoubtedly can be considered as one of the top works of European Romanesque.

The construction was financed by the King of England and King Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon. Cluny III was a huge temple almost 200 meters long. It had a portico of three ships preceded by two towers. From this portico one acceded to the church of five ships of great height, two cruises with two chapels. The head had a turn and five absidioles. The cruiser closest to the ship was taller, longer and wider. They had a large number of windows, especially at the headboard. No hay Tribune, pero if empiezan to use them arbotantes. It was decorated by Lombard arches.

In building the third and definitive church of Cluny, the monastery also secured the largest building in Europe before the reconstruction of the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome in the 16th century .

Cluny III, was expropriated, sold and stupidly demolished at the beginning of century XIX, except for some fragments of the cruise.

On the other hand, Cluny III influenced architecturally in some Romanesque buildings of Burgundy, where the visitor can get a rough idea of what the last Cluniac church was like:

It begins towards 1080 and concludes in 1135. It has five ships. The articulation of the wall was three stories: arcades, blind triforium and windows (there is no tribune). I also had a spin with absidioles, and only 3 towers .

It was built between 1063 and 1097. It has three naves, girola with three absidioles and a transept marked in plan. The articulation of the wall also has three floors: arches, tribune and windows (similar to the churches of pilgrimage). The cover was the characteristic of the Romanesque: in the central nave canyon, in the lateral edges and in the grandstand canyon. The whole church stands out for its perfect ashlar masonry.

Church of three ships with a single cruiser and a very deep presbytery with girola. It is an ad triangulum church . It has only one tower in the dome. Articulation of the wall in three floors: arcades, very high blind triforium and windows. It is preceded by a portico tower.

It was a direct foundation of Hugo the Great, promoter of the works of Cluny III. It is the best example of how it should be Cluny III. Building with three towers , two to the feet, between which a gantry is developed. The headboard also has a turn, with three absidioles, and a chapel in each arm of thecruiser, which stands out in plan. This church forms a very marked volume game and is illuminated with numerous windows.

THE weigh of sus large realizaciones

Cluny empezó showing symptoms of exhaustion from principios del siglo XII.

The rigidity of its own structure and the excessive organic centralization of the Order, which rested all the weight on the figure of the abbot of the founding monastery,

prevented the slightest flexibility between the different houses. Mientras que en los Siglos XI y X se había been successful in establishing Razon para el desarrollo su from del siglo XII is freno y su reason for organizational exhaustion.

Another element to emphasize was the ordination of new members, who since the end of the eleventh century had attracted a great number of nobles, more for the prestige, privileges, security and comfort of the monastic life that the Order offered, than for a true monastic vocation. Which had led to a relaxation of customs far from the spiritual life? The abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, attempted to tackle this problem with the Reformation of the Order, but his measures did not give the intended result.

Nor would it be correct to present the appearance of phenomena as the simple product of Cluny's decline. On the contrary, it was the general change of orientation of Western monasticism - more favorable from the beginning of the twelfth century to the eremitical and ascetic aspects - that allowed the birth of new orders like the Cister or the Carthusian. The specialization of the monastic life in its different military, welfare and ascetical aspects was due to its historical improvement. From the beginning of the twelfth century the great attraction especially in the European nobility are the Military Orders of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, the Templars and others.

La campaña de construcción fue el funded by annual census establecido by Ferdinand I of León, sovereign of the united kingdom of Castile and Leon, between 1053 and 1065. (This census was restored by Alfonso VI in 1077 and confirmed in 1090). It is short Fijo en 1000 golden to pray for Fernando, cantidad que fue doblada by Alfonso VI en 1090. For Cluny, this representaba la mayor cantidad anualidad recibida never por una orden religious by un rey the gobernante, y fue never surpassed. The hundred annual silver frames delivered by Henry I of England from 1131 were a miserable contribution in comparison. The alfonsino census allowed Abbot Hugo (died 1109) to undertake the construction of the gigantic third church of the abbey. When the payments in the currency of Islamic gold collected by Castile-Leon were stopped, a financial crisis was generated that affected economically to Cluny during the mandates of the abbots Pons (1109 - 1125) and Pedro the Venerable (1122 - 1156). In Cluny, the donated gold served to publicize the new rich Christians of Spain, and placed the central Spain for the first time in the European orbit.

