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Santa María de Valdediós and its Monastic Family from Foundation to Reformation (Asturias, 1200-1515)*

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Abstract: The abbey of Santa María de Valdediós was founded by King Alfonso IX of León with his wife Berenguela in 1200. After a few decades marked by doubts and instability, the historical evolution of the members that make up its community will be marked by its peripheral location and certain disciplinary independence. In this paper, we aim to offer the list of the members of the monastic community based on the mentions that are recorded in the not excessively rich archive of Valdediós. Considering this, we intend to get closer to this human group, its organization and entity, its internal hierarchy, and their charges and functions within the monastery organization. As well as some reflections about their adjustment to the Cistercian models, their evolution, and the notion of '*familiaritas*' in this group.

Keywords: Valdediós, Asturias (Kingdom of León), monastic community, Cistercian Order, abbey organization

Santa María de Valdediós was the only monastery in the Spanish region of Asturias born from its early origins as a Cistercian house. As a real foundation, its existence is the fruit of the endowment of the founding monarchs to establish a Bernardian monastery in this very decentralised area of their kingdom. This geographical situation and its distance from the main Cistercian circuits of Castile would cause the monastery during the medieval centuries to be truly outside the currents of action of the Castilian Cister, and even it had certain hierarchical independence from the mother house it belonged to. Valdediós was a highly isolated house, which favoured its unrestricted autonomy in many aspects. But at the same time, this peculiarity reduced the variety, origin, and profiles of the human group which during this period—from its foundation to the modern renovation inside the Castilian Observance since 1515—populated it.

In this paper, we aim to rebuild the list of those members of the monastic community based on the mentions that are recorded in the not excessively rich archive of Valdediós. Over the centuries, this documentary set provides us with a hundred and a half of parchments—many of them lost and known by subsequent copies—from its first centuries of life. Most of them provide from authorities and individuals from outside the monastery—kings, popes, nobles or donataries—, but for the final decades of the fourteenth century new document types offer a good background about the monastery

management that finally reveals the more or less daily life of the community and its members.¹

Considering this list, which is offered at the end of the work, we intend to get closer to this human group, its organization and entity, its internal hierarchy, and its functions within the monastery organization. As well as their adjustment to the Cistercian models, their evolution, and the notion of '*familiaritas*' of a group as were the men who formed the 'monastic family of Valdediós'.

Introduction

The expansion of the white monks from Cîteaux to the Hispanic kingdoms lasted several years since the constitution of the order. It was the very same saint Bernard who restrained Abbot Artaldo de Preully in the late 1120s, perhaps because he considered the peninsular lands yet too distant for the young community.² Shortly after, in 1140, the Cister arrived in Hispanic territories with the foundation of Fitero in Navarra; and just two years later Santa María de Sobrado in Galicia became the first Bernardian house in the Kingdom of León. This was the first of several foundations and incorporations into the order, which, especially promoted by the monarchs and the high aristocracy,³ will cover the territory of León by the time of the passing of the saint of Clairvaux in 1153.⁴

Nevertheless, by then, the Asturian region remained still unfamiliar to the Cistercian reformer movement, keeping a traditional character opposed to ecclesiastic innovations. In fact, the early years of the second half of the twelfth century could be regarded as witnesses of the firsts contacts between the Cister and Asturias: in 1151 and 1162 the Asturian monasteries of Lapedo and Villanueva de Oscos became, respectively, dependants of the Abbey of Santa María de Carracedo. This monastery was in León, and, since its restoration in 1138, will be the diffuser of the Cistercian principles in this area of the Peninsula.⁵ Until this moment, both monasteries had a very similar history, as foundations of the twelfth century —either established by the Leonese aristocracy related to the royal family,⁶ or as the result of the reorganisation of the monastic life of former

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Used abbreviations: AHN=Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid; AGS-RGS=Archivo General de Simancas-Registro General del Sello.

¹ Sanz Fuentes, 'El archivo de Valdediós', pp. 80-85.

² Torné Cubells, 'Origen y presencia', pp. 14-15.

³ Herráez Ortega, 'Soberanos, señores y damas', p. 23.

⁴ *Vid.* with general character, Cocheril, 'L'implantation des abbayes cisterciennes'. Pérez-Embid Wamba, *El Císter en Castilla y León*. The works included in VV. AA., *La introducción del Císter en España*; and in García de Cortázar and Teja Suso, *Monasterios cistercienses en la España medieval*.

On the other hand, it is still eloquent the historiographical balance offered in Álvarez Palenzuela, 'La investigación sobre el monacato'; completed and updated by Cavero Domínguez, 'El Císter en el Reino de León'.

⁵ Balboa de Paz, *El monasterio de Carracedo*, pp. 44-51.

⁶ Fernández Conde, *La Iglesia de Asturias*, p. 128. Fernández Ortiz, *Historia y memoria*, pp. 241-49. A similar case to the entry of the female abbey of Santa María de Guía into the Cister, of which, however, there is no certain evidence until fourteenth century (Yáñez Neira, 'El monasterio cisterciense'. *Id.*, 'Registro de documentos'.

hermitages⁷— bounded to the Benedictine Order, and that in those days will be submitted to Carracedo, and in doing so will undergo the Cistercian discipline.

However, we must consider that Lapedo, Villanueva de Oscos and Gúa had not been founded as Bernardian houses, but had been incorporated later and, therefore, did not respond to the ideals and rules derived from the General Chapter. The entry into the white Order of the two firsts was through the filiation of Carracedo —Oscos, since 1203, and Lapedo, renamed as ‘Belmonte’, three years after— and it seems the most plausible explanation for the feminine case. Thus, basic standards such as the choice of the settle place, the layout and factory of the regular buildings or the organization of the domain, would not respond on purpose to the canons of the Cister. It is, in short, a period of ‘*protocistercian* preparation in Asturias’.

