



CONFLICT AND COLLABORATION IN MEDIEVAL IBERIA

EDITED BY
KIM BERGQVIST, KURT VILLADS JENSEN
AND ANTHONY JOHN LAPPIN

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	vii
Introduction	ix
Chapter 1	1
Hybrid Place-Names as Evidence of Military Settlement in the Danelaw and in Castile <i>David Peterson</i>	
Chapter 2	23
Paradoxes of Reconciliation: The Public Face of Apostasy in Tenth- Century Córdoba <i>Adriano Duque</i>	
Chapter 3	45
Emulating Neighbours in Medieval Iberia around 1000: A Codex from La Rioja (Madrid, RAH, cód. 78) <i>Rodrigo Furtado</i>	
Chapter 4	73
Early Allies and Long-Standing Enemies: The Production of Manuscripts as Evidence of the Conflict Between León Cathedral and the Sahagún Monastery (Eleventh–Fourteenth Centuries) <i>Leticia Agúndez San Miguel</i>	
Chapter 5	91
A Cross-Cultural Friendship in the <i>Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris</i> : The Case of Zafadola and King Alfonso VII of Castile-León <i>Harald Endre Tafford</i>	
Chapter 6	113
Artistic Exchanges across the Strait of Gibraltar during the Almoravid Period: Andalusí Art in North Africa <i>María Marcos Cobaleta</i>	

Chapter 7	137
The Presence of Rabbinical Exegesis in the Account of the Flood in the <i>General Estoria</i> <i>David Navarro</i>	
Chapter 8	161
Writing as a Christian: The Footprint of Crypto-Jewish Writers in the Alfonsine Scriptorium <i>Francisco Peña Fernández</i>	
Chapter 9	181
Ambiguity, Friendship and Pragmatism: Medieval Friars in Iberia and Beyond <i>Francisco García-Serrano</i>	
Chapter 10	207
Mixed Marriages, Moorish Vices and Military Betrayals: Christian-Islamic Confluence in <i>Count Pedro's Book of Lineages</i> <i>Tiago João Queimada e Silva</i>	
Chapter 11	231
The Reliquary-Altar Piece of the Monastery of Piedra in Zaragoza: At the Crossroads of Christian, Jewish and Muslim Aesthetics around 1390 <i>Herbert González Zymła</i>	
Chapter 12	249
Jewish-Christian Relations in Teruel, Aragon: 1391 and its Aftermath <i>Susan L. Aguilar</i>	
Chapter 13	269
Discipline and Peace versus Conflict in a Medieval Institution: The Cathedral Clergy in Burgos during the Fifteenth Century <i>Susana Guijarro</i>	
Chapter 14	289
Breaking Bread with Enemies: Juan de Chinchilla's Challenge to Inquisitorial Community <i>Madera Allan</i>	
Contributors.....	311

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Picture 6.1: Drawing of the ancient minbar of the Mosque of Cordoba. VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 51.

Picture 6.2: Minbar of the Kutubiyya Mosque, Marrakech (1137). Photo: María Marcos Cobaleda.

Picture 6.3: Stalactite vault in the axial nave of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez (1137). Photo: Mounir Aqesbi.

Picture 6.4: Minbar of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez (1144). Photo: Mounir Aqesbi.

Picture 11.1: Reliquary of the Holy Dubio of Cimballa. Miracle, 1380, Reliquary, 1594. Church of Saint Mary in Cimballa. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.

Picture 11.2: Reliquary-altar-piece of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra in Saragossa, closed, 1390, Royal Academy of History Madrid. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.

Picture 11.3: Reliquary-altar-piece of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra in Saragossa, opened, 1390, Royal Academy of History Madrid. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.

Picture 11.4: Musician-angel with the signature of the Levi brothers, Reliquary-altar-piece of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra in Saragossa, 1390, Royal Academy of History Madrid. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.

Picture 11.5: Pictorial signature of Levi Guillen present in the table of musician angel playing the viola in Reliquary-altar-piece of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra in Saragossa, opened, 1390, Royal Academy of History Madrid. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.

INTRODUCTION

The interdisciplinary conference *Historians of Medieval Iberia: Enemies and Friends* (A Marcus Wallenberg Symposium), held in Stockholm in March 2016, sought to continue and revitalise an international and multi-faceted discussion of medieval Iberia. It was very much a scholarly collaboration. Gathering medievalists within many different disciplines from Canada, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States, it brought different methodologies and source materials to bear, and, not least importantly, shed light on the three religions of the Peninsula in the middle ages. It thus focused on their internal and external collaboration and conflicts throughout the long period between the eighth and the fifteenth centuries.

Studies of conflict in medieval history and related disciplines have lately come to focus on wars, feuds, rebellions, and other violent matters. Those are present here, to form a backdrop, but other forms of conflict are also brought to the fore. With these assembled essays on conflict and collaboration in the Iberian Peninsula, we wish to give an insight into key aspects of the historical experience of the Iberian kingdoms during the middle ages. Beginning from the fall of the Visigothic kingdom and the arrival of significant numbers of Berber settlers to the functioning of the Spanish Inquisition right at the end of the middle ages, the articles gathered here look both at cross-ethnic and interreligious meetings in hostility or fruitful cohabitation; yet intra-communal relations are not forgotten, and consideration is given to the mechanisms within religious and ethnic groupings by which conflict was channelled and, occasionally, collaboration could ensue, or the status quo be re-asserted.

Thus, to take one example of fruitful collaboration within an Islamic commonwealth, María Marcos Cobaleda examines the criss-crossing of the Strait of Gibraltar under Almoravid domination during the twelfth century, exploring how the Maghrebi rulers often used al-Andalus as a technical and artisanal resource for expertise and works of art to be used in North Africa. The traffic was not all one way, however, and the Almoravids' impact on al-Andalus can also be traced, primarily through their innovations regarding military architecture and hydraulic systems. As a means of pin-pointing this mutually-reinforcing traffic of ideas and people, Marcos Cobaleda focuses

upon the intertwining features of decorative and ornamental patterns, which see a growing deployment of Andalusí elements in Morocco and the adoption of Maghrebi features in al-Andalus.

Conflict – and the possibility of resolution, and at times reconciliation – is examined in two articles which look closely at the functioning of institutions within Christendom. Susana Guijarro offers a view from within the cathedral chapter of Burgos Cathedral during the fifteenth century, looking at the competing norms of spiritual harmony based on the horizontal sociability of the canons as fellow ecclesiastics, and of worldly expectations based upon their continuing membership of kin-groups, networks of patronage, and their maintenance of positions within various forms of hierarchy. Here, she concentrates on how – once the ideal of harmony had been shattered by various forms of scandalous or sinful behaviour – the bishop and his chapter sought to re-establish the *pax* between the canons necessary for the functioning of the institution itself. Much effort was expended, through synodal resolutions and self-authored statutes, in order to define and limit unacceptable behaviour, and to provide recourse and restoration if limits were then transgressed. However, one of the important mechanisms for resolving conflicts brought about by unacceptable behaviour were through symbolic means: formal reconciliation ceremonies, for example, provided a public theatre through which the tensions created by conflict could be assuaged and redefined. Another involved mediation between arguing parties, carried out within a legal framework, as well as the more simple levying of fines.

Some conflicts were explosive; others were slow-burn. One of the characteristic medieval examples of such dilated confrontations over centuries is the long-running institutional struggles that entwined a monastery with its local bishopric. Leticia Agúndez San Miguel provides an analysis of just such a conflict, which focused on questions of legitimate jurisdiction: a four-century long confrontation between the Cathedral of León and the august, historic and resource-rich abbey of Sahagún. Traditionally such disputes are understood through the legal witnesses of confirmation privileges; Agúndez San Miguel widens her scope to look at a range of manuscript-production from both sides in the dispute, stretching from historical works to compilations of donations, thus showing how what became a traditional confrontation could influence many aspects of both monastery's and bishopric's intellectual and cultural production.

Assertions of jurisdiction also played a large part in the manner in which the Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus treated those deemed “apostates,” thereby defining their religious allegiance as illegitimate and enforcing an authoritative interpretation of their actions which emphasised the ruler's

own adherence to (and interpretation of) Islam. Adriano Duque thus explores how the theatrical and performative elements of the post-mortem display of apostates' bodily remains differed from simple "traitors." Public execution of those taken alive, or the exposition of the corpse in symbolically humiliating postures (such as crucifixion, or decapitation followed by long exposure above one of the gates of the city) expressed the ability of the ruler to determine the spiritual state and supernatural punishments of those he had defeated.

Ideological concerns are also witnessed within the Christian arena, and assertions of legitimacy could also be produced as part of a national – rather than strictly religious – project. Historical lineage might be the focus, rather than the imposition of doctrinal purity. Rodrigo Furtado offers a sustained analysis of an important manuscript of histories and chronicles which was copied in a Riojan monastery during the tenth century. Furtado argues that, although the copyists used textual materials already assembled in the neighbouring kingdom of Oviedo and which served to emphasise the latter's primacy amongst the Christian kingdoms, the Riojan scribes were anything but subservient to this ideological message: on the contrary, they re-shaped the legendary material to show that their own kingdom, that of Pamplona, was in fact the legitimate heir to the Visigothic *imperium* and therefore represented both an effective link with the past and the culmination of the historical process of the formation of Christian kingdoms after the Arab conquests. The codex (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, *Aemilianensis* 78), then, was an instrument by which the Pamplonese kings might assert their own pre-eminence against increasing Astur-Leonese competition.

Familial lineage was also the explicit concern of the mid-fourteenth-century *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, or Count Peter's Lineages Book; Tiago João Queimada e Silva looks at how this work depicted Muslim-Christian interaction as a means of providing aristocratic legitimation. And, in line with the noble ethos that permeates the work, religious allegiances came a very distant second to nobility, valour and prestige for families when they recalled their ancestors' glories (and thereby their own).

Actual, rather than legendary, collaboration, indeed friendship, between members of different faiths is brought into focus by Harald Endre Tafford, who looks to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* for its account of the long-standing political relationship between the majestic Alfonso VII of León and Sayaf al-Dawla (or, to Christians, Zafadola), son of the last emir of Zaragoza before the Almoravids' expansion removed the town from their control. Tafford places the cross-religious friendship within an anthropological frame much used by historians of medieval society. Such a friendship was

political, pragmatic, and strategic, in that Sayaf's remaining territories allowed Alfonso a means of projecting his influence; and proximity to Alfonso allowed Sayaf a means of protecting his possessions from the pressure of the Almoravid invaders, on the one hand, and from the Aragonese on the other. Zafadola became, for a while, a trusted counsellor and military leader for Alfonso in his conflict with the Almoravids, as an important link between the king-emperor and Andalusi elements dissatisfied with Almoravid rule, and, before his death, as a trusted free-agent in campaigning in the south of the Peninsula.

The early development of a Muslim presence in the Peninsula is – despite the later accretions of legendary and mostly fanciful material – difficult to reconstruct. No records such as the *Chronica Adefonsi* were written in that early period to detail individual relationships across ethnic and perhaps religious divides, and thus other, more impersonal material has to be used. Placenames have thus become a new frontier in the study of post-conquest settlement patterns. David Peterson uses toponymic data from the province of Burgos to establish where Arab/Muslim/Berber settlement may have taken place; here he seeks to identify hybrid toponyms, place-names which contain both an Arabic and a Romance element (such as *Villa Mahomat*). In order to give a firmer base to the analysis, Peterson brings in a contemporary comparison: hybrid place-names found in the east of England, which show the presence of rapid Danish settlement in their newly conquered territories. A crucial part of this analysis is to establish the reality of early Berber/Muslim settlement on prestige sites, and therefore to highlight the lack of any evidence for later, supposedly massive, Mozarabic migration to these areas.

Multiple levels of co-operation across religious divides may be found in Herbert González Zymla's article, whose examination of a perhaps archetypal late-medieval devotional structure points to a depth of collaboration within the Christian kingdom of Aragón. His focus is the altar-piece which also functioned as a reliquary whose purpose was to enshrine a host which, ten years earlier, had miraculously bled after transubstantiation. This took place in a village near to the Cistercian monastery of Santa María de la Piedra, to which it was donated by King Martín I on his accession to the throne of Aragón. As González Zymla points out, the late fourteenth-century reliquary/altar-piece is one of the best examples of *mudéjar* style in the kingdom, offering a balance between Gothic and Islamic styles of ornamentation and display, using artisanal techniques from the two religious communities. Furthermore, four painters worked on the triptich, whose central elements, designed to frame the relic, were painted by two Jewish brothers, Juan and Guillén Levi.

Francisco García-Serrano uses conceptions of friendship and their elaboration by Christian thinkers over the middle ages to focus upon the actions of the mendicant friars in acting on behalf of patrons and facing opposition from Christians —often their local ordinary— and in their dealing with those of other faiths, with an emphasis upon the virtue of pragmatism in negotiating outcomes.

Jewish collaboration within a Christian project is also outlined by Francisco Peña, who makes an illuminating argument in his consideration of the thirteenth-century “Alfonsine scriptorium”, and in particular one of its most ambitious works, the *General estoria*, a form of universal chronicle, intended as a world history, from Creation to the present of Alfonso X, but unfinished. Taking up a suggestion by Pedro Sánchez-Prieto, Peña pursues the imprint which Jewish intellectuals made upon the text, in particular through the reflexion of traditional Jewish (rather than specifically Christian) commentary on the book of Genesis, and, specifically, the expulsion from Paradise and the sin of Cain. Similarly, David Navarro shows how key rabbinic sources are woven together with the dominant university-textbook, Petrus Comestor’s *Historia ecclesiastica*, in the discussion of the Flood, thereby providing a departure from the dominant modes of Christian interpretation and exegesis of the late thirteenth century.

Not all of Christian relations with Jews were marked with the ornate motifs of María Rosa Menocal’s *convivencia*, however.¹ Madera Allan explores the tragic figure of Juan de Chinchilla, who was the first to be dragged into the Spanish Inquisition’s widening net as its investigations began to focus on otherwise loyal supporters of the Catholic Monarchs as well as making examples of those who had opposed them in the civil war. In the Inquisition’s attempts to separate pious Christians from those who maintained Jewish customs, the issue of kosher food was often to the forefront. In Juan de Chinchilla’s case, however, familial relationships implicated him in a continued Judaism which eventually, when combined with his own evasions, led to his condemnation.

In contrast, however, Susan L. Aguilar explores local history to present a nuanced view of the attitude and treatment of Jews in the previous century. The urban riots against the presence of (unconverted) Jews in the major cities of the eastern Iberian peninsula in 1391 forms the starting-point to Aguilar’s excavation of the after-effects of this mob-violence in the south of the Kingdom of Aragón. Whilst acknowledging that traditional historiography has tended to describe Jewish life post-1391 as being in

¹ María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2002).

inexorable decline, she uses a comparison between the events in Valencia and Teruel as a means of teasing apart very different responses on the part of the local authorities to the threat of, or actual, breakdown of law-and-order within the cities: on the one hand, inaction in the case of Valencia, followed by contradictory attempts at self-exculpation; on the other, robust deployment of paid officers to attempt to ensure the Jews' safety throughout the territory of Teruel. In Valencia, a third of Jews were killed, a third forced to convert, and a third fled; in the city of Teruel, there seems to have been neither murders nor forced conversions, and prominent Jewish families continued to be significant leaders to the town council right to the end of that final decade of the fourteenth century.