Pedro el Venerable was commissioned to do a detailed translation of the documentary material of Islamic origin that was available, and for that he traveled to Spain in 1142 where he found the translators he needed. One scholar has said that this project was a "momentous event of European intellectual history". Los manuscritos en cuestión if han linked to Toledo, that fue un important center of traducción del Arabic. However, it seems that Pedro met with his team of translators in a place in Spain further north, possibly in La Rioja; is backed by the fact that it is known that he visited Nájera. The project to translate a series of texts related to Islam was called "Corpus toletanum". Uno de los traducidos texts fue "La Apology Al-Kindi", pero la traducción al Latin bad fue la important that hicieron del Koran en Arabic "Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete"). Robert de Ketton was the main translator and Pedro de Toledo participated in planning works and transcriptions and Pedro de Poitiers who helped polish the final Latin version. Also on the team were Herman of Carinthia, friend of Robert de Ketton and a Muslim named Mohamed. La traducción finalize the hacia junio julio de 1143 siendo described later as "un hito en los estudios

Islamic". With this translation, the West had for the first time an instrument for a serious study of Islam.

Habia been Sancho III el Mayor de Navarra (990-1004-1035) that the principles el del siglo XI began to strongly support the reform of Cluny in their territories, which then comprised practically all of Christian Spain. Their descendants Fernando I and Alfonso VI (in Castile) follow a policy of approach and help to the Cluniacs wishing to reform the Spanish Church. To this end, several monks from the central abbey of Cluny from Burgundy to Spain (specifically Sahagun ) came to change the Mozarabic rite of San Isidoro by the Latin or Roman rite . The construction of Cluny III had been financed by the king of England and the king Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon , which favored the rapid extension of the Order in the Peninsula.

The expansion of the cluniacense order as diffuser of the Christianity in Spain, with the religiosity of the monarchs, the establishment of great pilgrimage routes like the Camino de Santiago , and the diffusion of the Romanesque architectural style, was very rapid. Faithful to the Benedictine rule, the Cluniac abbey was self-invested as a diffuser of Christianity, especially along the Path that was where the reconquest and the Christianization of the Muslim world were forged. The Order of Cluny raised monasteries, bridges, churches and hospitals and received buildings, lands, priories and villas through royal decrees to achieve their ends.

The influence of Cluny with the support of Rome was decisive in the Christian Spain of the XI century for "The abolition of the Mozarabic rite", the ecclesiastical-monastic reorganization and the adoption of the Gregorian liturgy.

The foundation of Monasteries: Cluny found in the kings of Leon of the XI century the necessary support for the establishment or reform of several monasteries in Tierra de Campos.

These three monasteries stand out for their most valuable Romanesque manifestations: San Zoilo in Carrión de los Condes, San Isidro de Dueñas (Palencia) which must have been very similar to San Martin de Frómista, and of course, and San Benito de Sahagún, which was the monastery more powerful of that period, conserving the arch of entrance, one of the smaller towers, and the sepulchral laurel of the Bishop Alfonso Ansúrez plus a Virgin coming from the tympano of a cover that are exposed in the National Archaeological Museum.

From 1073 until the beginning of the sixteenth century the Cluniacs remained in western Spain. Alfonso VI donated in 1073 to Cluny the monastery of San Isidro de Dueñas, his first priory in the kingdom of Leon. Since then they have remained in the western part of Spain. Their numbers were relatively small: some 135-180 monks in the first half of the thirteenth century spread over 34 monasteries, among which are San Zoilo de Carrión and Santa María de Nájera.

The Hispanic monarchy dispenses protection to Cluny. The protection is well known, both with regard to the generous census of Fernando I and Alfonso VI or the Cluniac liturgy by the Leonese kings, as well as the donation of two thirds of the Cluniac priories in these kingdoms - Nájera, Dueñas, Villafranca, Pombeiro, Rates. It is worth mentioning the role played by the Leonese infants in some unsuccessful donations (León, Escalada), which can be related to the very existence of the infantado, guardian of the royal pantheon and in charge of his liturgical memory. The relations between the kings and the cluniac priories remained important until 1230 : in Nájera was buried the White queen ; in Carrión knights were armed Alfonso VIII and Alfonso IX ; a son of Fernando II was prior of Ciudad Rodrigo.