The conflictive foundation of the monastery

This region, therefore, will not participate in the early peninsular expansion of the Order. And so, besides the interest that Alfonso VII and his successor in León, Fernando II, showed in the monastic phenomenon as a potential civilizer in the organisation of the territories of the North plateau. The land at the north of the mountain range, the original territory of the kingdom, was less regarded by the Crown, and we will have to wait to the reign of Alfonso IX to see a Cistercian house built *ex novo* in Asturias. In this, the monarch of León will reveal privileged attention for the territorial realignment and the socio-politics of the kingdom, for which the Cistercian promotion will be, together with urban repopulation, a vitally important tool.⁸ Not in vain, when Lucas de Tuy wrote his chronicle, he remarked precisely this in the acts of Alfonso X regarding Asturias: ‘Similiter in Asturiis multas populationes fecit [...] Fundavit etiam monasterium cisterciensis ordinis Vallis Dei in loco qui dicebatur antiquitus Boites’.⁹

And so it had happened. A few days before ending the century, on 27 December 1200, Alfonso IX was in Santiago de Compostela, where he bestowed, together with his wife Berenguela,¹⁰ the founding charter of the most important Cistercian establishment on Asturian land. The royal couple donated their inheritance of Boiges to the order of Cîteaux, along with all its dependencies and exploitations, to build there an abbey, which was regarded —according to the foundational document— as affiliated to the abbey of Sobrado: ‘Damus Deo et Beate Marie, sanctisque omnibus, totam hereditatem de Boiges, tam de realengo quam de infantatico, ad abbatiam ibidem cisterciensis ordinis construendam, que sit semper propria filia abbatie de Superato’.¹¹

Urueña Hevia, ‘Gúa-Las Huelgas de Avilés’. Loché González, ‘Aproximación al proceso’. Ruiz de la Peña Solar, ‘Las abadías de la diócesis’, p. 46).

⁷ González Gutiérrez, ‘Villanueva de Oscos’, pp. 95-97. Álvarez Castrillón, *La comarca de los Oscos*, pp. 325-330. Id., *Colección diplomática del Monasterio*.

⁸ Beltrán Suárez, ‘Las relaciones de poder en Asturias’.

⁹ ‘He also made many towns in Asturias. He also founded the Monastery of Valdediós, of the Cistercian order, in the place that the ancient people called Boites’. *Lucae Tudensis Opera Omnia*, ed. by Falque Rey, p. 361.

¹⁰ About the decisive role of Berenguela, not in vane she was daughter of Leonor Plantaganet, in the Cistercian foundation of Valdediós, see Shadis, ‘Happier in Daughters than in Sons’. Wilkinson, ‘Berenguela de Castilla y Santa María de Valdediós’.

¹¹ ‘We give God, Saint Mary and all the saints all our property in Boiges, both royal and infant, to the abbey that the Cistercian order will build right there, which will always be the daughter of the Sobrado abbey’. González González, *Alfonso IX*, t. II doc. 143.

The place of Boiges belonged to the Crown, maybe since the early tenth century. In this spot, located at the end of the deep valley of the Villaviciosa estuary, Alfonso III had founded a private church devoted to the Savior. Recent research assures the connection to this king of the temple and the *palatium de Boiges*¹²—mentioned by several chronicles as the place where the king took refuge when he was deposed from the throne by his sons¹³—. Despite the location of this palace or *villa* of Boiges is still an unsolved question in the Asturian early medieval archaeology,¹⁴ it is indisputable that a centre of power was installed there, bounded to the royal person of Alfonso III with an articulating role in the territorial sector of the bottom of the estuary and the centre-east of Asturias. This way, the foundation of San Salvador of Boiges in ninth century—and the possible building or reuse of a *villa*— is not a mere act of territorial realigning in ecclesiastic terms, but it seems to be a private initiative of the king without indications of territorial control, similar to those carried out around Oviedo and other places in the province.¹⁵ And with no documental arguments that could oppose this, it seems reasonable to think that this property belonged to the Crown for centuries; an idea that is proved by the foundation text in 1200.

The foundation by Alfonso IX and Berenguela was a relatively late one within the calendar of the extension of Cister in Castille and—not like the other houses in Asturias— completely *ex novo*, in the frame of an ecclesiastical promotion policy as an instrument to consolidate the king's authority and a very useful factor in the organization and control of space.¹⁶ This explains the generous donations made by the king and continued by his successors. This will turn the monastery into one of the key pieces of the socio-economic board of the region.¹⁷ Alfonso IX will treat his Asturian foundation as a personal project, in which encouragement he will decidedly imply himself, remarking

The affiliation of Sobrado, spaced in the volume from its archive, does not appear in the copy of this document that was preserved in the *Becerro de Valdediós* (Ballesteros Gaibrois, *Colección de Asturias*, t. II doc. 1). Regarding the Gallician coenobium, *vid.* Pallares Méndez, *El monasterio de Sobrado*.

¹² Álvarez Martínez, 'Consideraciones en torno al templo'.

¹³ The pelagian version of the *Crónica de Sampiro* refers to the 'palacia qui sunt in valle de Boidis' ('palaces which are in Boidis valley') and the *Silense* version records: 'Etenim omnes filii regis inter se coniuratione facta, patrem suum espulerunt Bortes villula consedentem' ('Then all the king's sons conspired and deposed their father, confining him in the place of Bortes'; ed. by Pérez de Urbel, p. 307). About other mentions to the place of refuge for Alfonso III and the conflictive transmission of these news, *vid.* Solano Fernández-Sordo, *Las reinas de la Monarquía Asturiana*, pp. 175-78.

¹⁴ *Vid.* Alonso Alonso, 'Fuentes arqueológicas relacionadas con San Salvador de Valdediós'. Álvarez Martínez, 'Consideraciones en torno al templo', pp. 27-29.

¹⁵ Calleja Puerta, *La formación de la red parroquial*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁶ This function of Cistercian abbeys as space articulators has been approached by studies about the Leonese, Castilian and Gallician areas, (Álvarez Palenzuela, *Monasterios cistercienses en Castilla*, p. 241. Portela Silva, 'La explicación sociopolítica del éxito cisterciense'. Martínez Sopena, *La Tierra de Campos occidental*, pp. 445-46); and similar conclusions are set in the studies of the question in the Asturian region (Álvarez Castrillón, *La comarca de los Oscos*, pp. 153-59 y 321-47).