Such thematic strands might be presented in other ways, from stressing the importance of art-historical methodology or the materiality of texts, to explorations of the *imaginaire* and evocations of difference, either to enrich or to condemn. Nevertheless, in presenting the material, we have preferred to follow a chronological sequence to the articles. We should also record our thanks to those who have assisted us in putting this volume together for their dedication and care: Emmy Atterving, Stephen Pink and Kirsi Salonen, who did an immense job in finishing the manuscript.

The editors
Kim Bergqvist, Kurt Villads Jensen, Anthony John Lappin

CHAPTER 1

HYBRID PLACE-NAMES AS EVIDENCE OF MILITARY SETTLEMENT IN THE DANELAW AND IN CASTILE¹

DAVID PETERSON

In the Danelaw hybrid place-names combining a Old Norse personal name and an Old English habitative element, generically referred to as Grimston hybrids, have traditionally been regarded as indicators of in-comers taking over (and renaming) existing settlements, plausibly within a context of Viking conquest in the ninth century. In this paper, I will explore whether equivalent Islamo-Romance hybrids in Castile might similarly be a direct legacy of the Islamic conquest and partition of the region in the early eighth century. Certain characteristics of the Castilian hybrids, such as their apparent antiquity and concentration in prime sites, seem to support the hypothesis, however this should only be regarded as a first tentative approach to the subject. What is clear is that the tradition and quality of place-name analysis in Britain are clearly superior to the Spanish situation where such methodology has been largely ignored in recent years, and I suggest that much can be learnt by studying the British bibliography on toponymy and settlement.

¹ This paper has been developed as part of the research project “Escribir el espacio en la alta Edad Media: una aproximación comparada a la relación entre escritura y acceso a la tierra” (HAR2013-44576-P), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Innovation (MICINN). I would furthermore like to thank Lesley Abrams, Wendy Davies and Simon Doubleday for their reading and perceptive comments on an early draft of this paper, although of course the finished project with all its deficiencies is very much my own responsibility.

Introduction

Some thirty kilometres south of the city of Burgos, in the heartland of Castile, there is a village nowadays called simply *Mahamad*. In the documentation of the Cathedral of Burgos (in 1075), however, it appears as *Villa Mahomat*, a name comprising two elements: a habitative designator (*villa*) and a personal name (*Muhammad*). Thus, although it has survived in an elliptical form, it is clearly a habitative place-name, and as such one of the standard typologies², though with the particularity of being a hybrid, combining as it does a Romance element (*villa*) with an Arabo-Islamic one (*Muhammad*). Henceforth, we will term such compounds Islamo-Romance hybrids.³

Scattered around the modern province of Burgos (which as a reasonable approximation to the primitive Castile we will henceforth employ as our geographical reference) there are a number of similarly named villages, although in some cases the passage of time and the influence of Castilian phonetics have combined to obscure the anthroponymic element: *Villahizán*, *Villalmanzo*, *Villalval*, *Villambrán*, *Villamiel*, *Villatoro*, *Villayuda*, *Villajón* ...⁴ We also encounter Islamo-Romance hybrids with different habitative elements (*Tordomar*, *Castrillo de Murcia*, *Quintanayús*)⁵, and further possibly elliptical cases (*Agés*, *Zumel*)⁶, but we will concentrate here on the *villa*- forms. There are also, of course, many habitative toponyms without

² Generally, place-names are classified as either topographical, habitative or folk-names, cf. Kenneth Cameron, *English Place Names* (London: Batsford, 1996), 25.

³ It would be more symmetrically satisfying to term such hybrids as Arab-Romance, both sides of the formula referring to languages, and indeed other authors discussing this anthroponymic stratum designate it as Arab, but here I feel that the socio-religious context behind such names is more significant than their (often obscure) linguistic origins; cf. Elías Terés, “Antroponimia hispanoárabe (reflejada por las fuentes latino-romances),” *Anaquel de estudios árabes* 1–3 (1990–1992); Victoria Aguilar Sebastián and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, “Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII–XIII),” in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media* 6 (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1994), 497–633.

⁴ A full list of these hybrids and their putative etymologies is provided at the end of the article.

⁵ The tower, fort and *Quintana* (?) of, respectively, *Umar* (Terés, no. 310), *Musa* (Terés, no. 393) and *Yusuf* (Terés, no. 443). All three place-names are included in G. Martínez Díez’s 2011 overview of this stratum (“Emigración mozárabe,” 106), and we note that the *villa*- forms constitute barely half of the twenty such hybrid habitative toponyms that he lists.

⁶ *Agés* < *Hajjāj* (Terés, no. 68); *Zumel* < *Šumayl* (Terés, no. 230).

an Arabic second element (*Villadiego*, *Villagonzalo*, *Villarramiro*) and others with anthroponymic components of uncertain origin (*Villassur* < *Assur*, *Villaquirán* < *Qirām*); however, the number of plausibly Islamo-Romance hybrids seems disproportionately high when compared to the volume of Islamic personal-names in active use in the region. This is the case if we take into account that the average date for the first appearance of all the *villa*+anthroponym toponyms is 1106, by which time Arabo-Islamic personal-names had long fallen into disuse in Castile, virtually disappearing from circulation at all levels by the year 1000. This indicates that our hybrids originate in an earlier anthroponymic stratum. However, during the first half of the tenth century, the earliest period for which we have detailed documentation, the proportion of Arabo-Islamic anthroponyms in use in Castile is still only approximately 10% among the peasantry and much lower amongst the elites, the latter being more likely to have lent their names to villages.⁷ In our toponymic register, by contrast, the Arabo-Islamic names represent almost 30% of *all* personal names (in the 124 such compounds analysed in central and southern Burgos province) and 44% of *identifiable* names.⁸ In other words, these place-names conserve the personal-names of an earlier period, seemingly significantly pre-dating the tenth century by when such names comprise only 10% of the nomenclator. Although clearly further work needs to be done analysing all these

⁷ The precise figures depend on the methodology of each study (for example, which sources are mined, the dates set, and the names regarded as being Arabic), but around Burgos I have observed a proportion of 15% amongst the peasantry, while Reglero (with a more restrictive definition of what constitutes an Arabic name and incorporating the nobility) calculates approximately 6%. Further in east, in León province, the figures are generally higher: over 10% for Reglero, 15% for Martínez Sopena. David Peterson, “Aculturación, inmigración o invasión: sobre los orígenes de la onomástica árabe en el noroeste peninsular,” in *Arabes in patria Asturiensium*, ed. Clara Elena Prieto Entrialgo (Oviedo: Asturiensis regni territorium, 2011), 150; Carlos Reglero, “Onomástica arabizante y migraciones en el Reino de León (siglos IX–X),” in *Anthroponymie et migrations dans la chrétienté médiévale*, ed. Monique Bourin and Pascual Martínez Sopena (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez 2010), 89–104; Pascual Martínez Sopena, “La antroponimia leonesa. Un estudio del Archivo Catedral de León (876–1200),” in *Antroponimia y Sociedad. Sistemas de identificación hispano-cristianos del siglo IX al XIII* (Valladolid: Universidades de Valladolid y Santiago de Compostela, 1995), 159.

⁸ Only 35% of such compounds contain clearly identifiable non-Arabic personal-names; the final 35%, while seemingly incorporating anthroponyms, are of obscure etymology, and among this last group we suspect Arabo-Islamic names will be over-represented given their greater tendency to be distorted over time.

toponyms and the anthroponyms fossilized in them (which we present in an Appendix), it seems clear that they represent an early stratum.

Table 1.1. The origins of the personal names found in the villa + anthroponym compounds of central and southern burgos province.

Origin of name	Number of names	%
Islamic	35	28,2
Clearly non-Islamic	45	36,3
Unclear	44	35,5
Total	124	100,0

The typology is particularly concentrated south and west of the city of Burgos, although a small cluster was also identified in the extreme north of the homonymous province by Oliver.⁹ Such hybrids are not limited to Burgos province, the area that I will here concentrate on, however, and indeed are even more common further west in León province¹⁰, an area worthy of future research along these lines. Habitative hybrids are, moreover, also to be found outside the Iberian Peninsula.

Justifying the Castile-Danelaw Comparison

I have previously examined the phenomenon of Arabic toponymy of north-western Iberia from a purely peninsular perspective¹¹, but what I propose to do here is compare the toponymy of Castile with that of the Danelaw area of England. This might at first glance seem rather an eccentric comparison, but alongside a series of similarities between the two medieval contexts that I will outline shortly, the main justification for such an approach is that the

⁹ Villavés, cf. *Abbas* (Terés, no. 279); *Villamezán*, cf. *Jamis* (Terés, no. 122); *Villacián*, cf. *Zayyān* (Terés, no. 171); *Villalázara*, cf. *al-Aysar* (Terés, no. 435); *Villamor*, cf. *Amur* (Terés, no. 306); *Villamar*, cf. *Ammar* (Terés, no. 31). Jaime Oliver Asín, *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla. Su toponimia en relación con los árabes y los beréberes* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1974); Terés, *Antroponimia*.

¹⁰ Victoria Aguilar Sebastián and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, “Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII–XIII),” in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media* 6 (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1994), 545.

¹¹ David Peterson, “The men of wavering faith: on the origins of Arabic personal and place names in the Duero basin,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 3 (2011): 219–46.

dynamics and socio-linguistic logic behind the naming of places are comparable across different regions and periods, and all the more so in equivalent (or at least comparable) historical contexts, as Trafford has argued:

it is not unreasonable that migrants in various early medieval societies might behave in similar ways in tackling the problems implicit in relocation and in establishing and maintaining their position amidst native society, or that the indigenous inhabitants of different conquered or colonized cultures might employ similar tactics to each other in constructing a *modus vivendi* with the strangers in their midst.¹²

The Danelaw (essentially northern and eastern England) is an area that has a significant concentration of the type of habitative hybrid place-names that occupy us, known in the English context as *Grimston hybrids*. It is, moreover, a region that has been particularly well studied from a toponymical perspective, and above all in reference to the interface between existing Anglo-Saxon communities and Scandinavian in-comers in the ninth century. The Grimston hybrids are similar, at least superficially, to the hybrids observed in Castile: an anthroponymic element that seemingly identifies an alien individual (in the Danelaw, Scandinavians); and a habitative affix in the native tongue, in this case the Anglo-Saxon *-tun*. This, then, will be the basis for our comparison: the Islamo-Romance hybrids of Castile and the Grimston hybrids of the Danelaw.

Another reason for undertaking this comparison is that the study of place-names is a much more established discipline in England than in Spain. In the former, generations of philologists, working to a standardised methodology under the auspices of the *English Place Name Society* (EPNS), have since 1923 created a hugely detailed and relatively homogenous *corpus*: the EPNS county studies.¹³ As a result, and concentrating now on the Viking period, thousands of Scandinavian influenced place-names have been identified and a lively debate has ensued as to the historical implications of such a profusion, a discussion that for decades was at the centre of early-medieval English historiography.¹⁴ The fact that such a

¹² Simon Trafford, "Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England," in *Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 22.

¹³ Based at Nottingham University, c. 90 volumes of county studies have been published: <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/research/groups/epns/survey.aspx>.

¹⁴ The debate centred mainly around the question of the number of immigrants necessary to explain such an impressive toponymic legacy. Traditionally, the

debate raged for so long is indicative that there is little approaching a consensus on how to interpret these names in historical contexts,¹⁵ but ironically the very lack of consensus has also meant that the toponymic evidence has been analysed in fine detail. Hopefully, some of the resulting observations and suggestions can help us to understand or at least re-frame what was happening in Castile in the eighth century. Certainly, the contrast with the situation in Spain is stark: fragmentary sources that have been published piecemeal and have been subject to no systematic toponymical analysis. As a result, toponymic evidence has been largely marginalised in recent early-medieval historiography on Spain.

One specific and important lesson learnt from the English experience is the importance of concentrating on toponymic generics – their spatial distribution, the relative quality of sites and the socio-linguistic dynamics behind them – rather than becoming distracted by the etymologies of individual place-names.¹⁶ Accordingly, I will here analyse the type of generic already introduced: hybrid habitative place-names.

As well as the two areas to be compared sharing concentrations of such hybrids, there are other significant similarities between early-medieval Castile and the Danelaw that further justify this exercise. For example, it seems likely that in both scenarios the languages of the in-comers and the natives would have been mutually intelligible, thus providing a sociolinguistic

‘maximalists’ such as Ekwall and Stenton affirmed that only massive immigration could explain such a plethora of Scandinavian place-names, but in 1958 Sawyer challenged this orthodoxy, suggesting that the disproportionate effect of a military elite could explain them and sits better with the lack of archaeological evidence (Gillian Fellows-Jensen, “The Vikings in England: a review,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975): 181–206). The debate has now rather fizzled out into a stalemate, with entrenched maximalists and minimalists refusing to engage (Trafford, “Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England”).

¹⁵ “the evidence of place-names is plentiful, but its application to historical questions that it can plausibly hope to illuminate has proved challenging. It seems clear that the PN distribution map is not a straightforward index of Scandinavian settlement” (Dawn Hadley, *The Vikings in England. Settlement, Society and Culture* (Manchester: University Press, 2006), 103). Indeed, ‘challenging’ is perhaps something of an understatement: “the breakdown of communication between those working on the historical evidence – and we might add, the archaeological evidence – and those working on the linguistic evidence for Scandinavian settlement is a serious problem” (*Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 7.