The personal relationship between kings and Cluniac monks. The direct contacts with the abbots of Cluny were scarce, but not with the monks established in the kingdom: Roberto and Bernardo with Alfonso VI, the waiters Raimundo and Umberto with Alfonso VIII ... Esteban, prior of Carrión, played a outstanding political paper in time of Urraca and Alfonso VII. It is possible that it is Esteban himself who was later abbot of Sahagún, prior of Nájera and bishop of Osma, under the protection of Alfonso VII. Cuando estos direct contacts con la desaparecieron monarchy, los Cluny recurrieron a la mediación clerics del king - the archdeacon Geraldo, Peregrinus abbot of the Port - or the high nobility (the Haro), to obtain the regal protection.

The nobility in the implantation of Cluny. The prominent role played by the Leonese kings in the implantation of Cluny in Spain has always left in second term to the nobility. Nevertheless, the third part of the Hispanic priories were donated by families of the nobility, linked by bonds of fidelity and kinship to the monarchy: Beni Gómez (Carrión) or others related to Jimena Muñoz, the lover of Alfonso VI - monasteries in Asturias, Galicia and Portugal. His relationship with Cluny lasted until the middle of the century XII, and even more (the Traba). In addition to the donations, several members of this aristocracy became monks or nuns in Cluny or Marcigny, established the payment of direct censuses to Cluny, were inscribed in their necrologies. With all the number of aristocratic families related to Cluny is reduced.

The complexity of relations between the aristocracy and the Cluniacs. An example are the Haro and Santa María de Nájera. Donations of his are known from 1121 to 1275, often attached to the endowment of an anniversary and burial choice in his cloister, where they came to build a large chapel. In addition the Haro protected the monastery - in court and by arms - in front of the bishop of Calahorra and other nobles or inhabitants of the region, they interceded before the king in his favor, loaned him money and gave food when necessary; but they also attributed the protection of cloistered monks to their own priors, waiters, visitors and the abbots of Cluny themselves. The functions performed by the Haro in Nájera were shared in other monasteries by several families of nobles of the region, who became their amici, term that implies the defense and aid of the monastery, received goods in prestimonio or encomienda, they became fratres, relatives or racioneros of the monastery.

Relations of protection and conflict with bishops. Particular attention has been paid to the cluniacal character of some bishops, such as Bernardo de Toledo. It is also noted that only Mauricio de Coimbra donated a priory to Cluny; however Bernardo II of Palencia, Jimeno II of Burgos, Diego Gelmírez de Compostela, Munio of Mondoñedo, Pelayo of Astorga or Berenguer of Salamanca played a very active role in other donations. Several prelates sought the intercession of the prayers of the Cluniac monks, but they were not monks of Cluny - Alon de Astorga, Diego Gelmírez, Pedro de Pamplona, Mauricio de Coimbra, Raimundo de Palencia.

Conflicts with the Cluniac priories about episcopal rights in parish churches dependent on them and in the priories themselves. They mark the stage that takes place between the middle of the century XII and the middle of the XIII. The confrontation between the priors of Nájera and the bishop of Calahorra can be exemplary. Conflicts lasted for decades in the midst of appeals to papal authority, violence, inquiries, papal privileges, falsification of documents, unfulfilled sentences, excommunications, interdicts, purchase of wills, propaganda among the people ... All this economically exhausted the priories, that after the IV Lateran Council, they were forced to agree. Between 1222-1228 agreements were reached with the bishops of Calahorra and Burgos

on the priories and parishes dependent on Nájera, with that of Braga on Vimieiro, with that of Zamora on that of Toro, or with that of Palencia on Entrepeñas, Dueñas, and Carrión. A new group of agreements was reached after the First Council of Lyon (1245). All of them confirmed by the abbot and chapter of Cluny.

The social work of the Cluniacs. Relations with kings, nobles and bishops do not interfere with their social work with the people. The protagonists of the "Miracles of San Zoilo", written in Carrión around 1136, are the peasants and bourgeois of the outline, or the pilgrims to Santiago, who propose various ways of serving the saint. Not surprisingly, the most important priories were found in towns and cities. In spite of the conflicts, the monks also included the councils among their benefactors, giving them part in all their spiritual goods, prayers and good works, as did San Boal with Cuellar.