¹⁷ Ruiz de la Peña Solar y Calleja Puerta, 'La fundación del monasterio', pp. 861-867. Solano Fernández-Sordo, 'Sal sobre los campos', pp. 126-35.

his participation and his success: already in 1201 the king himself talks about the 'Valdediós monastery that we built from nothing'.¹⁸

The same year, the monarch inaugurates a wide range of mercies and donations with which he intended to endow the young community. He aimed to ensure its economic viability by donating several agricultural, livestock and fishing resources, as well as commercial and urban property rents in several towns of the kingdom, in addition to some government jurisdictions.¹⁹ However, the first years of the existence of Valdediós must have been hesitant, since there was no built monastery —the foundational donation of Boiges was actually a desire, 'abbatiam ibidem cisterciensis ordinis construendam'²⁰— and possibly they might have thought of locating that *Vallis Dei* somewhere else, in a different place, gentler and potentially benign than the Boiges valley.²¹ It seems that was the very same sovereign who renounced to his purposes and incited the transfer because he gave them in 1206 the property of his possession in León —the Crown property of Boñar— 'ut ipsum monasterium quod edificatum est in Asturiis in Boniar reedificetis' on the route that through the Port of San Isidro, descended following the course of Porma river towards León.²²

Perhaps the initiative was from the General Chapter of the Order or from the motherhouse of Sobrado, both reluctant to settle in an excessively eccentric place in comparison to the territories where the white monks had previously settled in the Kingdom of León. And where, as late as they arrived, the patrimonial and jurisdictional distribution could be quite clogged and it would compel them to compete with other institutions and power instances. Thus, the Galician abbey obtained the following year General Chapter's permission for moving the abbey to a more suitable place, as could be Boñar.²³ Even the installation plans started there, as is revealed by the pipeworks carried out by the monks —something usual in Cistercian settlements²⁴— described in a barter contract of 1209.²⁵

But the Leonese Church opposed this project, which was rejected in the following years,²⁶ and Valdediós would become a material reality in Asturian lands. This was approved by the highest ecclesiastical instances, as it seems to be certified by Pope Innocent III confirming to the monastery in 1210 the possession of all the assets acquired, taking it

¹⁸ González González, *Alfonso IX*, t. II doc. 152.

¹⁹ Regarding the general context of this event, Alfonso Antón, 'La colonización cisterciense', pp.284-87.

²⁰ See n. 11.

²¹ The changing of toponymic seeking the reference to its new ecclesiastic dedication —from 'Boiges' to 'Valdediós' or 'God's valley'— is a very well-known characteristic phenomenon of the Cistercian colonization (Laurent, 'Les noms des monastères cisterciens').

²² 'For rebuilding in Boñar the same monastery that was built in Asturias'. Ballesteros Gaibrois, *Colección de Asturias*, *op. cit.*, doc. 7.

²³ 'Petitio abbatis de Superada de translatione abbatiae Vallis Dei in meliorem locum, exauditur' (Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium*, t.I, p. 339, est. 31). Ruiz de la Peña Solar y Calleja Puerta, 'La fundación del monasterio', p. 864.

²⁴ *Vid.* Regarding this, classic studies such as Pressouvre and Benoît, *L'hydraulique monastique*. Lillich, 'Cleanliness with Godliness'.

²⁵ The family of Marcos Gutiérrez donated to the monastery of Valdediós some plots in Boñar next to the river Porma, for the monastery to pass through them an aqueduct (Ballesteros Gaibrois, *Colección de Asturias*, doc. 26).

²⁶ Fernández Catón, *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*, pp. 185-86.

under its protection and approving all the exemptions granted.²⁷ The listing in the document exposes the relevance acquired by the Valdediós dominion in those years, with properties in the eastern areas of Asturias and León:

‘Posesiones et predia in Bonar vobis ex regio dono concessa, cum omnibus [...] et pertinenciis suis. Grangiam de Novanca, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis. Grangiam de Melgar de Oteros de Rege, cum pertinenciis suis. Grangiam de Sancta Susanna cum omnibus pertinenciis suis. Domos quas habetis in Zamora, ex donatione regis ad usuis monasterii tantum. In Asturias cellarium de Malliano; et totum cellarium de Bogis, de rengalengo et de infantatico, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis; cellarium de Sariego cum sua terra et aliis pertinenciis suis; hereditate Sancti Petri de Senra cum pertinenciis suis; Felgueras totam cum suo cellario et aliis pertinenciis suis; Pausada et totam hereditatem Sancti Vincencii; et Pinternam cum suis pertinenciis. Decimam parte redituum de Castronovo et de Villarpando’.

After this troublesome settlement, the abbey could make a place for itself between the other secular and religious powers that dominated the central-eastern area of Asturias. Once the settlement was certified, the construction of the outstanding Romanesque complex still visible today started in 1218.²⁸ Two years after, the highlight of this king’s patronage took place in a double donation made on Palm Sunday: the concession of a reserve of approximately 7 km² and the vassalage of its inhabitants²⁹ and the profitable participation of the abbey in the salt trade in Asturias as one of the main shareholders.³⁰ Valdediós was ready to start its way and become the main Cistercian house in the region for several centuries.

The monastic family of Valdediós

The donation of 1200 was marked by a profound wishful character and, despite the text was addressed ‘*ad abbaciam ibidem Cisterciensem ordinis construendam*’ (to the abbey which the Cistercian Order would build there), an abbot or even a group of monks are not mentioned at all. Certainly, we only have to wait until the next year to know the identity of its first Abbot,³¹ but it does not occur so with the members of the first community. Going through the documentation referring to the monastery between the years 1200 and 1515, and tracking the mentions made to monks or other members of the community who are identified and named in it, we have been able to rebuild the list of members of the Valdediós medieval monastic family. The silence of several of these three hundred fifty years and the specific limitations of the documentary types preserved have provided a not excessively large census, and —above all— very unequal according to the moment in

²⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. n° 27. About the dynamic of the foundational privileges and the papal bull penalties in the origins of the Cistercian monasteries, *vid.* Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp. 46-92.

²⁸ Fernández González, ‘El Císter en el valle asturiano de Boiges’, pp. 389-419. The start date of the works is known from an inscription that records it (Diego Santos, *Inscripciones medievales de Asturias*, doc. 233a). See also, García Flores, ‘El maestro Gualterio y Valdediós’.

²⁹ Diego Santos, ‘El coto del monasterio de Valdediós’. Solano Fernández-Sordo, *De Maliayo a Villaviciosa*, pp. 261-67.

³⁰ *Id.*, ‘Sal sobre los campos’.

³¹ 30 July 1201: Alfonso XI donate to the monastery of Valdediós and Abbot Nuño the cellar of Sariego with all its belongings and rights (González González, *Alfonso IX*, t. II doc. 155).

question. However, despite these deficiencies, we believe it is possible to propose a certain analysis of this issue and offer some conclusions that allow understanding something more about this monastery.