¹⁶ Matthew Townend, “Scandinavian Place-Names in England,” in *Perceptions of Place: twenty-first-century interpretations of English place-name studies*, ed. David N. Parsons and Jayne Carroll (Nottingham: English Placename Society, 2013), 121.

context in which hybrids seem to flourish. In the case of Castile, recent work by Roger Wright suggests that we can reject the idea of monolingual Arab or Berber-speaking invaders, and instead points towards the immigrants being Romance-Berber bilinguals who would naturally favour the former language when interacting with the similarly Romance-speaking indigenous population.¹⁷ Similarly, in England there seems to have been high degree of intelligibility between Old English (OE) and Old Norse (ON).¹⁸

The geopolitical context for this sociolinguistic situation is detailed in the narrative sources for the two regions (specifically, the early-eighth century in Castile, and the mid-ninth in the Danelaw), both suffering invasion by armies a few thousand strong who proceed to share out the conquered lands and settle on them. The main source for the Norse invasion and partition of specific parts of what would subsequently become known as the Danelaw is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:

And that year [876] Halfdan shared out the land of the Northumbrians, and they proceeded to plough and to support themselves ... Then in the harvest season [877] the army went away into Mercia and shared out some of it, and gave some to Ceolwulf ... In this year [880] the army went from Cirencester into East Anglia, and settled there and shared out the land.¹⁹

The equivalent source for the Islamic conquest and partition of north-western Iberia is the *Risala* of Al-Gassani:

After the conquest by the Muslims, Musa b. Nusayr al-Bakri *al-tābiʿī* divided it up between the conquering troops, in the same way as he shared out captives, livestock and other booty. He then set aside one fifth of the agricultural and grazing lands, and did likewise with the captives and livestock. Of the regions conquered by the sword and expropriated by the Muslims in al-Andalus, no land was left unshared amongst the conquerors by Musa b. Nusayr, except for Santarem and Coimbra in the West and Ejea

¹⁷ Roger Wright, “Late and Vulgar Latin in Muslim Spain: the African Connection,” in *Latin vulgaire, latin tardif IX: Actes du IX^e Colloque International sur le Latin Vulgaire et Tardif*, ed. Frédérique Biville, Marie-Karine Lhommé and Daniel Vallat (Lyon: Collection de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2012), 35–54.

¹⁸ Matthew Townend, “Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society,” in *Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turhout: Brepols, 2000), 89–106, offers as evidence the substitution of cognate words and also the lack of explicit references in sources to interpreters.

¹⁹ *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, published in *English Historical Documents* 1, ed. Whitelock, quoted by Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, 1.

in the East. All the rest was split up into fifths and shared out in the presence of Musa b. Nusayr and the *tābi`īs* [Companions] who accompanied him.²⁰

In both cases it is precisely in these partitioned regions that the hybrids are concentrated; exactly where and on what type of site I will examine subsequently. There is also a further similarity between the two regions that might have contributed to their toponymic singularity when compared to neighboring regions: after some 30–40 years the conquerors lost control of the settled areas after counter-offensives by their erstwhile Christian controllers, Alfonso I of Asturias around 750 and Alfred of Wessex around 910. In neither case is it clear what happened to the alien colonists afterwards, but the obvious question is whether one or two generations is sufficient time to have bequeathed such a toponymic heritage. In England the answer has been a confident ‘yes’, but in Castile it has been a muted ‘surely not’, leading to the prosperity of the highly improbable theory of a subsequent (and largely unrecorded) Mozarab migration.²¹

The Grimston Hybrids and their Castilian Equivalents

Despite the lively debate surrounding their historical significance, what nobody queries is that there are indeed hundreds of Scandinavian place-names in northern England. These take many forms, topographical and habitative, pure Old Norse and hybrids or Old Norse phonetic influence on Old English names (e.g., OE Shipton-> ON Skipton). Concentrating on the habitative place-names, there are 880 with the suffix *-by*, and another 570

²⁰ “Terminada la conquista por los musulmanes, Musa b. Nusayr al-Bakri *al-tabi`i* lo dividió entre las tropas conquistadoras, tal como les repartiera cautivos, géneros y demás botín. Entonces dedujo el quinto de las tierras y pastizales, tal como hiciera con los cautivos y géneros. En al-Andalus, de las comarcas conquistadas por los musulmanes a punta de espada y que hicieron propiedad suya, no quedó tierras por repartir entre los conquistadores por Musa b. Nusayr, a excepción de Santarem y Coimbra al Poniente y Ejea al Levante. Todo el territorio restante fue quinateado y repartido en presencia de los *tabi`ies* que acompañaban a Musa b. Nusayr ...,” *Risala* of Al-Gassani, 112, quoted by Pedro Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1994), 204, and re-translated into English by the author.

²¹ As well as such a process being almost entirely unsubstantiated by the sources, it seems highly improbable that, as postulated since the work of Simonet, Christian émigrés escaping the processes of Arabisation and Islamisation in al-Andalus should choose to introduce and perpetuate the use of Arabic onomastics in their refuges in the North, above all when Christian communities in the South do not seem to have used such names. See Peterson, “The men of wavering faith.”

ending in *-thorp*.²² But what is interesting here, above all, are the Grimston hybrids²³: can studying them – their distribution, their possible origin, their social significance – help to understand the origins of the hybrids we observe in Castile?

Firstly, we will contemplate their spatial distribution and compare it to that of purely Old Norse habitative compounds with the suffix *-by*. The latter are more common in general, but what stands out is the concentration of Grimston hybrids in certain areas, such as East Anglia or in the Five Boroughs region on the Mercia-Danelaw border (i.e. the counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire) where, relative to the *-by* compounds, they are five times more common than in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (see Table 1.2). We see then that within the mass of Scandinavian place-names in north-eastern England, the Grimston hybrids are concentrated in the very areas that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us were conquered and partitioned by the Danish *Great Army* between 876 and 880.

Table 1.2. Relative distributions of different types of Norse place-name in Northern England, indicating a particularly high concentration of Grimston hybrids in the Five Boroughs region.

Shires	-by compounds	Grimston hybrids
Lincs and Yorks	430	55
Derbs, Leics and Notts	85	50

Source: Richards, *Viking Age England*, 58–9.

The hybrids we contemplate in Castile, and which are apparently replicated in even greater numbers in León (although we have not yet studied these in detail),²⁴ similarly fall into the broad area of north-western Iberia lying between Ejea and Coimbra that is singled out in the *Risala* as having been conquered and divided up amongst the victorious troops.

²² Gillian Fellows-Jensen, “Vikings in the British Isles: The Place-name evidence,” *Acta Archaeologica* 71 (2000): 139–40.

²³ It transpires that *Grimston* is not in fact the most apposite name for the typology it denotes, since the actual settlements called *Grimston* tend not to be on prime sites. Accordingly, in the 1970s, Cameron suggested adopting *Toton-hybrid* as a more appropriate name. However, although this was in principle accepted by other scholars such as Fellows-Jensen, inertia has meant that *Grimston* stays in use and the proposed change has withered away.

²⁴ cf. Aguilar and Rodríguez, “Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII–XIII).”

Another common way of evaluating place-names is qualitatively, i.e. through analysis of their status, either in geological terms (on clay or on sandy soils²⁵) or according to a range of other objective parameters (such as current population, current status, surface area and altitude) as well as more subjective evaluations.

This type of analysis has been applied to the Danelaw, where the Grimston hybrids tend to occupy prime agricultural spots, while the *-by* suffixed PNs are in more marginal areas and *-thorp* ones even more so.²⁶ As a result, the Grimston “sites and situations are closely similar to adjacent English-named villages”.²⁷ We have then a topographical hierarchy of PNs: OE + *-tun* = ON + *-tun* > *-by* > *-thorp*.

The traditional interpretation of all this is that the Grimstons represent the take-over and renaming of existing Anglo-Saxon settlements by elite groups; i.e. the named person was not the founder,²⁸ whereas the *-by* and *-thorp* names record farmer colonists founding settlements *ex novo* in underexploited areas.

More specifically, in the context of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle testimony cited earlier and the spatial distribution of the hybrids, this Grimston elite is widely held to have been the Danish armies of the 870s campaigns. According to Cameron, for example, in the context of Nottinghamshire such estates were “acquired by a Danish owner when the Great Army of the Danes divided out the land which it had chosen for settlement”²⁹. Clearly

²⁵ cf. Margaret Gelling, “The Evidence of Place-Names I,” in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. Peter H. Sawyer (Norwich: Edward Arnold, 1979), 119.

²⁶ Lesley Abrams and David Parsons, “Place-names and the history of Scandinavian settlement in England,” in *Land, Sea and Home. Settlement in the Viking Period*, ed. John Hines, Alan Lane and Mark Redknap (Leeds: Maney, 2004), 386. Where we see a *-by* settlement on prime land it is often semantically distinct. The case, for example, with 47 Kir(k)bys (= ‘church+by’), whereas the mainly marginal *-by* settlements tend to have a personal-name as the first element. The conclusion is that the Kir(k)bys are a case of renaming existing AS settlements (Gelling, “The Evidence of Place-Names I,” 119; Gillian Fellows-Jensen, “Vikings in the British Isles: The Place-name evidence,” *Acta Archaeologica* 71 (2000): 139).

²⁷ Cameron, *English Place Names*, 75; J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-names of Nottinghamshire* (Nottingham: English Place Name Society, 1979), 18; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, 97.

²⁸ Della Hooke, “The Anglo-Saxons in England in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries. Aspects of Location in Space...,” in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. John Hines (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 78.

²⁹ Cameron, *English Place Names*, 74. Also, more recently: Julian Richards, *Viking Age England* (Stroud: History Press, 2007), 49; Peter Heather, *Empires and Barbarians* (Oxford: University Press, 2010), 485. Even though the latter is not a

not all the Grimston hybrids were the result of the listed conquests of the 870s, as their presence in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and even further afield indicates, and furthermore, it has been suggested that at least some of the hybrids might in fact be later coinages, particularly in Scottish contexts.³⁰ However, by and large, the hybrids are indeed concentrated in the areas named in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Of the possible forms of qualitative analysis, in Castile we have tentatively explored current status and relative altitude. In the first regard, none of the Castilian hybrids consolidated into a significant urban centre, and a number of them were subsequently abandoned, implying poor quality sites.

On the other hand, we find that the hybrids exclusively occupy prime lowland sites, particularly the plains around the city of Burgos itself, and with a second cluster in the northern Merindades also on good sites in the valley floors³¹. In between these two clusters there is a large space without any hybrids, this being generally more difficult and poorer terrain (the Ebro canyons and the Páramo moors). However, the rich agricultural basin known as the Bureba is also hybrid free. The absence of hybrids from such a prime area is certainly puzzling, but again is not overly problematical if compared to the English distribution where many such gaps have been observed and many different (and sometimes seemingly contradictory) explanations have been proposed.³² For example, Rutland is regarded as having escaped partition on account of being the dower lands of the Anglo-Saxon queens.³³

Further in consonance with the Danelaw model, the Castilian hybrids completely avoid the highlands of the Sierra de la Demanda and the Montes

specialist in British history, his acceptance of the hypothesis is illustrative of the theory's historiographical influence and actuality.

³⁰ Fellows-Jensen, "Vikings in the British Isles," 144.

³¹ It should be borne in mind that the orography of Castile is much more dramatic than that of England, with significant differences in altitude over small horizontal distances. The significant factor is relative rather than absolute altitude as 900m, for example, might be a marginal site in the Merindades (where valley floors are at +/- 700m), but a prime location on the Meseta.

³² Abrams and Parsons, "Place-names and the history of Scandinavian settlement in England," 391–2.

³³ Barrie Cox, "Rutland and the Scandinavian settlements: the place-name evidence," *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989): 135.

de Oca that, by way of contrast, were subsequently occupied by waves of Basque immigrants.³⁴

Between the Bureba basin and the Montes de Oca, two quite different landscapes (the former low, the latter highland) but both relatively free of hybrids, there is an anomalous cluster of villages with suggestive names in the Oca valley: *Villalmondar*, *Villanasur*, *Villalbos*. If pre-Conquest land-holding dynamics are contemplated as having influenced the density of Grimstons in Rutland, perhaps we can see here an equivalent phenomenon, although in this case the lands surrounding the primitive episcopal seat of Oca would appear to have been partitioned among the conquerors. It is of course no more than a hypothesis, but the Rutland case serves as an example that anomalies do not necessarily disprove the overall hypothesis of a conquering army appropriating and sharing out most of the prime sites.

In this context, Ibn Muzayn sheds some interesting light on qualitative aspects of the land shared among the conquerors:

Muza divided the territory of the Peninsula between the troops who had taken part in the conquest, deducting a fifth [*quinto*] of the cultivated lands, left the captives of those lands tied to them, especially the children and the peasants, in order that they should cultivate them and pay a third of their produce to the public treasury. These were the people of the lowlands, and they were referred to as the *Quinteros*, and their children as the children of the *Quinteros*.³⁵

What is being described here is cultivated and low-lying lands being partitioned among the conquerors and the autochthonous population being retained to work them, the precise sociolinguistic context which would explain a proliferation of Islamo-Romance hybrids in prime Castilian farmland.³⁶

³⁴ David Peterson, *Frontera y lengua en el Alto Ebro (siglos VIII–XI). Las consecuencias e implicaciones de la invasión musulmana* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2009).

³⁵ “[Muza]dividió el territorio de la península entre los militares que vinieron a la conquista ... entonces dedujo también el quinto de las tierras y de los campos cultivados ... dejó los otros cautivos que estaban en el quinto, especialmente campesinos y niños, adscritos a las tierras del quinto, a fin de que las cultivasen y diesen el tercio de sus productos al tesoro público. Eran estos la gente de las llanuras y se les llamó los quinteros, y a sus hijos los hijos de los quinteros,” Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, 172 (Appendix, trans. Ribera).

³⁶ The insistence on the term *Quinteros* inevitably makes us think of another generic toponym that similarly abounds in northwestern Iberia: the *Quintanas* (David Peterson, *Frontera y lengua en el Alto Ebro (siglos VIII–XI). Las consecuencias e implicaciones de la invasión musulmana* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos,

Much work remains to be done on these hybrids: extending our analysis into León, down to microtoponymic level, and further developing the qualitative analysis by looking at soil types. Nor should we expect that toponomastics will provide easy solutions, as Hadley warns us (see note 16). Nonetheless, while admitting all these caveats and limitations, I believe that the principle of comparison as outlined by Trafford is valid, that the two scenarios contemplated have sufficient similarities to warrant such an approach, and more specifically that in some respects the two sets of hybrids seem to be distributed similarly in terms of occupation of prestige sites. In conclusion, I suggest that in general terms a number of interesting lines of research can be usefully opened up in Spain by exploring English methodologies applied to toponymical analysis, and more specifically that further study of the Islamo-Romance hybrids of north-western Iberia will benefit from such an approach.

2009)). A systematic study of the distribution of the *Quintanas* and their relation with our habitative hybrids is long overdue, although clearly it is beyond the scope of this paper.

Appendix: *Villa* + anthroponym compounds in Burgos province

The following lists are based on the southern two-thirds of modern-day Burgos province, the area covered by Gonzalo Martínez Díez (GMD) in his *Pueblos y alfofes* (1987), although with some additions and some divergence with regard to putative etymologies. In this latter respect, for Arab etymologies we have used Terés (1990) and Aguilar and Rodríguez (1994), the latter abbreviated to ASRM.