Covenants with councils. The monasteries of San Zoilo de Carrión and San Román de Entrepeñas agreed with various councils on the form of election - preference of the clerics of the place at the time of serving the churches, obligation of the clerics to be vassals of the prior - and retribution of the clerics of the respective parish churches - distribution of tithes and other ecclesiastical revenues. Clergy in parishes played a key role as intermediaries in the relationships between priories and local communities. The documentation of San Roman illuminates a network of clergymen around the monastery, with relationships as complex as those established with the nobility : they donate lots, they choose burial in the monastery, they make their vassals by paying an agreed rent, they become relatives of the monastery or in racioneros - that is to say, they obtain the right to be fed and dressed in the same one -, receive a benefit in one church or chaplaincy, administer the properties of the priory, even have been raised and formed in it.

Spiritual bonds (guilds) between priories and the inhabitants of the neighboring regions. The priories tried to create spiritual bonds that reinforced their contact with servants, vassals and neighbors. It is known the participation of the inhabitants of the region in the main festivals of the priories and the constitution of a brotherhood, which brought together clergymen and laity of the region, around San Martín de Jubia (1190). The brethren would work in the rebuilding of the church ; in return they would obtain indulgences, they would be partakers in the good works that were done in that monastery and in all cluniacenses ; the monks would pray for the dead and celebrate annually a trentenario in which they would feed a poor daily. In this way the cofrades collectively obtained benefits similar to those offered to the kings and nobles of Leon a century earlier.

The organization of the monasteries. The study of monastic communities is difficult because of the scarcity of news. The study onomastic and prosopográfico of about 400 monks allows to know its organization and its mobility. Until the first quarter of the thirteenth century, almost all the priors were of " French " origin , for the principal system which the abbots of Cluny had to control the monasteries of a distant province such as Spain was the appointment of priors among their monks. environment. Beginning in 1225, the establishment of new control systems, such as the visitors, allowed the Hispanization of these priors, except those of Carrión, who were simultaneously waiters. Among the officers, the presence of " French " "Between priors claustrales and sextons until the beginning of the XIII. There were also in other offices and among the simple monks, but Hispanic onomastics is increasingly important. Prosopographic analysis also reveals the movement of the monks from one side of the Pyrenees to the other, but also between the two priests for

different reasons : appointment of a prior of a minor monastery as prior of a convent or a monk of a convent monastery as prior of a minor or obedient, transfers for disciplinary reasons, needs of the order or other circumstances.

The internal organization of the monasteries. The contrast between the great priories (Carrión, Nájera), with a variety of trades, and the conventuals and minors stands out, where in any case a " butler " appears . Likewise, the cellar was also known as a steward or claviger, the *socierero*, *cellerarius coquine*, *coquinarius*, *dominus coquine*, *procurator coquine* or *sennor de la cozina*, and the waiter, " lord of the wardrobe ", to distinguish him from the provincial bartender. Hay que también them out internal tensiones between el Najera convent y sus the priors it off del siglo XIII, con un economic trasfondo y una clear separación tables.

The *frates*. Along with the monks, the documents mention the *fratres*, especially in the smaller priories. They confirmed documents, participated in decision-making, administered monastery assets as *mayordomos*, builders, receiving properties in *prestimonio* ... They undoubtedly played a fundamental role as a link between the monastery and the world of the laity, helping to sustain the position of the Cluniacs in each region.

The Hispanic priories were part of the *ecclesia cluniacensis* and after the Order of Cluny. Its control by the abbot was difficult given its remoteness. Apart from some visits, supervision was carried out by waiters, who have appeared since the time of Abbot Ponce. They are first of temporary envoys to the kingdom, soon of priors of Hispanic monasteries that assume this position. Between 1169 and 1222 there were two waiters at the head of two provinces (Spain and Galicia), but from 1223 both were unified in the *camarería de Carrión*. The waiters played a key role in the priories' lives, receiving donations, collecting censuses for Cluny, authorizing economic operations on behalf of the abbot and many others.

The visitors. Among the organizational changes of Cluny in the thirteenth century , is also the creation of the visitors. Its presence in Spain is known since 1214, although it is necessary to wait until 1245 to find the first minutes of the visits. In addition, since 1200, the General Chapter of Cluny has been institutionalized. The first priests of Hispanics have to go every two years to report on their spiritual and temporal management (in S. XIII there is a growing debt). The provincial chapters, of which there are indications since 1228, remedied this problem.

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