As in the also Asturian monastery of Oscos,³² the pioneer's origin is an enigma; although we may presume that most of the first fellows of Valdediós could be newcomers, due to the *ex novo* character of the foundation, and possibly connected to the motherhouse of Sobrado. However, free from the influence of the Galician abbey after a conflict in the early decades³³—probably caused by the discussion about the settlement in Asturias or in León—, there may have been local vocations in the shire. The anthroponomy of the monks documented during the first century of the monastery does not indicate any unquestionable origin, because their surnames are mostly patronymic. Nevertheless, as can be seen in the table, after this first century and until the end of Middle Ages, we would find abundant surnames of toponymic basis that suggest that the origin of the monks could be the very territory of Villaviciosa, or, at most, the municipalities of the central-eastern area of Asturias: Álvaro de Miravalles, Juan de Migoya, Pedro de Trías, Suero de Arroes, Fernando de Grases, Álvaro de Sietes, Pedro de Peón, Pedro de Nava, Álvaro de Siero, Juan de Caso... All these places are located in an area of about 30 km from the monastic house of Valdediós with a greater abundance of those linked in patrimonial or seignorial ways to Valdediós (as Peón or Sariego). For that reason, it is easy to conclude that, at least until the modern reform of Valdediós and its introduction into the Observance Congregation of Castile since 1515, the monastic community was mostly local, coming to its members from the human group and families from the surroundings and the properties of the abbey.

However, despite the list of abbots is well known since the settlement in the zone,³⁴ the identity and the number of the other members of the community are progressively reflected in the records only from 1220. We inevitably establish a connection between this delay and the hesitation that define the two first decades, making the Asturian settlement provisional. But we can also relate it to the period from 1251 to 1282 when the monastery went through serious indiscipline problems against the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order and the Bishop of Oviedo. Due to unknown reasons, the monks confronted their legitimate Abbot and voted improperly a new one, in such a way that it was necessary to send the Abbots of Carracedo and Moreruela to get the prior and the monks to return to monastic discipline.³⁵

In any case, from then the records reveal some mentions to the community and to certain positions in the monastic organization: abbot, prior, subprior, cellarer, bursar or bookkeeper (*bolsero*), master of the robes (*vestiario* or chamberlain), sacrist, choirmaster, almoner or *porcionarius*, farm master, blacksmiths master, novicemaster... and the simple monks.³⁶ In this, we can appreciate a very diversified institution in their occupations, with some positions that sometimes rotate among the monks.

³² Álvarez Castrillón, *La comarca de los Oscos*, p. 341.

³³ Fernández González, 'El Císter en el valle asturiano de Boiges', pp. 393-94.

³⁴ Although it needs a revision, see González Gutiérrez, 'Aproximación al abadologio'.

³⁵ Torné Cubells, 'Santa María de Valdediós', p. 59. Fernández González, 'El Císter en el valle asturiano de Boiges', pp. 393-94.

³⁶ See the table in the appendix to this work.

Apart from the authorities —abbot, prior and subprior— positions as chamberlain, cellarer and bursar³⁷ stand out as those of greater responsibility, being frequently specific their reference in the business of the monastery next to the abbot —written apart from the common mention to ‘los monjes del convento de Santa María de Valdediós’ (‘the monks of the community of Santa María de Valdediós’)— and being they who received the goods that the monastery acquired.³⁸ It can be appreciated in the daily management documents kept in the monastery's archive, where it is common to refer in the community businesses only to the abbot, prior, bursar, and perhaps three outstanding brothers — maybe the oldest or most prestigious ones— that they are the only appointments of a greater group referred only as ‘the (other) monks’ or ‘the rest of the community’. E.g., on August 28th 1473 ‘being in the abbey of Santa María de Valdediós, we Fr. Juan del Canno, abbot of the said monastery, and Fr. Juan Cabeza, prior, with the agreement of the other monks of the said monastery’ lease a mill from the monastery. Also, ‘Don Fernando del Azevo, abbot of the Valdediós monastery, in agreement with the prior fray Juan Peniella and the monks fray Juan de Carniao, fray Alfonso de Figares, fray Juan Peniella, fray Alfonso del Caño, bursar, and others, lease a plot to a peasant couple’ on February 21st, 1481.³⁹

Their relevance of this is clear,⁴⁰ and sometimes they are successive steps in the *cursus honorum* of the monastic career. An example of this is Juan Peniella, who is recorded as a monk in 1466-84, and since that year was the prior —after one first attempt in 1481— during the commands of Abbots Fernando de Acebo, Juan del Caño II and Alfonso del Caño. When the last died shortly before February 1513, Juan Peniella is documented as

³⁷ The documents relate these two positions and defines them when, in the later fifteenth century, Abbot Alonso del Caño revokes all lordly and spiritual powers granted by him; especially the ones of the ‘cellarer and bursar, who is in charge of collecting the bread, wine, and other things that belong to the monastery and its administration’ (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9427, fol. 253r).

³⁸ 25 March 1477: Alfonso Díaz de Seana sells to brother Martino, monk and bursar of Valdediós, a land in La Granda for the monastery (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9425, fol 113r).

21 June 1481: Ceremony of the change of ownership of an plat in Niévares: Alfonso Pérez give in hand a branch of a walnut tree and a piece of grass from the property to brother Alfonso del Caño, monk and bursar of Valdediós, as new owner (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9427, fol. 27v).

7 July 1481: ‘Know that I, Fernando del Azevo, by the grace of God Abbot of the monastery, with the agreement of brother Iohan Cabeça, prior, and of brother Alfonso del Canno, bursar, and of all the others monks, that together we are by bell tolled according to it is custom, we lease forever to you Iohan de Millares, shoemaker...’ (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9427, fol. 30r-30v).

³⁹ AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9425, fol 56r. AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9427, fol. 51r.

⁴⁰ Its importance is clearly seen when, few years before, in a new context of inner division in the community, a monk complained that the Abbot had violated the separation of powers and ‘without authority of the monks and community of the monastery, he removed the offices of cellarer, bursar and obedientiaries, and he only by his authority and by force says that he have to collect the rents and money’ (AGS-RGS, leg. 149312-185).