Etymologically or semantically Arabo-Berber anthroponymic element

Nº	Place-name	earliest form (source, date)	Arab name (authority)	GMD
1.	Mahamud	<i>Villa Mahomat</i> (Burgos27, 1075)	<i>Muhammad</i> (Terés92c)	301
2.	Mazariegos	<i>Villa de Mazarefos</i> (Arlanza5, 929)	<i>Mazaref</i> (ASRM541)	189
3.	Villa Obtumán	<i>Villa de Obtuman</i> (Cardeña26, 935–39)	<i>Uthmān</i> (Terés281)	-
4.	Villa Odoth	<i>Villa Odoth</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	<i>Abu Dawd</i> (Terés131)	-
5.	Villaboyaya	<i>Villavoyaya</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	<i>Abu Yahyā</i> (Terés108)	287
6.	Villahán	<i>Villa Fan</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	<i>Hāni'</i> (Terés425)	278
7.	Villahizán Muño	<i>Villa Iszane</i> (Burgos25, 1074)	<i>ʿIṣām</i> (Terés295)	315
8.	Villahizán Treviño	<i>Villa Iszane</i> (Burgos25, 1074); <i>Villaizzan</i> (Moral26, 1184)	<i>ʿIṣām</i> (Terés295)	368
9.	Villahoz	<i>Villa de Fabze</i> (Burgos25, 1074)	<i>Haṣṣ</i> (Terés82)	272
10.	Villajón	<i>Villa Exon, Essoc, Sioco, Sioche</i> (BuF7, 1103)	<i>ʿAysūn</i> (ASRM531)	43
11.	Villaleta	<i>Villalmeta</i> (Behetrias, 1352)	<i>Fidā'</i> (Terés345)	275
12.	Villalgamar	<i>Villa Algamera</i> (BuF7, 1103)	<i>Ammar</i> (Terés314)	44
13.	Villalmanzo	<i>Villamanço</i> (BuF19, 1148)	<i>al-Manṣūr</i> (Terés405)	262
14.	Villalmondar	<i>Villa Almundar</i> (Rioja54, 1117)	<i>al-Mundūr</i> (Terés398)	143
15.	Villalval	<i>Villa de Ualle</i> (Cardeña340, 1073)	<i>al-Walīd</i> (Terés433)	30
16.	Villamar	<i>Villamar</i> (Aguilar25, 1164)	<i>Ammar</i> (Terés31)	361
17.	Villambrán	<i>Villambran/Villanbran</i> (BuF19, 1148)	<i>ʿIbrāhīm</i> (Terés2)	267
18.	Villamiel Muño	<i>Villaimielle, Villaiemiel</i> (Burgos51, 1094)	<i>Jamīl</i> (Terés55)	303
19.	Villamórico	<i>Villa Moricho</i> (Rioseco152, 1168)	<i>Mórico</i> (ASRM604)	133

20.	Villamorón	<i>Villamoro</i> (ES.XXVI p.486, c. 1250)	<i>Mauronta</i> (ASRM604)	330
21.	Villamoronta	[oral tradition]	<i>Mauronta</i> (ASRM604)	69
22.	Villaqueja	<i>Villa de Keia</i> (Burgos26, 1075)	<i>Hayāt</i> [<i>Keia</i>] (Terés107)	275
23.	Villaquirán infantes	<i>Villaquiram</i> (Covarrubias7, 978)	<i>Karīm/Qirām</i> (Terés369)	292
24.	Villaquirán Puebla	<i>Villa Quiram</i> (Burgos9, 978); <i>Villaquirine</i> (Arlanza111, 1154)	<i>Karīm/Qirām</i> (Terés369)	338
25.	Villasarracín Barb.	<i>Villam don Sarracín</i> (Arlanza121, 1174)	<i>Sarracino</i> (ASRM600)	199
26.	Villasarracín Burgos	<i>Villa de Sarrazino</i> (Cardena108, 963)	<i>Sarracino</i> (ASRM600)	29
27.	Villatón	<i>Villaton</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074); <i>Villahato</i> (Moral5, 1124)	<i>Fathūn</i> (Terés343)	288
28.	Villatoro	<i>Villaabtoro</i> (Cardena229, 1030)	<i>ab + Tawr</i> (Terés44)	30
29.	Villavesza	<i>Villa Avesza</i> (BuF7, 1103)	<i>abu + 'Isā</i> (Terés321)	42
30.	Villayuda	<i>Villa Aiuta</i> (Cardena20, 931)	<i>Ayyūb</i> (Terés15)	31
31.	Villazate	<i>Villa de Zate</i> (Peña54, c. 1030)	<i>Šad</i> (Terés178)	237
32.	Villimar Rezmondo	<i>Villa Vimara</i> (Cardena134, 968)	<i>Quimara</i> (ASRM541)	374
33.	Villimar Burgos	<i>Villa Guimara</i> (Cardena117, 964)	<i>Quimara</i> (ASRM541)	31
34.	Villimar Castro	<i>Villa Guimara</i> (Moral27, 1194)	<i>Quimara</i> (ASRM541)	349
35.	Vizmal	<i>Villam Ezmal</i> (Moral8, 1139)	<i>Ismā 'il</i> (Terés8)	338

Clearly non-Arabic names

Nº	Place-name	earliest form (source, date)	Anthroponym	GMD
1.	Villarmentero	<i>Villa Armentero</i> (Burgos41, 1085)	Armentero	30
2.	Villa de Aurbaldo	<i>Villa de Aurbaldo</i> (Cardena40, 943)	Aurbaldo?	42
3.	Villalómez	<i>Villa Beila Gomiz</i> (BGD359, 1007)	Beila	143
4.	Villacisla	<i>Villacista</i> (Huelgas35, 1193)	Cisla/Cixila	315
5.	Villadiego	<i>Villa Didaco</i> (Cardena318, 1065)	Diego	378
6.	Villandiego	<i>Villa Ondrago</i> (ES.XXVI p.487, c. 1250)	Diego, don?	338
7.	Villa Doña Eilo	<i>Villa de Domna Eilo</i> (Cardena340, 1073)	Eilo, doña	
8.	Villaldemiro Clunia	<i>Villar de Miro</i> (San Pedro Gumiel, 1219)	Aldemiro	236
9.	Villaldemiro Muñó	<i>Villa de Eldemiro</i> (Arlanza63, 1062)	Aldemiro	303

10.	Villaesteban	<i>Villaestevan</i> (ES.XXVI p.487, c. 1250)	Stephanus	315
11.	Villarmiro	<i>Villa Ramiro</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	Felmiro	288
12.	Villarmero	<i>Villafelmiro</i> (HospitalRey 27, 1214)	Felmiro	30
13.	Villambistia Palenzuela	<i>Villaflaymbistia</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	Flain	143
14.	Villambistia Oca	Villambistia [<i>Libro de Apeos</i> , 1515]	Flain	143
15.	Villafuertes Mansilla	<i>Villa de Fortes</i> (Arlanza63, 1062)	Fortes	303
16.	Villafuertes Muño	<i>Villa de Fortes</i> (ES.XXVI.p.487, c. 1250)	Fortes	328
17.	Villafruela Clunia	<i>Villa de Froila</i> (Cardaña137, 968)	Fruela	236
18.	Villafruela Escuderos	<i>Villafruela</i> (Cerrato295, 1206)	Fruela	272
19.	Villangómez	<i>Villa don Gemez</i> (Burgos258, 1185)	Gómez, don	303
20.	Villagonzalo-Arenas	<i>Villagonzaluo</i> (BuF7, 1103)	Gonzalo	30
21.	Villagonzalo-Pedernales	<i>Villa Gundissalbo Telliz</i> (Cardaña151, 972)	Gonzalo	30
22.	Villagutmer	<i>villam Gutmer</i> (Arlanza90, 1119)	Gudmer	192
23.	Villandrando	<i>Villa de Gonnando</i> (Arlanza54, 1052); <i>Villa Gundrando</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	Gundrando	288
24.	Villagutiérrez	<i>Villagutier</i> (Burgos7, 975)	Gutier	303
25.	Villahernando	<i>Villa Fernando</i> (Valcarcel4, 1192)	Fernando	378
26.	Villasidro	<i>Villa Isidori</i> (Cardaña134, 968)	Isidro	368
27.	Villajimeno	<i>Villa de Scemeno</i> (Arlanza63 n.23, 1062)	Jimeno	236
28.	Villalonquéjar	<i>Villa Nunu Kescar</i> (Cardaña360, 1080)	Nuño	30
29.	Villamartín	<i>Villamartin</i> (<i>Behetrias</i> , 1352)	Martín	364
30.	Villanuño	<i>Villa de Nuño</i> (San Pedro Gumiel, 1232)	Nuño	237
31.	Villanoño	<i>Vila de Nonno</i> (Peña49, 1029)	Nuño	368
32.	Villariolo	<i>Villa Oriolo, Auriole</i> (BuF7, 1103)	Oriol	44
33.	Villorobe	<i>Villa de Orovi</i> (BGD360, 863)	Orobio	144
34.	Villoruebo	<i>Villa Oruevo</i> (first ref. in 16th C)	Orobio?	177
35.	Villapadierna	<i>Villa Paterna</i> (BGD359, 1007)	Paterna	149
36.	Villavelayo	[<i>Villa de Belayo</i> (first ref. in 16th C)]	Pelayo	203

37.	Villarramiro	[First mentioned 16th C]	Ramiro	43
38.	Villodrigo	<i>Villa Roderici</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074); <i>Villa Otrico</i> (Cardeña379, 1085)	Rodrigo	292
39.	Villasandino Treviño	<i>Villa Sendino</i> (Cardeña269, 1051)	Sendino	368
40.	Villasandino Juarros	<i>Villasandino</i> (Cardeña269, 1051)	Sendino	83
41.	Villatruedo	<i>Villa Todredo</i> (Cardeña113, 964)	Teodoredo	44
42.	Villateresa	<i>Villa de Tarasia</i> (Peña54, c. 1030)	Teresa	237
43.	Villovela	<i>Villavela</i> (Silos p.379, 1338)	Beila/Vela	222
44.	Villacienco	<i>Villavinceti</i> (BuF7, 1103)	Vicencio	29
45.	Villavitor	<i>Villamvictor, Villavictoris</i> (BuF7, 1103)	Víctor	44

Origin of anthroponymic element unclear

Nº	Place-name	earliest form (source, date)	GMD
1.	Vileña	<i>Villadenia</i> (Oña264, 1182), <i>Villaenna</i> (Huelgas173, 1222)	122
2.	Villa Argulo	<i>Villa argulo</i> (BuF19, 1148)	267
3.	Villacéntola	<i>Villa de Centollo</i> (Aguilar3, 1039); <i>Villa Centola</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	287
4.	Villadrianes	[oral tradition only]	69
5.	Villagalijo	<i>Villa Galisso</i> (BGD328, 945)	152
6.	Villageriego	<i>Villa Yserigo</i> (Moral9, 1139)	348
7.	Villalbos	<i>Villa Alvos</i> (BGD368, 1067)	143
8.	Villalbura	<i>Uilla Albura</i> (Cardeña11, 921)	140
9.	Villalibado	<i>Billarivaldo</i> (Valcarcel4, 1192)	378
10.	Villamiel Sierra	<i>Villa de Momel</i> (Arlanza63, 1062)	177
11.	Villamiñano	<i>Villaminano</i> (BuF19, 1148)	267
12.	Villamoriel	<i>Villemoriel</i> (Moral Ap.2, 1209)	315
13.	Villamudria	<i>Villamudria</i> [<i>Libro de Apeos</i> , 1515]	143
14.	Villamunapa	<i>Villa Munapa</i> (Cardeña283, 1057); <i>Munaba</i> (BuF7, 1103)	43
15.	Villanasur Oca	<i>Villa Domino Assur</i> (BGD360, 863)	143
16.	Villaó	<i>Villaoffo</i> (Huelgas336, 1242)	334
17.	Villapiñuelo	<i>Villa de Pinnolo</i> (Arlanza35, 1042)	237
18.	Villaquilde	<i>Villaquinla</i> (BuF19, 1148)	267
19.	Villarabinaldo	[oral tradition only]	60
20.	Villariego	<i>Villa de Eriezo</i> (Cardeña141, 969)	30
21.	Villarmíos	<i>Villa de Osormio</i> (Cardeña198, 985)	44
22.	Villarte	<i>Villafarreth</i> (Moral Ap.2, 1209)	316
23.	Villaruano	<i>Villa Rodanno</i> (Cardeña213, c. 1000)	44
24.	Villasur Herreros	<i>Villa de Asur</i> (BGD360, 863)	144
25.	Villaute	<i>Villaut</i> (Valcarcel9, 1240)	378
26.	Villaux	<i>Villaus</i> (Burgos102, 1121–24); <i>Villa Hux</i> (ES.XXVI p.486, c. 1250)	334
27.	Villavedon	<i>Villavedon</i> (Moral26, 1184)	369

28.	Villaveta	<i>Villa de Veta</i> (Burgos9, 978)	338
29.	Villayerno	<i>Villalifierno</i> (Burgos271, 1187)	30
30.	Villazopeque	<i>Villa Zopech</i> (BuF 29, 1187)	292
31.	Villova/Villoba	<i>Villada</i> (Behetrias VI.58, 1352)	362
32.	Villoviado	<i>Villa uiado</i> (BuF19, 1148)	262
33.	Villalbilla	<i>Villa Albilla, Albella</i> (Cardeña58, 947)	30
34.	Villauamera	<i>Villauamera</i> (BuF7, 1103)	-
35.	Villacesero	<i>Villacesero</i> (BuF7, 1103)	43
36.	Villolda	<i>Villa Teudela, Teodla, Odela</i> (Cardeña, 959; BuF7, 1103)	45
37.	Villa Cautare	<i>Villa Cautare</i> (BuF7, 1103)	-
38.	Villazeze	<i>Villa Zeze</i> (Cardeña142, 969)	-
39.	Villa Auta	<i>Villa Auta</i> (Cardeña162, 973)	-
40.	Villa Albin	<i>Villa Alvuin</i> (BuF 29, 1187)	-
41.	Villegero	<i>Villa Echero</i> (Moral31, 1208)	-
42.	Villusto	<i>Villeiusto</i> (Covarrubias7, 978)	378
43.	Villasilos	<i>Villasilus</i> (Moral26, 1184)	368
44.	Villuela	<i>Villa abviela</i> [Arlanza101, 1144]	316

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CHAPTER 2

PARADOXES OF RECONCILIATION: THE PUBLIC FACE OF APOSTASY IN TENTH-CENTURY CÓRDOBA¹

ADRIANO DUQUE

The current essay studies the capital execution of ‘Umar Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn and his family in the city of Córdoba at the behest of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–961). Looking at other instances of capital punishment under Umayyad rule, the article attempts to reconstruct the meaning of the different punishments inflicted on the members of Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’s family. At the same time, the article attempts an interpretation of the sacrifice of Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’s not only as a declaration of power over the Islamic and Christian rulers of al-Andalus, but also as an act of clemency at a time of political and social unrest, and as an attempt to establish a more lasting restoration of peace and avoidance of further conflict.

Introduction

In a 2006 article on capital punishment in Islam, Delfina Serrano noted how the penalty of decapitation imposed on some of the voluntary martyrs of Córdoba was not in tune with Islamic law, which reserved it for those who had passed from fidelity to infidelity.² To justify these beheadings, legal scholars had to frame their actions within a legal interpretation

¹ I am indebted to the editors of this volume and especially to Stephen Pink for their valuable suggestions and corrections. All errors remain my own.

² Delfina Serrano, “Doctrina legal sobre la rebelión en juristas andalusíes,” in *El cuerpo derrotado: cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII–XIII)*, ed. Maribel Fierro and Francisco García Fitz (Madrid: CSIC, 2008), 257–82. Cf. Maribel Fierro, “Religious Dissent in al-Andalus,” *Al-Qantara* 22 (2001): 464.

(*taw'īl*), and thus the martyrs were effectively presented as apostates for renouncing their own religion. On the other hand, the state of apostasy demanded that “no prayer could be said for the heretic, no Muslim could inherit from him, his property going to the *bayt al-māl*, and his marriage became null and void”³. Writing on public execution during the Umayyad period, Andrew Marsham noted its importance in establishing the legitimacy of Umayyad rulers. The casting of their enemies as apostates, even in cases where apostasy was not evident, allowed leaders like ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III to present themselves as defenders of God’s covenant. By cutting off their enemies’ heads or tongues, Umayyad rulers effectively invoked their authority to defend the state from its ideological rivals.

Maribel Fierro also draws attention to the case of the secretary Qūmis b. Antunyān, and the issue of whether he had died as a Christian or Muslim. Fierro notes how the possessions of the apostate were considered to be *fa’y*’ by the *Malikī* and *Šafi’i* schools, as if they were considered part of the booty seized from the infidels during battle.⁴ In her description of the trial over the religious faith of Qūmis b. Antunyān, Fierro cites the testimony of Ḥārith al-Khushanī, according to whom the matter came to be resolved by the Emir himself, who ultimately decided to divide Qūmis b. Antunyān’s properties among the rightful heirs: “You have more right to own the total of his inheritance. But you must order the judge to look into this matter.”⁵

The posthumous executions of both ‘Umar Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn (c. 850–917) and his son, Sulaymān, in Córdoba in 917 offer a highly interesting overview of the varied ways in which ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–961) used religious identity to negotiate his relations with the children of Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn, and claimed ownership of his inheritance. Caught between loyalty to the Fāṭimid rulers of North Africa and alleged conversion to Christianity, Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’s execution at the gates of Córdoba cast him as an apostate from Islam and allowed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III to establish legal provisions regarding his inheritance and the control of his land. By contrast, the public execution of Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’s daughter Argentea in 842 created serious conflicts over the legal tutelage exerted by her brothers. Finally, the careful staging of the execution of one of Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’s former allies, Furṭūn Ibn Muhammad, in 939 suggests the vital importance that public execution played in legitimizing the eschatological mission of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III as the defender of religion and rightful leader of al-Andalus.

³ Maribel Fierro, “Religious Dissent in al-Andalus,” 475.

⁴ Maribel Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el Periodo Omeya* (Madrid: Instituto árabe de Cultura, 1987), 183.

⁵ Muḥammad ibn Ḥārith ibn Asad al-Khushanī, *Quḍāt Qurṭubah wa ‘Ulamā’ Ifrīqīyah* (Cairo: al-Khanjī, 1994), 112. Quoted in Maribel Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, 79.

A look at the executions performed between 818 and 1009 at Bāb al-Sudda, as described by Torres Balbás,⁶ reveals a careful manipulation of space and a hierarchy of punishment that tended to reserve beheading and placing of the head above Bāb al-Sudda for those guilty of apostasy. The heads of traitors, on the other hand, were placed in front of the gate, sometimes for an extended period of time.

Drawing on these executions, the present paper aims to establish the importance that public punishment had in defining and situating different levels of religious apostasy, not only as an act of punishment but also of atonement, that could guarantee political continuity and legitimacy for the new ruler. I argue that while religious identity may have been open to contention during life, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III used public execution to invoke the state’s power to declare and restrain the religious identity of its subjects. By staging representations of the religious offender, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III signaled the moral boundaries of the community under his rule and invalidated many of the existing representations through which religious identity had been both expressed and concealed.

Declaring Apostasy: The Case of ‘Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn

In 928, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III conquered the city of Bobastro, in the culmination of a series of skirmishes intended to end the rule of the descendants of ‘Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III declared his power over Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s ruling son and then razed all of the city’s emblematic buildings, including the church. He also ordered the body of Ibn Ḥafṣūn to be exhumed. According to the historian Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn Ḥafṣūn had been laid down in the manner of Christians, with his arms crossed and facing West.⁷ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān then ordered Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s body to be taken to the alcázar of Córdoba, where he was placed on a cross on the terrace over Bāb

⁶ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “Bab al sudda y las zudas de la españa oriental,” *Al-Andalus* 17 (1952): 77–9.

⁷ Muslims in Córdoba were generally buried facing south-southeast. See María Teresa Casal García, “El ritual funerario islámico en Qurtuba, capital de Al-Andalus,” in *Enfermedad, muerte y cultura en las sociedades del pasado: importancia de la contextualización en los estudios paleopatológicos: actas del VIII Congreso Nacional de Paleopatología – I Encuentro hispano-luso de Paleopatología (Cáceres 16–19 de Noviembre de 2005)*, ed. Francisco Javier Barca Durán and Javier Jiménez Ávila (Cáceres: Fundación Academia Europea de Yuste, 2007), 303. Jews in Córdoba were usually buried facing southwest. Antonio Arjona Castro, “La judería en la Córdoba del emirato y califato,” *Anaquel de estudios árabes* 11 (2000): 103. Cf. Yusuf Ragib, “Structure de la tombe d’après le droit musulman,” *Arabica* 39:3 (1992), 393–403.

al-Sudda.⁸ Preceding the proclamation of the Caliphate of Córdoba one year later in 929, the posthumous mutilation of Ibn Ḥafṣūn presented ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III with the opportunity to assert his political power over the large expanse of al-Andalus that had come under Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s influence, and to deal a final blow to the ambitions of the Fāṭimid rulers of Egypt.

Crucifixion was a traditional punishment in the Islamic East and figured prominently in the execution of defeated rebels, highway robbers and sorcerers.⁹ In the context of al-Andalus, the crucifixion of Ibn Ḥafṣūn also reflected the complex array of loyalties and obligations owed by local chieftains to the rulers of Córdoba. Unwilling to maintain his allegiance to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, Ibn Ḥafṣūn fashioned himself as a rightful heir to the Christian rulers who had preceded the Muslim invasion. In an effort to discredit his claimed lineage with the Christian kings of al-Andalus, the poet Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (860–940) referred to Ibn Ḥafṣūn as a *sawāda*, a descendant of black Africans.¹⁰ A century later, Ibn Ḥayyān al-Qurṭubī (987–1075) traced Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s ancestry to a series of Spanish rulers, cementing his pedigree as a Christian going back to Count Marcellus (or perhaps Frugelo), son of Alfonso, a Christian Visigoth. Al-Qurṭubī also consolidated the belief that Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s great grandfather, Ja’far, had converted from Christianity to Islam. This genealogy was later copied by historians such as Ibn ‘Idhārī (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries) and Ibn al-Khatīb (1313–1374).¹¹

David Wasserstein has cast some doubt upon the authenticity of this genealogy, signaling how it benefited the political aspirations of the ruler of Bobastro. By invoking Gothic ancestry, Ibn Ḥafṣūn claimed political legitimacy; his territory was asserted to be the original land of his people,

⁸ For a description of the different accounts of Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s death: Maribel Fierro, *Abderrahmán III y el califato omeya de Córdoba* (Madrid: Nerea, 2011), 89; Raúl Romero Bartolomé, *Hasday, el hagib del Califa: breve historia de los judíos de Sepharad hasta el siglo X* (Madrid: Visión Net, 2007), 101.

⁹ Andrew Marsham, “Public Execution in the Umayyad Period: Early Islamic Punitive Practice and Its Late Antique Context,” *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 11:4 (2011): 103–4.

¹⁰ See James J. Monroe. *Hispano Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 82, 86.

¹¹ David Wasserstein, “Inventing Tradition and Constructing Identity: the Genealogy of ‘Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn Between Christianity and Islam,” *Al-Qantara* 23:2 (2002): 269–97. Ibn Ḥafṣūn is “reported to have supported the Fatimid al-Mahdi shortly after the latter came to power in 297/91”. Virgilio López Enamorado, “Fāṭimid Ambassadors in Bobastro: Changing Religious and Political Allegiances in the Islamic West,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52:2 (2009): 267–300.

and his conquests were thus proof of his legitimate rule. This claim led to the revolt against the Emir of Córdoba in 883.¹² During the last part of his reign, Ibn Ḥafṣūn competed for the dominance of the territory that lay between Bobastro and Córdoba. Having taken refuge in Poley (Aguilar de la Frontera) where he laid claim to its castle, Ibn Ḥafṣūn was defeated by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and moved his headquarters to Bobastro. He then renounced Islam and became a Christian, adopting the name of Samuel, in all probability to distance himself from the Caliph of Córdoba and to strengthen his alliance with other Christian rulers.¹³

Overall, Ibn Ḥafṣūn's conversion reflects the fluidity of religious allegiance in tenth-century Córdoba and is entangled in the complex system of relations that led him to seek the support of Fāṭimid rulers and Christian kings at different stages of his rule.¹⁴ Writing some hundred years after his death, Ibn Ḥayyān refers to Ibn Ḥafṣūn as "detested" or "cursed" (*la ʿīn*) fourteen times in *al-Muqtabas* III, and thrice in *al-Muqtabas* V. Referring to his apostasy, Ibn Ḥayyān echoes the belief that he may have converted from Islam to Christianity: *fihā aẓhar ʿUmar Ibn Ḥafṣūn al-Naṣrānīa*.¹⁵ The animosity towards Ibn Ḥafṣūn may have increased not only because of the numerous Christians he was able to summon to his side but also because of the alliance he established in 910 with the Fāṭimids of North Africa.¹⁶ Along these lines, Ibn ʿIdhārī (1312) had no qualms about referring to Ibn Ḥafṣūn as "support of the infidels and head of the hypocrites, bearer of the flame of decomposition and refuge for the men of discord and rebellion" (*ʿAmīd al-kāfirīn wa rās al-munāfiqīn wa mofad shʿal al-natna āhl al-khalāf wa al ma ʿṣiā*).¹⁷

¹² It may be in part to sustain this reputation that Ibn Ḥafṣūn invoked the name of the Abbasid caliph during every Friday sermon. Ibn Hazm, *Naqt al-ʿarūs*, ed. C.F. Seybold, *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada* 1 (1911): 165–6.

¹³ Joel Kraemer, "Apostates, Rebels and Brigands," *Israel Oriental Series* 10 (1980): 34–73.

¹⁴ Maribel Fierro, "Cuatro preguntas en torno a Ibn Ḥafṣūn," *Al-Qantara* 16 (1995): 221–58. Cf. David Wasserstein, "Inventing Tradition and Constructing Identity: The Genealogy of ʿUmar Ibn Ḥafṣūn between Christianity and Islam," *Al-Qantara* 23 (2003): 294.

¹⁵ Pedro Chalmeta records other uses in Mutabis III but attributes them to later copyists. Pedro Chalmeta, "Precisiones acerca de ʿUmar Ibn Ḥafṣūn," *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura árabe e islámica (1980)* 1 (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1985), 165.

¹⁶ Wasserstein, "Inventing Tradition and Constructing Identity: The Genealogy of ʿUmar Ibn Ḥafṣūn between Christianity and Islam," *Al-Qantara* 23 (2003): 293.

¹⁷ Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqafa, 1970), 172.

According to Ibn Ḥayyān, the hypocrisy of Ibn Ḥafṣūn was deemed even more blatant because of the actions of his children. While three of his sons (Sulaimān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Ḥafṣ) maintained their fidelity to Islam, his second, Ja‘far, decided to convert to Christianity after the death of his brother Ḥafṣ in order to revolt against the Caliph of Córdoba.¹⁸ The condemnation of Ja‘far’s conversion helped frame the revolt of Ibn Ḥafṣūn not only as an act of personal choice but as one of political and religious disobedience to the Caliph of Córdoba. Symbolic actions like the destruction of the *minbar* of Bobastro by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān allowed Umayyad rulers to assert their own power and to call attention to Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s lack of piety and legitimacy.¹⁹ This in turn demanded the political and religious intervention of orthodox rule.²⁰

As mentioned before, crucifixion (slb) was an act of public exposure and involved the particular choice of a public place where the criminal could be exposed.²¹ The most important site of execution in the city of Córdoba was Bāb al-Sudda, which dominated the esplanade that existed between the palace and the river. As it was transformed into a public stage, the gate served to stage numerous executions of offenders. The organization of space around Bāb al-Sudda lent itself in turn to different, layered interpretations and perspectives that tended to reserve the terrace over the gate for the

¹⁸ Cristina de la Puente, “En las cárceles del poder: prisión en al-Andalus bajo los omeyas (II/VIII–IV/X),” in *De muerte violenta: política, religión y violencia en Al-Andalus*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Madrid: CSIC, 2004), 324. See also: *Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus 2*, ed. Luis Molina (Madrid: Agapea libros, 1983), 95, 145, 149–50; Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “Bab al sudda y las zudas de la españa oriental,” *Al-Andalus* 17 (1952): 68.

¹⁹ Maribel Fierro, “The Mobile Minbar in Cordoba: How 149 the Umayyads of al-Andalus Claimed the Inheritance of the Prophet,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 33 (2007): 149–68. See also Harry Munt and Thomas Henry Robert Munt, *The Holy City of Medina* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 104.

²⁰ *Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Muqtabas*, ed. Pedro Chalmeta (Madrid: Instituto Hispanoárabe de Cultura, 1979), vol. 5, 153. Ibn Ḥafṣūn is referred to as damned (*la ‘in*) 14 times in *al-Muqtabas* III and 3 times in *al-Muqtabas* 5. The word of choice in *al-Muqtabas* 5 is “pernicious” or “evil” (*khabūth*).

²¹ Otto Spies, “Über die Kreuzigung im Islam,” in *Religion und Religionen. Festschrift für Gustav Mensching zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Rudolf Thomas (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1967), 144–5. For a discussion of apostasy as an offense against the State, and its punishment by death, see Joel L. Kramer, “Apostates, Rebels and Brigands,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 19 (1980): 34–73; Robert Gleave, *Violence in Islamic Thought from the Qur’an to the Mongols* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 113.

gravest offenders, creating an inextricable link between Bāb al-Sudda and Umayyad public justice.²²

In 925, Abu Nasr, a Christian archer of Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn, was executed for having killed “many Christians”. As part of this execution he was crucified on the road leading to the qasr and shot with arrows, after which his corpse was burnt.²³ Similarly, the rebel Muḥammad Ibn Ardabulis, who had fought against ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (912), had his severed head exposed near to Bāb al-Sudda. While the executions of Abu Nasr and Muḥammad Ibn Ardabulis may have been motivated by treason, the crucifixion of Sulaymān Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn (927), Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn and his son Ḥakam (928–929) on top of Bāb al-Sudda speaks to the gravity of their actions and their status as rulers of Bobastro. The most elaborate such set-piece occurred, however, during the execution of Furtūn Ibn Muhammad, who had defected during the battle of Simancas (939). On this occasion, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III ordered the building of a scaffold with ten doors, in front of which he positioned ten of the generals who had accompanied them on the day of the battle.²⁴

The progressive transformation of the space around Bāb al-Sudda highlighted the tension that existed between the centralization of Umayyad power and the power of tradition. By decrying the apostasy of his enemies, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was able to present himself as an effective ruler and administrator of religious truth. Drawing upon this notion, the present paper will study to what extent public executions on Bāb al-Sudda allowed him to control the meaning of the bodies of his enemies. By exposing their breach of loyalty in a public manner, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was able to proclaim his power over religious identity not only as its guardian but also as its administrator. As we will see in this article, the declaration of apostasy was seen both as a deviation from the Sunnah, and as a direct attack upon the legitimacy and power of the Umayyad rulers.²⁵

²² Danielle Wessterhof, “Deconstructing Identities on the Scaffold: the Execution of Hugh Despenser the Younger, 1326,” *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007): 87–196.