‘prior and *elector* (‘candidate’) for abbot of the monastery of Valdediós’,⁴¹ being Abbot a few months later.⁴² Or even the aforementioned Alfonso del Caño, who from 1473 to his death is successively recorded as monk, bursar, and abbot. However, Alfonso del Caño and Juan Peniella will be the last unquestionably medieval abbots of Valdediós, since the modern reform of the Castilian Observance will end up removing Juan Peniella from his position and imposing the model of triennial rotary and foreign abbots, in a highly conflictive process in Valdediós during the last decades of the Middle Ages.⁴³

Nevertheless, since documents never offer a complete list of monks, it is not possible to set out a number for the community members. As can be seen in the table of this paper, the larger annual reports to that we have been able to obtain in our records range between 10-15 monks, plus the ones that could be away from the motherhouse as farm masters or *magister grangiae* —mostly in Leonese lands—. ⁴⁴ But the number of monks must have commonly exceeded the ten —or, perhaps, the dozen— because a bourgeois will of 1403 order ‘the Abbot of Valdediós and ten monks to come to my vigil [...], and to give each monk five *maravedis* and a meal’.⁴⁵

On the other hand, analysing the table that accompanies this work, it is easy to see that in some specific years —such as 1472, 1478, 1480, 1484 (which are those in which the Valdediós archive offers a greater quantity of documentation thanks to the preservation of the *Forales* or books of agrarian contracts from these decades)— the list of monks without known position or dignity approaches or exceeds ten members. To this amount must be added other members: abbot, prior and other positions, as well as possible displaced monks —some maybe studying at far away universities, such as the case of Alfonso Querubín, the abbot’s nephew, studying outside in 1475 at Salamanca⁴⁶— and those living in the Leonese farms of the cenobium, possible novices and laypeople linked to the community. For that reason, by the ending decades of the Middle Ages, we can easily get to assume a monastic family for Valdediós which may have 20 or 25 members, although dispersed and hierarchized. Unfortunately, we cannot ensure that this was so in the first centuries of existence of the cenobium, where the documentation does not give an opportunity for this type of hypothesis.

Unfortunately, we have no evidence from Valdediós about the entry of men into the community, which we must suppose similar to other close Cistercian monasteries.⁴⁷ As already said, its geographical origin appears to be eminently local, from the areas with implantation of the monastery properties, as revealed by the surname of the known monks. The only example we have of an entry into the community is the one of Fernando Fernández, from Boñar, who in 1123 was received by Abbot Juan as a brother, associate and obedient into the monastery, and who ‘ex hoc die debetis esse humilem et obedientem

⁴¹ 12 February 1513: Juan Peniella, prior and *elector* of the monastery of Valdediós, agree with Juan de Bitienes, subprior, and brother Juan de Villaviciosa, sign a contract with Ruy Fernández de la Laviada, clerk of Mogovío, in order to plant fruit trees (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9427, fol. 256v).

⁴² 30 November 1513: Juan Peniella, abbot of Valdediós, lease to Fernando de Bárcena the plat that the monastery has in Arroes (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9427, fol. 294v).

⁴³ Solano Fernández-Sordo, ‘De coros y Caños’.

⁴⁴ Regarding the farms and the figure of the *magister grangiae*, vid. Portela Silva, *La colonización cisterciense en Galicia*, pp. 93-97. France, *Separate but Equal*, pp. 139-44.

⁴⁵ Hevia Ballina, ‘Nuevos datos para el Hospital’, p. 483.

⁴⁶ AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9425, fol 99v

⁴⁷ Álvarez Castrillón, *La comarca de los Oscos*, pp. 342-343.

abbati et priori et cellerario et omni conventui, de corpore et de habere et de substantia' ('from this day you must be humble and obedient to the Abbot, prior, cellarer, and to the whole community in body, possessions, and intention'). For that, he provided two hamlets there, which he received as lifetime usufruct, along with other two elsewhere. However, it is not a novice incorporation, since he was a certainly aged man, married and with at least three children.⁴⁸

Therefore, there are more references about the incorporation of some laypeople that can be counted within the Cistercian family but clearly distinguished in the documentation as laymen by not referring to them with the formula 'friar'. We mean those individuals who may be part of the household in the monastery —servants, butler, pantry responsible, shoemaker, baker, barber...— or the labour and exploitation of its properties —the *conversi* and relatives welcome to the 'fraternity/familiarity' of the order⁴⁹—. Thus, in 1225, Guillermo Pérez sold to the monastery all his properties in Villafañe, in León, 'ut vos recipiatis me pro vestro familiare' ('so that you will receive me as your *familiar*'),⁵⁰ and on April 1233 Munio Alfonso, a wealthy neighbour with a great heritage, donates to the monastery of all his assets in Colunga and Villaviciosa to be welcomed as a *conversus*⁵¹. Out of the ordinary is, however, the acceptance of the relevant Asturian count Rodrigo Álvarez de Noreña as familiar of the monastery by Abbot Tomás in 1314, giving him the farm of Melgar —only on the condition that there is a monk from Valdediós there as obedientary— in exchange for a generous donation.⁵² Maybe this aimed to enlarge a mere barter and an anniversary making the noble an 'honorary member' of the monastery.

Among the monastery household, there are many references to 'Abbot's servants', as well as of several monks that we suppose wealthier. In this sense, the contract by which Ruy Pérez de la Reglada left his son as a servant of the Abbot Juan del Caño stands out:

I acknowledge that I am leaving my son Rodrigo from today and for a year on salary to serve you and do the things that you command and that he can do. And if he falls ill within a year, then later he will make up for the days the illness lasts. And you, the Abbot, you promise to give him 250 *maravedis* for the year and two shirts, two pants, and four pairs of shoes; and a sackcloth coat or one hundred *maravedis*, whatever Rodrigo prefers.⁵³

The community appears usually unified in the documentation, managing communally their properties. The contract texts were usually written by the 'Abbot of the monastery by the grace of God, with the agreement of the prior and of all the others monks' or by 'the whole community, being together by bell tolled according to it is custom'.

But this image of strict hierarchy and discipline contrasts with what is visible in later centuries. Fifteenth-century monks, regardless of the position they hold —which, on the other hand, seem to disappear except for those of abbot, prior and bursar— conduct businesses alone. It seems that each one has their particular properties, especially related

⁴⁸ Ballesteros Gaibrois, *Colección de Asturias*, t. II doc. 23.

⁴⁹ France, *Separate but Equal*. Pérez-Embid Wamba, *El Císter en Castilla y León*, pp. 144-49. Sanz Fuentes y Beltrán Suárez, 'Resistencias campesinas en los dominios cistercienses', pp. 544-46. Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp. 166-88. Mariño Veiras, 'La influencia espiritual', pp. 118-22.

⁵⁰ Ballesteros Gaibrois, *Colección de Asturias*, t. II doc. 76.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, doc. n° 69.

⁵² Sanz Fuentes, 'Dos documentos de don Rodrigo Álvarez', doc. n° 1. Sanz Fuentes y Beltrán Suárez, 'Resistencias campesinas en los dominios cistercienses', pp. 544-46.