²³ *Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Muqtabas*, 113.

²⁴ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “Bab al-Sudda y las zudas de la España oriental,” *Al-Andalus* 17 (1952): 166–7.

²⁵ Marsham, “Public Execution in the Umayyad Period,” 103. Cf. Ana Fernández Félix, *Cuestiones legales del Islam temprano: la ‘Utbiyya y el proceso de formación de la sociedad islámica andalusí* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003), 480. See also: Arturo Redondo, “Localizaciones,” in *Córdoba califal. Año 1000*, ed. José María Fernández Palacios (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, 2013), 16. Cf. Juan Moreno García, *El Alcázar de Córdoba. Hipótesis de reconstrucción virtual aplicando técnicas de fotogrametría e infografía* (Unprinted masteral thesis, Universidad de Córdoba, 2014).

Sulayman: Disbarment from Political Power

In 927, during the siege of the city Bobastro, Ibn Ḥafṣūn's son Sulaymān ventured out of the city together with a small guard to drink at a monastery in Canales. Having fallen off his horse under a palm tree, he lost consciousness. The news spread quickly and the general 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bāsil came out to surprise him. After making sure he was dead, Ibn Muṭahir, a Christian, pierced Sulaymān with his sword and cut off his hand. Then Sa'īd b. Ja'lā cut off Sulaymān's head:

And his limbs were taken to him [Jūnus] piece by piece, and he wrote to the Caliph, telling how the body parts and the damned head had arrived in different pieces. He was ordered to reassemble the body and to crucify him [Sulaymān] at Bāb al-Sudda, where he was lifted onto a high beam. This was a great victory that gladdened Muslims and restored their faith.²⁶

In the context of Umayyad culture, body mutilation was invariably associated with the punishment of rebels or those who exerted “pious rebellion against the state”.²⁷ The opinion that a rebellion should go unpunished when it was a legitimate action²⁸ gave all the more credence to the need to declare the impiety of those who fought against the state. It was therefore not uncommon that a rebel might be executed as an apostate.²⁹

The participation of a Christian – Ibn Muṭahir – in Sulaymān's execution highlights the complicated system of loyalties that had led Sulaymān to become governor of Bobastro under 'Abd al-Raḥmān and then to rebel against the Caliph of Córdoba by the time of his death.³⁰ The same paradigm is replicated in a story transmitted by Ibn Ḥayyān, who tells how Sulaymān's brother Ja'fār had been killed by a group of Christians who suspected that Ja'fār had secretly reverted to Islam.³¹ In both cases, the execution of alleged Christians contravened the legal disposition establishing

²⁶ *Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Muqtabas*, 132–3.

²⁷ Andrew Marsham, “Public,” 122. Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd, *al-Mudawwanā al-kubra* 2, 47; Ibn Qudāmah (1147–1223) mentions that traditionalists regarded rebels as infidels and apostates; and if they have a force they are equivalent to *ahl al-ḥarb* (people of war) and their property becomes *fa'y'* (spoils of war). Ibn Qudāmah, *Kitāb al-mughnī*, 10 (al-Qāhirah: Hajr, 1986), 59.

²⁸ Ibn Qudāmah, *Kitāb al-mughnī*, 264.

²⁹ Khaled Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 132–6.

³⁰ *Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Muqtabas* 5, 88.

³¹ *Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Muqtabas* 5, 168–9.

that Christians had to be executed by a Christian executioner.³² At the same time, it served as a recognition of Christian jurisprudence, thus situating the victim between two different codes of law.

Contemporary sources seem to have been equally conflicted as to the representation of his fluctuating loyalties. Ibn Ḥayyān refers to Sulaymān as “rebel” and “apostate” or “deserter” (*māriq*), a term used to refer to renegades and appearing most frequently in contexts of religious dissention.³³ Sulaymān’s apostasy was predicated on the belief that he had received *amān* from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and that instead of honoring his word had sided with the Christians from Bobastro. The accusation of being a “rebel” (*māriq*) against Sulaymān rested on the implicit accusation that he had publicly denied believing in any principles proscribed by the *Qur’ān* or a hadīth. This name-calling increased the gravity of his offence and presented Sulaymān’s revolt against ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as an especially heinous act.

The careful description of Sulaymān’s death is equally evocative of previous episodes of religious apostasy, such as the case of Yazīd Ibn Mu‘āwiya, the main culprit of the battle of Karbala, who fell from his horse and was dragged “until only his left leg was left hanging from the stirrup”.³⁴ The mutilation of his finger and the recovery of the ring was equally telling, as it had clear precedent in qur’ānic tradition and Islamic history, symbolizing Sulaymān’s loss of authority in the eyes of his subjects.³⁵ Finally, the decapitation of Sulaymān classified him as a brigand, by inflicting upon him a punishment usually reserved for rebels.³⁶ Sulaymān’s posthumous crucifixion was predicated on the fact that killing or crucifying

³² Donald J. Kagay, “The essential enemy: the image of the Muslim as adversary and vassal in the Law and Literature of the Medieval Crown of Aragon,” in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin’s press, 1999), 126.

³³ *Ibn Ḥayyān, Al-Muqtabas* 5, 120, 132–3. Bernard Lewis, *The Political language of Islam* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1988), 125.

³⁴ Mahmoud M. Ayoub, *Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of Ashura* (The Hague: De Gruyter, 1978), 130. Cf. the fall of Abraham on the spot where Hussayn’s blood was to be shed, and which prompted a plea of forgiveness. Ayoub, *Redemptive*, 33; Cf. also the hadith: “I saw the Messenger of Allāh twisting the forelock of a horse with his two fingers, saying: Goodness is tied to the forelocks of horses until the Day of Resurrection: Reward and spoils of war”. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shu‘ayb ibn ‘Alī al-Nasā’ī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā* (Bambā’i: al-Dār al-Qayyamah, 1985), 3572.

³⁵ Uri Rubin, “Prophets and Caliphs,” in *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, ed. Herbert Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97.

³⁶ Marsham, “Public Execution,” 119.

an apostate would not simply end his or her life but also continue the punishment in the Hereafter:

The recompense of those who make war on Allāh and His messenger and exert themselves to cause corruption in the land is that they should be killed or crucified; or that their hands and feet on opposite sides should be cut off, or that they should be banished from the land; that is humiliation for them in this world, and in the Hereafter is for them a mighty punishment.³⁷

Post-mortem executions of rebels seem to have been a common act under Umayyad rule and engaged rulers in a system of retaliation where public punishment was seen as a justifiable form of cruelty. In this sense, Marsham cites notable cases such as that of Zayd b. ‘Alī, the well-known enemy of the Umayyads, who after his death was exhumed, mutilated and hung.³⁸ When the Abbasids came to power, they sought a similar fate for Zayd’s enemy. In retaliation for his ignoble execution, the Abbasids had the Umayyad caliph Hisham II exhumed, crucified, lashed and burned in the most public way.³⁹

In every case, the post-mortem execution was crafted as vengeance under the pretext of punishing religious apostasy and a demonstration of the rule of law. By mutilating and crucifying their culprits, Umayyad rulers represented them as guilty of pious rebellion against the state and suggested that they had betrayed their public role. In this situation, rulers like ‘Abd al-Raḥmān barred their fallen enemies from maintaining (or transmitting) any political power after their death. As the actions of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān sufficiently indicate, this disbarment was especially important when it came to securing the integrity of the territory dominated by Córdoba and maintaining the tributary system that assured the power of the Caliph.

The posthumous reassembly of Sulaymān’s body and his crucifixion on the terrace over Bāb al-Sudda remains perplexing, however, because it established a clear distinction between Sulaymān and other warriors of inferior status such as Abu Nasr or Muḥammad Ibn Ardabulis, who had clearly been executed for rebelling against the state. The explanation for this

³⁷ *Qu’rān* 5:33/37. For the purpose of this essay, I use Richard Bell’s translation. *Qu’rān*, trans. Richard Bell (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1937).

³⁸ Abū Mikhnaf, *Nuṣūṣ* 2, 371–3. Cit. Khaled Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 72. Cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *Les prairies d’or*, ed. Charles Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris: Societé asiatique, 1863), vol. 5, 470.

³⁹ al-Mas‘ūdī, *Les prairies*, 471. For a discussion of this episode, see Sean W. Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death as Spectacle: Umayyad Crucifixion in Its Late Antique Context* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 2014), 46–7.

reversal may be found in several traditions of hadith, in which Muhammad is said to pray for a victim of capital punishment.⁴⁰ Taken as a particular initiative of the Umayyad ruler, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s exposure of Sulaymān’s body demonstrated a punishment that was applicable to “all Muslims aside from martyrs”⁴¹ and opened the door to public forgiveness and solidarity. While the complex system of alliances to which Sulaymān belonged cast serious doubts on whether he was a true Muslim or not, the nature of his execution entailed a public act of atonement and solidarity that granted a peaceful and legitimate transfer of power.

Argentea: The Problem of Tutelage

At the turn of the twentieth century, Francisco X. Simonet proposed that Ibn Ḥafṣūn may have had a daughter, Argentea, who soon after her father’s death would have fled to Córdoba in the company of her brother Hafṣ.⁴² Simonet bases this assumption on the identification of Argentea’s demonym, *bibistrense*, with the city of Bobastro, which was the main stronghold of Ibn Ḥafṣūn. He then follows Dozy in identifying Argentea’s father, Samuel, as Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who would quite logically have adopted a Christian name: *Beata igitur Argentea apud urbem Bibistrensem patre Samueli rege matricum Columba nobiliter orta.*⁴³

According to the *Vita*, after her mother died Argentea refused to carry out her duties as a consort, choosing to live in a secure chamber below the palace enclosure. In 928, when the city was taken and the kingdom depopulated, she was brought to Córdoba where she became acquainted

⁴⁰ See, for example, the hadith where a man had been stoned to death. Coming to inquire about his father, Muhammad instructed his people to help him wash, shroud and bury the executed man. *Badhl al-majhūd fi ḥall Abī Dāwūd*, ed. Khalīl Aḥmad (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyah, 2007), 4435.

⁴¹ Leor Halevi, *Muhammad’s Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 164.

⁴² Francisco X. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España* (Madrid: Estab. Tip. de la Viuda e Hijos de M. Tello, 1897), 361; Reinhart Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1861), 257, 270; Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1944–1953), 20–1. Folio 263b of the *Pasionario Hispánico* contains the story of Argentea. According to Ángel Fábrega Grau, the story must have been added in the tenth century. *Pasionario hispánico*, ed. Ángel Fábrega Grau (Madrid: CSIC, 1953), 47. The author also mentions a certain Samuel in the works of Eulogius who turned in the bodies of Leocricia and Saint Eulogius to Dulcidio. Juan Gómez Bravo, *Catalogo de los obispos de Cordoba* 1 (Córdoba: J. Rodríguez, 1778), 219.

⁴³ *Pasionario Hispánico*, 47. Cf. Simonet, *Historia*, 596.

with other women who seemingly shared her situation. After talking to a certain monk named Vulfura, Argentea decided to seek voluntary martyrdom. The method of choice was to go down to the public square and disparage Islam in front of a Muslim judge, invoking capital punishment. Both Argentea and Vulfura were brought before the judge and interrogated. In deference to her brother's status as a Muslim, she was offered the opportunity to repent, but she refused. After that, she was pierced with a spear, lashed a hundred times, had her tongue cut out, and was decapitated.⁴⁴

The treatment of Argentea's body is not unusual in martyrological literature. The piercing, the lashing, and the mutilation of her tongue evoke different aspects of apostasy and treason where presented as a reminder of her religious wrongdoing.⁴⁵ Moreover, in his study of Argentea's passion, Joel Kraemer notes how the infliction of capital punishment was preceded by a rite of penance whereby the person was given an opportunity to repent.⁴⁶ Argentea's own Islamic lineage may have justified such an action and also explains why she was given the option to return to the Islamic faith.

Argentea's own status as a lapsed Muslim woman and her public attachment to Vulfura was predicated upon an act of giving a promise or donation by which she surrendered to the authority of the abbot Vulfura. This is also the case with another of the martyrs, Digna, who clearly was professed under the rule of Saint Fructuosus (sixth–seventh centuries).⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ann Rosemary Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus 711–1000* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002), 102.

⁴⁵ For an example of piercing, see the case of Al-Mukhtār who was speared after killing al-Ḥusayn c. 680. Marsham, "Public," 129. Lashing finds a precedent in 736 when Asad b. 'Abd Allāh captured a group of Abbasid missionaries in Khurāsān. Flogging one of them 300 times, he was about to crucify him when he was stopped by the intervention of one of the tribe's elders. Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al Ṭabarī 25: The End of Expansion*, trans. Khalid Yahya Blankinship (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 124. Her elinguation is reminiscent of Furṭūn's punishment of religious apostates, whose tongue was also cut out for his failure to meet the expectations of 'Abd al-Raḥmān during the battle of Simancas in 939. Another example is the execution of Elpidius in 605, recorded in the near-contemporaneous *Chronicon Paschale. Chronicon Paschale 284–628 A.D.*, trans. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 145–6. Andrew Marsham records three additional instances under Umayyad rule. Marsham, "Public," 121.

⁴⁶ Joel Kraemer, "Apostates, Rebels and Brigands," *Israel Oriental Series* 10 (1980): 41.

⁴⁷ M. Adeialda Andrés, Carmen Cordero, Salvador Iranzo, José Carlos Martín and David Paniagua, *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe: dos épocas en su literatura* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2010), 123.

Argentea's sacrifice brought attention to a social setting in which religious identity remained extraordinarily fluid, as both Ibn Ḥafṣūn and his son Sulaymān had converted and recanted according to their political needs.⁴⁸ But while Argentea would have had little to contribute in terms of taxes, Eulogius makes her the spearhead and symbol of social discontent against Muslim authorities.⁴⁹ To justify her actions, Eulogius casts Argentea's determination in the light of the onerous tax system or tutelage (*dhimma*) to which the Christians of Córdoba were exposed.⁵⁰ While it is true that the *dhimma* allowed Christians to practice their own religion freely, they voiced their opposition to this system as a way of fashioning their own identity.

The effort to assert tutelage over Argentea both as a Muslim and as a Christian subject adds to the importance of capital punishment as a means of controlling the persona of the Christian martyr in a legal context. By casting her as an apostate, Muslim authorities were laying claim to the symbolic tutelage of Christians. Conceived as a moral project, the execution of Argentea is not merely an act of deterrence but a public declaration of the power of right and wrong, justice and injustice. The ultimate goal was to present the Umayyad ruler as a permanent protector of religious truth.

The tutelage over punishment will depend on the particularities of Argentea's sentence for religious apostasy. Unlike the apostasy of Christian people, which came under the purview of Christian authorities, that alleged of Argentea fell outside such laws and justified the intervention of the

⁴⁸ Richard W. Bulliet, "Conversion Stories in Early Islam," in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1990), 117. Cf. Mayte Penelas, "Some Remarks on Conversion to Islam in Al-Andalus," *Al-Qantara* 23 (2002): 199. Cf. Michael Morony, "The Age of Conversions: A Reassessment," in *Conversion and Continuity. Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi J. Bikhazi (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1990), 139. Cf. David Wasserstein, "Where Have All the Converts Gone? Difficulties in the Study of Conversion to Islam in Al-Andalus," *Al-Qantara* 23:2 (2012): 325–42. Cf. Manuela Marín, *Mujeres en Al-Andalus* (Madrid: CSIC, 2000). Marín stresses how the Andalusian family was eminently patrilineal and agnatic, although it preserved some traces of pre-Islamic custom favoring matrilineal succession.

⁴⁹ *Memoriale Sanctorum* 3, 5. Eulogius' complaint echoes the concerns of Lactantius, who in his *On the Death of the Persecutors* (23) complained about Rome's unjust taxation of the provinces and its inhumane means of enforcing taxation. Cf. David E. Wilhite, *Ancient African Christianity: An Introduction to a Unique Context and Tradition* (London/New York: Routledge, 2017), 190.

⁵⁰ Eva Lapiedra, "Los mártires de Córdoba y la política anticristiana contemporánea en el oriente," *Al-Qantara* 15:2 (1994): 453–64.

Islamic religious authorities. While Umayyad rulers could claim that they were driven by the public interest and the defense of religious orthodoxy, the declaration of tutelage over Argentea also invoked the ruler's responsibility for her religious conduct. In this sense, capital punishment may be a way of achieving the criminal's *reconciliation* with God and Islam.⁵¹ On a secondary level, the paradox of reconciliation highlights the power of the Caliph to judge Argentea's own past as a Muslim woman. At times a contradictory process, Argentea's public execution had the potential to counteract her own motivations, and to publicly atone for her sins.

Defining Guilt: Victimization as Proof

The public sacrifice of Sulaymān and Argentea exposes a delicate balance between guilt and punishment. In the system of deterrence and retribution initiated by Umayyad rulers, the death penalty carried out on the children of 'Umar Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn emphasizes the legitimacy of a system in which the criminal deserves to be punished according to the gravity of his or her crime. Although retribution initially demanded that the criminal receive the same injury as had been inflicted on the victim, legal custom in al-Andalus lent itself to different forms of legal interpretation, according to the type of punishment.⁵²

In her analysis of Andalusian jurisprudence, Loubna El-Ouazzani Chahdi notes how the close relation of religion and law caused jurists to maintain a simplistic legal interpretation that could more easily accommodate Qur'ānic prescriptions of the licit or illicit.⁵³ The responsibility for interpreting the law was then left to the qadī, who in turn sometimes sought the assistance of the muftī. In every case, the role of the ruler was merely to enforce the punishment.⁵⁴ In turn, this division of the legal system implied that the responsibility for capital punishment also resided with the ruler. The fact that many of these penalties were inflicted post-mortem gives an insight into their purpose, and portrays them not only as plain deterrents against wrongful behavior but also as vindications of the ruler's mission to uphold religion and social order.

⁵¹ Cf. Ana Echevarría, "Obispos tiranos y rebeldes musulmanes. La violencia contra el dhimmi," in *Crueldad y compasión en la literatura árabe e islámica*, ed. Delfina Serrano Ruano (Cordoba: CSIC/Universidad de Córdoba, 2011), 241.

⁵² *Qur'ān* 2, 178. Loubna El-Ouazzani Chahdi, "Teoría y Práctica en el Derecho Penal andalusí," *Cuadernos de historia del derecho* 10 (2003): 369.

⁵³ *Qur'ān* 2, 178. Loubna, "Teoría," 372.

⁵⁴ Christian Lange, *Justice, Punishment, and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3.

The accusation of *zandaqa* or *māriq* made against the members of the family of ‘Umar Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ is especially important in this regard, because it raises the role of the ruler from that of simple executioner to a de facto creator of religious identity.⁵⁵ While it is true that Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ had claimed Iberian ancestry as a Christian, the manner in which he was posthumously executed allowed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to present capital punishment as an act of interpretation. In this process, the crucifixion and desecration of Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ served to anathematize him as a “leader unto perdition”, whereby Umayyad rulers demonstrated God’s rejection of Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ’s family claim to rightful leadership of the community.⁵⁶

On a secondary level, the application of post-mortem capital punishment to apostates carefully related the personal and social consequences of such crime. From this point of view, the practice was not concerned with punishing the culprit, but with exhibiting his remains and thus the power of his judges. Placing post-mortem punishment at the center of the Islamic justice system’s response to apostasy added severity to the death sentences and allowed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to claim ownership of Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ’s estate.

Conclusions

The problem of rightful conversion seems to have loomed large in the decision to execute the remains of ‘Umar Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ and his family, and undoubtedly affected ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s claims over the *dawla* of Bobastro. As he reflected on the problem of Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ’s spurious genealogy, David Wasserstein noted how Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ’s claims to the territory of Bobastro were predicated on his descent from Christian Goths. Though himself a Muslim for most of his life, Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ was never shy in claiming that his conversion to Christianity constituted a return to ancestral roots. In describing the awkward implications of this genealogy, Wasserstein notes the fluctuating nature of religious identity in tenth-century Córdoba and how this fluctuation was often guided by economic interests.⁵⁷ Citing the work of Maribel Fierro, David Wasserstein explains Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ’s ability to fashion himself as a messianic figure comparable to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I,

⁵⁵ María Isabel Fierro Bello, “Accusations of Zandaqa in al-Andalus,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5–6 (1987–88): 252.

⁵⁶ Anthony, *Crucifixion*, 50–1.

⁵⁷ David Wasserstein, “Inventing Tradition and Constructing Identity: The Genealogy of ‘Umar Ibn Ḥaḥḥḥḥḥḥ between Christianity and Islam,” *Al-Qantara* 23 (2003): 295.

drawing on “popular attitudes and beliefs, on learned invention and religious faith”.⁵⁸

Conscious of this messianic claim, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III’s desire to present his enemy as an apostate must have weighed heavily on Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s legacy and presented his enemy as an underserving foe of the Umayyad dynasty. Much as he had tried to fashion himself as an Umayyad-like ruler, the exhumation of Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s body, its crucifixion in front of Bāb al-Sudda, and flogging, created a close parallelism with the execution of the Hashimite rebel ‘Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ziyād (–686), governor of Basra, Kūfa and Khurasan during the reigns of Caliphs Mu‘awiya I and Yazīd I, when after the battle of Kūfa his body was exhumed and decapitated (or even crucified) outside the gates of Kūfa.⁵⁹ As in Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s case, the post-mortem execution of Ziyād was seen as the reenactment of a punishment probably well established in Arabia before Islam. Nonetheless, the new dispensation and its relation to the *Sunnah* demanded that the events be interpreted in the light of *Qur’ān*. As with other punishments, the sacrifice of Ziyād and Ibn Ḥafṣūn implied a recognition of their lawlessness, and engaged Umayyad rulers in a declaration of God’s justice as administrated by Umayyad authority. The numerous versions of Ziyād’s death highlight the importance of his body’s manipulation by the Umayyads to articulations of their political legitimacy, attaching a meaning to capital punishment which would not have gone unnoticed by the contemporaries of Ibn Ḥafṣūn.

Much as the certainty of guilt legitimizes punishment, so ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III’s post-mortem punishments of the different members of the Banu Ḥafṣūn raises the possibility that such acts may have influenced, in the court of public opinion, the perception of guilt. Running counter to the rules of legal evidence, punishment emerges as a powerful tool for legitimizing claims “to a monopoly of violence”.⁶⁰ By publicly marking the bodies of his enemies in this way, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III showed his power to inscribe such claims upon them. Yet while the punishment of a living person may have served as a deterrent to criminal wrongdoing, the shame inscribed upon these corpses effectively incorporated them into the dynamics of the Islamic state.

As ninth-century Córdoba struggled to retool its legal system to cope with the new political situation, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān drew upon a variety of punishments that replicated the power struggles of the Umayyad caliphate.

⁵⁸ Wasserstein, “Inventing,” 296.

⁵⁹ For a complete description of the different accounts, see Marsham, “Public,” 135.

⁶⁰ Richard Ward, *A Global History of Execution and the Criminal Corpse* (Basingstoke (UK): Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

In this context, Bāb al-Sudda emerged as the key element in an exhibition of mutual loyalty between the Caliph and his people, on two counts: it was the place where covenants were made, and where those who sought reconciliation met the current ruler.⁶¹ The hierarchical organization of the execution-space in turn allowed for Bāb al-Sudda's successful transformation into a scaffold, on which the propitiatory victims were exposed to those entering the gate leading to the court of the royal palace. In this sense, the exhibition of the different victims served to transform Bāb al-Sudda into a place of atonement where social order was permanently restored.

Within this system of retribution, capital punishment initiates a process of adjudication and settlement, in turn highlighting Ibn Ḥafṣūn's legacy as tangible evidence of reconciliation, restoration of peace and avoidance of further conflict. Overall, the executions staged at Bāb al-Sudda suggest that the assertion of rulership was based on public ritual. Even though there may have been deviations to accommodate the circumstances of specific executions, the theatrical elements of public execution evoked the drama of sin and punishment that regulated the actions of Muslim citizens. In this context, the citizens of Córdoba acted as woeful witnesses to the divine order being established by the Caliph himself.

⁶¹ Omayra Herrero Soto, *El perdón del gobernante en al-Andalus, ss. II/VIII-V-XII* (Unprinted doctoral thesis, Salamanca, 2012), 273.

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CHAPTER 3

EMULATING NEIGHBOURS IN MEDIEVAL IBERIA AROUND 1000: A CODEX FROM LA RIOJA (MADRID, RAH, CÓD. 78)*

RODRIGO FURTADO

This paper is a contribution to the study of ms. Madrid, RAH, cód. 78, copied in La Rioja at the end of the tenth century, from Oviedan materials. It contains a highly diverse set of texts; at first glance, it seems that a copyist was simply reproducing his source texts. However, it was not so. In this paper, I intend to better clarify the codex's place in the legitimizing context of the Pamplonan dynasty. Basing my arguments on its models and concrete structure, I will argue that this new codex is in fact a coherent instrument: the copyists of La Rioja adapted an original, assembled in the neighbouring Asturleonese Kingdom, so as to create a new instrument of legitimization which would emulate the neo-Gothic ideology of the Kingdom of Oviedo.

The manuscript

Manuscript Madrid, *RAH Aem. 78*, usually referred to as *Codex Rotensis*, is formed by two distinct parts.¹ The first part is a tenth-century copy of

* I am most grateful to the editors of this volume for all their suggestions and corrections to the text.

¹ Louis Barrau-Dihigo, "Note sur le codex de Meyá," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 30–31 (1921): 37–56; Zacarías García Villada, "El códice de Roda recuperado," *Revista de Filología Española* 15 (1928): 113–30; José María Lacarra, "Textos navarros del códice de Roda," *Estudios de Edad Media de la corona de Aragón* 1 (1945): 193–284; Juan Gil Fernández, "Textos olvidados del códice de Roda," *Habis* 2 (1971): 165–78; Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1991²), 32–42; Elisa Ruiz García, *Catálogo de la sección de códices de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Real

Orosius's *Historiae* (fols 1–155). The second part (fols 156–232), copied slightly later, is mostly composed of shorter Iberian late antique and medieval texts. It was added to Orosius's text in order to complement it. At least three different hands worked on this second part, including one of those that had also copied Orosius's *Historiae*,² indicating that the whole codex was prepared in the same centre of production.

Elisa Ruíz García has provided a detailed description of this codex.³ Below, I present its contents. In this article I will discuss this manuscript, section-by-section, and try to explain how it was copied this way and why I am dividing it into these different sections/collections of texts.

This codex remained in the Archivo Catedral of Roda until 1699, when it was lent to Diego Joseph Dormer (c. 1640–1705). Later, it was in the library of Manuel Abad y Lasiera (1729–1806), prior of Meyá (Lerida), who gave it to the library of the Counts of Campomanes where it remained until 1927, when it was incorporated in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. It was then studied by Zacarias García Villada, who described it in detail, and especially by José María Lacarra, Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, Ángel Martín Duque and Helena de Carlos Villamarín. According to Díaz, at least the second part of this codex was copied 'in the last decade of the tenth century or, most probably, at the beginning of the eleventh'.⁴ Martín Duque, however, argued that the codex was produced slightly earlier, in the late tenth century, during the reign of King Sancho Garcés II of Pamplona (970–994), possibly under the direction of Bishop Sisebutus of Pamplona (c. 988–1000). Indeed, before him, Lacarra had already suggested with highly convincing arguments that the codex must have been copied around the year 992. In fact, this date appears in a marginal note in fol. 186v ('in era TXXX Cesaris'). In addition, the laterculi copied in this codex end before 992: the laterculus of the Frankish kings (fol. 194v) ends with Lotharius (954–986); the *De Pampilona* probably refers to the death of

Academia de la Historia, 1997), 395–405; Ángel J. Martín Duque, "La realaza navarra de cuño hispano-godo y su ulterior metamorphosis," in *À la recherche de légitimités chrétiennes. Représentations de l'espace et du temps dans l'Espagne médiévale (IX^e–XIII^e siècles)*, ed. Patrick Henriët (Lyon: ENS Éditions-Casa de Velazquez, 2003), 225–41; Helena de Carlos Villamarín, "Alejandro en el códice de Roda," *Troianalexandrina* 8 (2008): 39–58; Helena de Carlos Villamarín, "À l'ombre de Rome: les villes de Tolède et Pampelune dans le codex de Roda," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 51 (2008): 129–42; Helena de Carlos Villamarín, "El códice de Roda (Madrid, BRAH 78) como compilación de voluntad historiográfica," *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 12 (2011): 119–42.

² Lacarra, "Textos navarros," 197.

³ Ruíz García, *Catálogo*, 395–405.

⁴ Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, 34.