⁵³ 20 May 1472 (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9425, fol 57r).

to agricultural rents and real estate.⁵⁴ Perhaps the turning point was the separation of the tables into the Abbot and the community one, documented at least since the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵⁵ This individual uses —along with personal devotional practices of each monk, recorded at this time— and a certain abandonment of the cloister by greater involvement of the community in lay diary life might be related to the influence of the mendicant orders, very successful in Asturias in those times.⁵⁶

Conclusion: a family towards Modernity

When J. Álvarez Castrillón addresses the study of the medieval community of the also Asturian Cistercian monastery of Santa María de Villanueva de Oscos, he describes it as follows:

A group made up only of men, therefore without ties or family charges, and whose only expense is their own support —and, even so, frugal— blindly and enthusiastically submitted to the only will of a common enterprise, and who will soon be joined by a good contingent of *conversi* peasants habituated to these jobs and whose capacity to accumulate and generate surpluses soon makes them available to make the necessary investments — land, tools, cattle— always for the benefit and increase of the exploitation, without neglecting the advantage that concerning the others grants them the external contact with communities of other areas and the exchange of information that allows the application of innovative techniques and methods —the use of the mouldboard plough and the introduction of the rotation of crops of the diversity of species without fallow are, without a doubt, its great contributions— it is a set without rival possible in the panorama of any medieval community.⁵⁷

There is nothing to object to this image, which is otherwise classic by insisting on the idea of medieval monasteries as authentic ‘companies’ —or ‘lordly companies’— that yield a beneficial income statement by combining abundant human resources, means of production, raw materials, internal organization and even the market and consumer group of most of the production. However, broadening the perspective to accommodate other

⁵⁴ 20 June 1478: The Abbot and the monks of Valdediós lease to brother Alonso del Caño the Rent of the Ships, pledging to supply the monatory with fish for six years (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9425, fol. 156v).

29 February 1480: Gonzalo García and his wife sell two cows and two heifers to the Abbot (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9425, fol 182r-182v).

14 January 1482: Juan de Daja has to pay Fernando de Acebo, Abbot of Valdediós, two bushels of bread for a loan he received from him (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9427, fol. 42r).

[1482]: Alvar Móniz de Argüera buys Fernando de Acebo, Abbot of Valdediós, two granaries and 4,000 tiles (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9425, fol 198r).

5 March 1483: Inés García sells to Fernando del Acebo, Abbot of Valdediós, some plots in Villaviciosa (AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 9425, fol. 211v).

⁵⁵ The first mention that we find is the aforesaid fishing rent of 1478, in which brother Alfonso del Caño agrees to ‘supply the Abbot's table and the community's table’ with fish. From now on, we only find references to the first one, and even the existence of a ‘Table Rent’.

⁵⁶ Álvarez Castrillón, *La comarca de los Oscos*, pp 345-46. Calleja Puerta, *El monasterio de San Salvador de Cornellana*, p. 96.

⁵⁷ Álvarez Castrillón, *La comarca de los Oscos*, p. 206.

ways of conceiving medieval monasticism, it is not entirely correct to point out that it is a group 'without ties or family charges': the monastery and its community are in themselves that family, with its ties and charges, as it has been tried to expose in this work.

The '*familiaritas*' is, together with its business and lordly interpretation, precisely the other side of the medieval monastic phenomenon. As J. Mallon has analysed, it is not simply that medieval monastic communities can be labelled as 'familiar' as one more of the fraternal groups of the pre-industrial societies. Certainly, medieval monasticism presents a true way of understanding itself as a family, and being a long experience over time allows us to see the evolution that this concept experienced in the structure of communities and even in the affective reality between its members and the theorization about it in their texts—even before secular literature did—in the light of the great changes in medieval Christianity.

Of course, the earliest monastic experiences of Eastern Late Antiquity did not have familiarity as an own virtue of their character and even rejected the relationships between their members that could subtract value from the obedience and the authority of teacher-disciple that was assumed between the abbots and their monks. It was their integration into the Western cultural world—and their way of understanding family relationships—which allowed a more familiar and affective articulation of the communities, especially from the composition of the Benedictine Rule and, above all, with its expansion and the emergence of affective piety from the eleventh century, which began to consider the individual relationships between monks of various levels within the monastery as fundamental for the spiritual growth of each one in the community. This new environment allowed different members to assume different roles in the family—parents, children, siblings, servants and service—clearly distinguished and with their different hierarchical positions and tasks. And, of course, as a family diametrically opposed to the traditional family or other associative family models of the lay world open and even aimed precisely at procreation. The monasticism of this moment was a new type of family, based on a new conception of the '*familiaritas*'.⁵⁸

In this world appears Cistercian reformism, which assumes these conceptions. For this reason, the Cistercian community is not only that 'hierarchical business organization', but also 'family'. This affectivity will not overshadow other virtues such as obedience or the authority of superiors, the distribution of functions or hierarchies.⁵⁹ Something, moreover, present in any family structure from almost any historical period.

And this is, logically, something visible in the human group of medieval Valdediós. This community, therefore, had a very varied composition, based on the model of the Cistercian Order, but evolving over time. It would go through troubles regarding the clarification of the jurisdiction that ruled the monastery, combining necessarily the diffuse relationship with the motherhouse of Sobrado, its insertion in the Cistercian General Chapter, its establishment in the domains of the Diocese of Oviedo and the personal protection of the Papacy. This will cause disagreements: the community rebellion against the General Chapter and the Bishop of Oviedo around 1252, the lawsuit between Bishop Rodrigo Ramírez de Guzmán and the monastery regarding the ecclesiastic authority over it and its privileges solved by Pope Martin V;⁶⁰ or even the inner struggles for the position of Abbot, on the late fifteenth century, when there were four abbots in three years.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Mallon, '*To Love and Be Loved*', pp. 92-95.

⁵⁹ France, 'The Cistercian community'.

⁶⁰ AHN, Clero secular regular, carp. 1612, doc. nº 11.

⁶¹ Solano Fernández-Sordo, 'De coros y Caños'.

Nevertheless, the relationship was cordial in some occasions: the reformer Bishop Gutierre put Valdediós as an example of a monastery, and he decided to refund the immoral house of Villamayor as a male monastery precisely from Valdediós's community.⁶²

It is true that, in addition to this institutional isolation and greater disciplinary independence in practice, the geographic isolation of its location led – as it was seen- to the extraction of its monks outside the area itself. This allowed the family networks of the environment to also extend to the community and that we find blood relatives participating in the Valdediós group. Problems could arise when these blood groups, with a presence inside and outside the monastery, tried to impose their interests in both areas, transferring secular pretensions to the monastic world. These tensions, present throughout the medieval period in Valdediós, will eventually explode at the end of the period and lead the monastery to its modern reform. The integration of the abbey to the Congregation of the Regular Cistercian Observance of Castile in 1515 ended this situation. It brought innovations into the traditional administration of the abbey and the members of its monastic family, coinciding with Modernity.⁶³ But its study exceeds our chronological aim and it is, literally, another history.

Appendix - Monastic family of Valdediós members (1201-1515)

YEAR	ABBOT	PRIOR	CHARGES	MONKS	LAYS CHARGES
1201	Nuño				
1209					
1211					
1212					
1213				<i>Petrus</i> (notary)	
1214					
1220		<i>Petrus Temporaneus</i>	<i>Petro Pelagii</i> (chamberlain)		
1223	Juan	<i>Gundisalvo</i>	<i>Petro Dominici</i> (cellarer) Juan (almoner)	<i>Martinus Micael Petrus</i>	
1225			<i>Petro Pelagii</i> (chamberlain)	<i>Froilanus</i> (notary) <i>Pelagio</i>	<i>Vilielmus Pere</i> (<i>familiaris</i>) ? (servant)
1229			<i>Iohanni Didaci</i> (cellarer)	Vital (notary)	
1233					Munio Alfonso (<i>conversus</i>)
1245	Martino				
1273	Juan				
1274	Peley Rodrigo		Juan "Mellor" (blacksmiths master)		
1280			Juan (subprior)		
1314		Juan	? (obedientiary)		Rodrigo Álvarez de Noreña (<i>familiaris</i>)
1315	Tomás		Alfonso (subprior) Fernando de los Molinos (procurador en pleitos) Tomás (sacrist)	Alfonso Porra Álvaro Álvaro de Miravalles Domingo Juan Fernán Rodríguez Juan de Migoya Monio	
1316				Alfonso	

⁶² Fernández Conde, *Gutierre de Toledo*, pp. 223-26. See the appreciative concept of Valdediós from the prelate (n. 299).

⁶³ A similar Asturian case in Fernández Ortiz, 'El archivo del monasterio cisterciense'.

		Álvaro Rodrigo			
[1337-1354]		Suero			
1340		Pedro de San Justo (bursar)			
1348 1354	García				
1357	Suero	Pedro (subprior) Pedro de Trías (choirmaster)			
1370	Rodrigo	Pedro	Domingo (subprior)	Domingo de Ferreros Suero de Arroes	
1371		Pedro		Alonso	
1377			Domingo (subprior)	Pelayo	
1389	Juan	Pedro	Juan (sacrist)	Domingo Gonzalo de Carniao Miguel	
1390				Domingo	
1395				Alfonso Miguel	
1397				Diego	
1398				Juan de Amandi	
1411				Domingo de Ferros Gonzalo de Carniao	
1431	Gutierre			Pedro de Mieres	Juan de los Molinos (Pedro de Mieres's servant)
1448 (a.q.)				Juan Pérez del Tollo	
1448	Gonzalo	Juan de Puelles	Fernando de Grases (subprior) Juan del Caño (cellarer)	Alfonso de Figares Diego de Belvín Juan de Carniao Juan del Moral Pedro de Nava	Alfonso (Abbot's servant) Juan de Daja (Abbot's servant)
1449				Alfonso de Figares (bursar)	
1456	Juan del Caño			Alfonso de Figares Álvaro Juan de Carniao Juan Peniella Pedro de Nava	
1466		Juan de Puelles	Fernando de Grases (subprior)		
1467		Juan de Puelles	Fernando de Grases (subprior)	Alfonso de Figares Fernando Álvarez de Siero Juan Cabeza Juan de Carniao Juan Peniella Martino Pedro de Nava Pedro del Mato	
1468		Juan de Puelles		Alfonso Fernando del Acebo Martino	Juan García (farmer) Juan del Pollo (farmer)
1470			Juan Cabeza (subprior)	Alfonso de Figares Alfonso de San Vicente Juan Cabeza Juan de Carniao Juan Peniella Martino Pedro de Nava	
1471		Juan Cabeza	Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso de Agüera Alfonso de Figares Álvaro de Siero Álvaro de Sietes Juan de Carrio	Diego del Fueyo (Abbot's servant) Pedro Álvarez del Moredo (Abbot's servant)

			Juan del Caño II Juan Peniella Martino Pedro de Barbecho Pedro de Nava	
1472	Juan Cabeza		Alfonso Alfonso de Agüera Alfonso de Figares Alfonso de S[...] Álvaro de Siero Juan de Camas Juan de Carniao Juan de Caso Juan de Niela Juan del Caño II Martino Pedro de Barbecho Pedro del Mato	Fernando Peçón (farmer) Juan Sirgo (Abbot's servant) Rodrigo (Abbot's servant)
1473 (a.q.)			Pedro de Peón	
1473	Juan Cabeza	Alonso de San Vicente (farm master)	Alfonso de Agüera Alfonso de Figares Alfonso del Caño Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Juan del Caño II Martino Pedro de Barbecho Pedro del Mato	Fernando de Sariego (abbey shoemaker) Juan Sirgo (Abbot's servant)
1474	Juan Cabeza		Alfonso de Figares Alfonso de San Vicente Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Juan del Caño II Juan Peniella Martino Pedro del Mato	
1475			Alfonso de Figares Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Martino	
1476	Juan Cabeza	Martino (cellarer)	Alfonso Alfonso de Figares Juan de Carniao Juan del Caño II	
1477	Juan Cabeza	Martino (bursar)	Alfonso de Figares Alfonso de San Vicente Juan de Carniao Juan del Caño II Martino	Fernán Rodríguez de Moral (Abbot's servant and butler)
1478	Juan Cabeza	Fernando del Acebo	Alfonso de Figares Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso de San Vicente Alfonso del Caño Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Juan del Caño II Juan Peniella Pedro de Barbecho Pedro del Mato Tomás	
1479	Juan Cabeza	Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso de Agüera Alfonso de Figares Alfonso del Caño Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Juan de Cristo	

			Juan Peniella	
1480	Juan Cabeza	Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso de Figares Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso del Caño Álvaro de Siero Juan Cabeza Juan de Carniao Juan Peniella Martino Pedro del Mato Tomás	
1481	Juan Cabeza		Alfonso de Agüera Alfonso de Figares Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares	Fernán Rodríguez (Abbot's servant and butler)
	Juan Peniella	Alfonso del Caño (bursar) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso de San Vicente Álvaro Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Juan Peniella Pedro de Barbecho Tomás	
1482	Juan Cabeza	Alfonso del Caño (bursar)	Alfonso de Figares Alfonso de San Vicente Alfonso del Caño Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Juan Peniella Pedro de Barbecho Pedro de Barbecho Pedro del Mato	
1483	Juan Cabeza	Alfonso del Caño(bursar) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso de Figares Alfonso de San Vicente Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Juan Peniella Pedro de Barbecho Pedro de Peón Pedro del Mato	Fernán Rodríguez de Sariego (butler) Juan de Arbazal (baker)
1484	Juan Cabeza	Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso de Figares Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso de San Vicente Alfonso del Caño Álvaro de Siero Juan de Carniao Juan Peniella Pedro de Barbecho Pedro de Peón Pedro del Mato Pedro del Peredal	Fernán Rodríguez (butler) Rodrigo(Abbot's servant)
1485	Juan Peniella	Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso de San Vicente Alfonso del Caño Juan de Carniao Pedro de Barbecho	
1486	Juan Peniella	Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso del Caño Pedro de Barbecho Pedro de Peón	Pedro Rodríguez, son of Juan de Arbazal (Abbot's servant)
1487	Juan Peniella		Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso de Puellas Alfonso de San Vicente Alfonso del Caño	

				Alonso de Argüera Pedro de Barbecho Pedro de Peón Pedro del Mato	
1488	Juan del Caño II	Juan Peniella	Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Argüera Alfonso de Saniçeta Alfonso del Caño Alonso de Niévares Pedro de Barbecho Pedro de Peón	Juan del Pontón (Abbot's servant)
1489		Juan Peniella		Alfonso de Agüera Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso de San Vicente Alfonso del Caño Pedro de Barbecho Pedro de Peón Pedro del Mato Tomás	Juan del Pontón (pantry responsible) Martino de Sardedo (Abbot's servant)
1490	Fernando del Acebo	Juan Peniella	Pedro del Mato (subprior) ? (cellarer)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de San Vicente Pedro de Peón Pedro del Mato Tomás	Fernando (Alfonso del Caño's servant) Juan (pantry responsible) Juan de la Vuelga (Abbot's servant) Juan de Ribote (Abbot's servant) Juan del Pontón (Abbot's servant) Juan Sirgo (Abbot's servant) Martino de Sadado (Abbot's servant)
1491	Benito	Juan Peniella	Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso de Agüera Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso del Caño Tomás	Juan del Pontón (pantry responsible)
1492	Juan del Caño II	Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor ⁶⁴ , cellarer and bursar) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso de Agüera Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Juan de la Puerta Pedro de Peón Tomás	
1494		Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Diego de Ribota Juan de Bitienes Juan del Caño II Pedro de Peón Tomás	
1495	Alfonso del Caño	Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor and bursar) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Alfonso del Caño Juan de Betienes Juan de Nava Juan del Caño II Pedro de Peón Tomás	Juan Alfonso (Abbot's servant) Pedro Fernández (pantry responsible)
1496		Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso de Niévares Juan del Nava Pedro de Peón Tomás	Juan de la Venta (barber) Pedro Fernández del Mato (pantry responsible and Abbot's servant)

⁶⁴ Not a real charge, but an honorary appointment.

1497	Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Juan de Bitienes Juan de Liques Juan de Nava Pedro de Peón Tomás	Pedro Fernández del Mato (Abbot's servant) Pedro Sánchez de Bones (Abbot's bookkeeper and butler)
1498	Juan Peniella	fray Fernando de Acebo (bachelor) fray Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Juan de Bitienes Juan de Nava Juan Gutiérrez Pedro de Peón Tomás	Pedro Fernández del Mato (Abbot's servant) Pedro Sánchez de Bones (Abbot's bookkeeper and butler)
1499	Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor)	Alfonso "Querubín" Juan de Bitienes Juan de Nava Juan de Paraes Pedro de Peón Tomás	Juan de Camás (Abbot's servant) Pedro Fernández del Mato (Abbot's servant)
1500	Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Juan de la Puerta Juan de Nava Pedro de Peón Tomás	Pedro Sánchez de Bones (Abbot's bookkeeper and butler) Juan (pantry responsible and Abbot's servant) Juan de Camás (Abbot's servant)
1501	Juan Peniella			
1502	Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor)	Alfonso "Querubín" Juan de Paraes Pedro de Peón Tomás	
1503	Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor) Pedro del Mato (subprior)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso del Caño Juan de la Puerta Juan de Nava Juan del Caño II Pedro de Peón Tomás	Pedro Suárez de Miravalles (Abbot's bookkeeper and butler)
1504	Juan Peniella	Fernando de Acebo (bachelor)	Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso del Caño Juan de ? Juan de Bitienes Juan de la Puerta Juan de Nava Juan del Caño Tomás	Pedro Suárez de Miravalles (Abbot's bookkeeper and butler)
1505	Juan Peniella		Alfonso "Querubín" Juan del Caño	Pedro García de Solares (Abbot's servant) Juan García (Abbot's servant) Diego Díaz (Abbot's servant)
1506	Juan Peniella		Alfonso "Querubín"	
1508	Juan Peniella		Alfonso "Querubín"	Diego Díaz de Azebo (Abbot's servant)
1509	Juan Peniella		Alfonso "Querubín" Alfonso del Caño Juan de Bitienes	
1510	Juan Peniella		Alfonso "Querubín" Juan de Villaviciosa Juan del Caño II Diego [...]	Rodrigo del Caño (Abbot's servant)
1511	Juan Peniella	Alfonso de la Carrera "Querubín" (subprior)	Fernando de los Pandos Juan de Bitienes Juan de Tresvilla Juan de Tresvilla	Ruy Fernández del Caño (Abbot's servant)

			Juan de Villaviciosa Pedro de Ambás	
1512				
1513	Juan Peniella (and elector)	Juan de Bitienes (subprior)	Diego de Sopeñes Fernando de Azevedo Gonzalo de Grases Gonzalo de Junco Juan de Villaviciosa Juan del Caño II Pedro de Ambás Pedro de Solares Pedro del Caño	Pedro Fernández (pantry responsible and Abbot's servant) Juan Cabrón (Abbot's servant) Diego, son of Diego de la Peniella (Abbot's servant)
	Juan Peniella			
1514		Juan de Bitienes (subprior)	Diego de Bustos Diego de Sopeñes Gonzalo de Grases Juan de Villaviciosa Juan del Caño II Pedro de Solares	Pedro Fernández del Mato (Abbot's servant)
	Francisco de Montemayor			
1515	Juan Peniella (and elector)	Juan de Bitienes (subprior)	Diego de Sopeñes Fernando de Azevedo Juan de Villaviciosa Pedro de Solares Pedro del Caño	
1516	Fernando de León ⁶⁵		Juan de Bitienes	Diego (Juan de Bitienes's servant)

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⁶⁵ First abbot reformed, triennial, non life charge.

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