King Ramiro of Viguera (970–981) (fol. 231r); and the list of bishops of Pamplona ends with Bishop Sisebutus “in era millesima XXVI” (=988) (fol. 231v).⁵ Therefore, this codex must have been copied around the year 992 as Lacarra and Martín Duque have suggested, and before Al-Mansur’s incursions into the region towards the end of the century.

Due to the importance granted to the Pamplonan genealogies, Lacarra and Díaz argued that this codex had been copied in Nájera in “some palatine church or monastery, prior to Santa Maria La Real”.⁶ This codex was in fact in Nájera at the end of the eleventh century.⁷ However, I do not think it necessarily follows that it was produced in this city;⁸ and, even if it supposes an obvious ideological reading connected to the monarchy of Pamplona, I do not think this is a sufficient argument to assume a royal origin for this codex. See, for example, the famous manuscript Escorial d.I.2, copied in the monastery of San Martín of Albelda, also in La Rioja, during the abbacy of Maurelus (971–979), between 974 and 976.⁹ Despite being produced in a monastery, ms. Escorial d.I.2 is clearly also linked to the new Pamplonan kingdom and its dynasty: for example, in fol. 428, there are included the portraits of Sancho Garcés II, of Queen Urraca and of Sancho’s half-brother, King Ramiro of Viguera.

Therefore, I do not think one should rule out that ms. Madrid, *RAH*, cód. 78 may also have been produced not necessarily at the court but at one of the monasteries of La Rioja, perhaps in San Millán. In fact, the unproven hypothesis that it may have been produced under the direction of Sisebutus is highly tempting. Bishop Sisebutus of Pamplona had been abbot of San Millán de la Cogolla between 972–987; and, still in 992, he was responsible for promoting a copy (now ms. Escorial d.I.1) of that same ms. Escorial d.I.2, precisely in his former monastery of San Millán.

In any case, ms. Madrid, *RAH*, cód. 78 is a very refined manuscript. It is almost entirely a historiographical codex except for a collection of religious texts copied in at fols 209r–230v. It was already the opinion of Díaz that this codex had been conceived as a complete history of the world, focused on Iberia and on its different Christian and Muslim kingdoms. Villamarín has also defended the ideological role of some of its small texts and images

⁵ Lacarra, “Textos navarros,” 196.

⁶ Lacarra, “Textos navarros,” 200; Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, 36.

⁷ See fol. 231r. Lacarra, “Textos navarros,” 195–96.

⁸ Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, 27–30.

⁹ See Luis Alberto Monreal Jimeno, “San Millán de Suso. Anotaciones sobre las primeras etapas del cenobio emilianense,” *Príncipe de Viana* 183 (1988): 71–96; Ismael Maestro Pablo, “Reflexiones sobre las iglesias y monasterios de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos X–XI),” *Príncipe de Viana* 207 (1996): 97–9.

in the context of the monarchies of Asturias and Pamplona. Nevertheless, it was Martín Duque who asserted that:

all texts and images included around 990 in the so-called ‘Codex Rotensis’ [...] whatever their specific intentionality, represent an eloquent expression of the collective project and of the historical memory of the rising kingdom of Pamplona. They must therefore be considered within the intellectual programme that produced them.¹⁰

In this article, I intend to confirm this view, but also to show that this codex must be inserted into a long Iberian tradition of reading the past: the copyists of La Rioja took a codex compiled in the neighbouring Asturleonese Kingdom in order to constitute a new legitimizing instrument through which they intended to emulate the neo-Gothic ideology of the Kingdom of Oviedo.

The context

The end of the first millennium was an amazing period for north-eastern Iberia. Peripheral as it was, it must have been a kind of no man’s land until the advent of its first known leaders in the second half of the ninth century.¹¹ The consolidation of the monarchy started in 905, when Sancho Garcés I (905–925) seized power and conquered the city of Pamplona. Some twenty years later, the occupation of La Rioja occurred with the support of its larger and more powerful neighbour, the King of Asturias and Leon: it was Ordoño II of Leon (914–924) who conquered Nájera in 923. Soon after, the kings of Pamplona, again with Leonese support, tried to found or restore some monasteries in the region: as early as 925, Sancho Garcés I founded San

¹⁰ Martín Duque, “La realeza navarra,” 227.

¹¹ José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla* 1 (Pamplona: Aranzadi, 1972); Luis Javier Fortún Pérez de Ciriza and Carmen Jusú Simonena, *Historia de Navarra* 1. *Antigüedad y Alta Edad Media* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1993); Ángel J. Martín Duque, “Precedentes y configuración histórica de un reino,” in *Signos de identidad histórica para Navarra* 1, ed. Ángel J. Martín Duque (Pamplona: biblioteca Caja Ahorros de Navarra, 1996), 131–202; Roger Collins, “The Spanish kingdoms,” *The new Cambridge Medieval History* 3. *c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 670–91; Ángel J. Martín Duque, “El reino de Pamplona,” in *La España cristiana de los siglos VIII al XI*. 2. *Los núcleos pirenaicos (718–1035)*, ed. Manuel Riu y Riu and José María Jover (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1999), 41–268; Juan José Larrea, “Construir un reino en la periferia de Al-Ándalus: Pamplona y el Pirineo occidental en los siglos VIII y IX,” *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder*, Anejo 2 (2009): 279–308.

Martín of Albelda; at the same time the monastery of Saint Aemilian, in Suso (San Millán de la Cogolla), was also (re-)established; two years earlier, Ordoño II of Leon had founded the monastery of Santa Coloma.

A matrimonial policy had already been in existence since the mid-ninth century, cementing the relationship between Pamplona and Leon: the wife of King Alfonso III (866–910), Queen Jimena, was probably a daughter of García Jimenez of Pamplona; after her, the wives of Ordoño II, Alfonso IV (924–931) and Ramiro II of Leon (931–950) also came from Pamplona; the wives of García Sanchez I (931–970) and García Sanchez II (994–1000) were Leonese; and that of Sancho Garcés II of Pamplona was Urraca, the widow of Ordoño III (951–956) and Ordoño IV of Leon (958–960).

The southern part of the realm, between the emerging Castile and the upper Ebro, was La Rioja. At least as early as the time of García Sanchez I, Nájera's proximity to the southern frontier of Pamplonan territory and to some of the period's most dynamic Iberian monasteries, along with the development of the Santiago de Compostela Way, contrived to transform it into the political and military centre of the new kingdom, Pamplona remaining as the main episcopal see and symbolic centre. In the context of the obvious Asturleonese and Muslim incapacity to assert their power over Navarra and the Basque territories, and especially in the climate of instability pervading the Kingdom of Leon in the second half of the tenth century, Pamplona frequently intervened in the neighbouring kingdom to make and unmake kings, consolidating its power on the Leonese Kingdom's north-eastern border.

In the process of designing a proper identity for the new kingdom, the codices copied in the region of La Rioja, around Nájera, assumed a fundamental role.¹² It is worth briefly recalling ms. Escorial d.I.2 because it was a kind of predecessor of the codex Rotensis. It is an impressive luxury codex of legal-canonical content, copied in San Martín de Albelda in 974–976. Probably because its content was felt to be somehow related to the past, a short collection of historical texts, mostly composed of epitomes of earlier materials (fols 238va–242vb), was also added to this codex. This historical collection, known today as *Chronica Albeldensia*, had been assembled in Oviedo almost one hundred years before, between 881–883.¹³ However,

¹² Martín Duque, “La realeza navarra”; Carlos Villamarín, “El código de Roda”; Fermín Miranda García, “Imagen del poder monárquico en el reino de Pamplona del siglo X,” in *Navarra: memoria e imagen. Actas del VI congreso de historia de Navarra* 3, ed. Mercedes Galán Lorda, María del Mar Larrazza Micheltoarena and Luis Eduardo Oslé Guereniain (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunat, 2006), 73–95.

¹³ See Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, “La historiografía hispana desde la invasión árabe hasta el año 1000,” in *La storiografia altomedievale* 1 (Spoleto: Centro italiano

Vigila, the monk who oversaw the copy of the ms. Escorial d.I.2, only copied here the larger and more important texts of the collection. Before one of these texts, the *Ordo Gothorum Obetensium regum*, Vigila added a list of the Asturleonese kings from Pelagius up to his own time, when the king was Ramiro III of Leon (966–984) (fol. 240va). After him, the list was expanded with the names of three kings of Pamplona (fol. 240va): Sancho Garcés I, García Sanchez I and Sancho Garcés II, who was also the Pamplonan king contemporary with the codex. However, the list of these three Pamplonan kings was still a meagre effort: Sancho Garcés II, for instance, is only mentioned by his name, “Sancio”, with no other reference, date or more developed identification.

Vigila also added to the Albeldensis collection a very short chronicle of the kingdom of Pamplona (the *Initium regnum Pampilonam*; Díaz 830), copied in after the *Chronica Prophetica* (fol. 242vb). These *Chronica*, which were also part here of the Albeldensis collection, ended in 883; now, their follow-up about Pamplona starts in 905 and ends right in 976 (“discurrente presenti era TXIII^a”), presenting both kings, Sancho Garcés II and Ramiro of Viguera, as sons and successors of García Sanchez I of Pamplona. Ramiro of Viguera was also Ramiro II of Leon’s grandson (his mother was Teresa of Leon). Therefore, although in fact a dependent king, Ramiro’s presence in this codex, in absolute parallel with his half-brother, Sancho Garcés II, has been seen as a sign of the symbolic legitimacy of the Pamplonan monarchy, in a way still dependent on Oviedo-Leon, but at the same time revealing the Pamplonan monarchs as ideological successors of the Leonese kings.¹⁴

Vigila’s fragile effort is the first ever to compose a historical record of the kingdom of Pamplona, even if remains dependent upon a collection (the *Chronica Albeldensia*) brought from Oviedo.

The *De Laude Pampilone* (fols 190r–192v)

The codex Rotensis, produced only two decades after Escorial d.I.2, reveals a much wider investment. In the second part of the codex, right at the beginning of fol. 190r, the scribe started copying a new section, arranged in one column, leaving the last part of fol. 189vb blank. He clearly wanted to begin a new chapter, in a new folio. He introduced it, in red capitals, as *De*

di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 1970), 313–43; Juan Gil, *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII et IX* (Turnhout: Brepols publishers, 2018); Yves Bonnaz, *Chroniques Asturiennes (fin IX^e siècle)* (Paris: CNRS, 1987).

¹⁴ Miranda García, “Imagen del poder”, 77.

laude Pampilone. As Michael Kulikowsky suggested, this must have been the title “of the whole dossier of Pamplonan documents” (fols 190r–192v).¹⁵

The first two texts of this section are a letter attributed to Emperor Honorius and a conventional praise of the city of Pamplona. Lacarra, Díaz and Jones thought that Honorius’s letter was authentic.¹⁶ Kulikowsky argued that the text of the letter “is almost certainly genuine”, but not its prefatory heading, the only place referring to Honorius and Pamplona.¹⁷ In fact, this letter is an imperial rescript, here copied in a rather corrupt, lacunose and often incomprehensible form. The Emperor offers the soldiers in Spain an unspecified reward (“amplica congruum et dignitatis augmentum”). The reference to the soldiers of Pamplona (“militie urbis Pampilonensis”) who would take this letter to Spain is strange, because there is no other testimony of the presence of any important Roman garrison in the city; and as Kulikowsky has shown, there is no other reference to the “Sauinianio patricio” also mentioned in the text. Kulikowsky argues that someone took this authentic imperial rescript and, in an unknown moment and context (but certainly already in Iberia), associated it with Honorius and with the soldiers of Pamplona. According to Díaz, the letter was already in this corrupt form in the model used by the codex Rotensis.¹⁸ Despite all these problems, this imperial letter was certainly considered authentic by the copyist of Madrid, *RAH*, cód. 78: it was the most ancient document referring to Pamplona that he knew. Hence, he decided to copy it at the beginning of this new section of the codex, aiming to glorify Pamplona by recognizing its antiquity and the imperial acknowledgment of its importance.

¹⁵ Michael Kulikowski, “The epistula Honorii again,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 122 (1998): 249.

¹⁶ Lacarra, “Textos navarros,” 268–70; Emilienne Demougeot, “Une lettre de l’empereur Honorius sur l’hospitium des soldats,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 36 (1956): 25–49; H.S. Sivan, “An unedited letter of the emperor Honorius to the Spanish soldiers,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 61 (1985): 273–87; María Concepción Fernández López, “Una lectura del *De laude Pampilone epistola*,” in *Aurea Saecula. Actes del IXè Simposi de la Secció Catalana de la SEEC. Treballs en honor de Virgilio Bejarano* 1, ed. Lamberto Ferreres (Barcelona: Sección Catalana de la SEEC-Publicaciones de la universidad de Barcelona, 1991), 395–402; Kulikowski, “The epistula Honorii”.

¹⁷ Kulikowski, “The epistula Honorii,” 249.

¹⁸ Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, 37–8.

After this letter there was copied a conventional *laus* of the city,¹⁹ full of biblical resonances.²⁰ The text must have been composed in Pamplona. Whether this is still a Visigothic text, or already written in the ninth century, has been under discussion, but as with Honorius's letter it does not interfere with the ideological meaning of the text in La Rioja, at the end of the tenth. Although in an unorganized and very corrupt way, the text insists on the strength of the city walls, on the abundance of water and on the city's piety with its innumerable martyrs' relics ("innumeraulium martirum reliquiarum"). Pamplona is also presented as a second Rome, at least in Spain: "Quamuis opulenta Roma prestita sit Romanis, Pampilona non destitit prestare suis". Villamarín argued that this praise of Pamplona must be read in parallel with the praise of the Visigothic city of Toledo, which was also copied some folios later (fols 197v–198r).²¹ She believes that this connection between Toledo and Pamplona should be interpreted as a symbolic claim of the process of *translatio regni* from the Visigothic kingdom to that of Pamplona.

This process was not new at all: from at least the first half of the ninth century, in Oviedo, the kings of Asturias had already tried to present themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Visigothic kings.²² Therefore, it is possible that, around the year 1000, in view of their neighbours' political instability, the kings of the far north-eastern Iberian region of Pamplona were intending to do something similar by reinterpreting the neo-Gothic ideology of Oviedo for their own benefit. They aimed to be seen as the last

¹⁹ Lacarra, "Textos navarros," 268–70; Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, 32–6; Fernández Lopez, "Una lectura"; Koldo Larrañaga Elosa, "Glosa sobre un viejo texto referido a la historia de Pamplona: el De laude Pampilonie," *Príncipe de Viana* 55 (1994): 137–47; Ángel J. Martín Duque, "Del espejo ajeno a la memoria propia," *Signos de identidad histórica para Navarra* 1, ed. Ángel J. Martín Duque (Pamplona: biblioteca Caja Ahorros de Navarra, 1996), 930–32; Fermín Miranda García, "De laude Pampilone y la construcción ideológica de una capital regia en el entorno del año mil," in *Ab urbe condita. Fonder et refonder la ville: récits et représentations (seconde moitié du Moyen Âge – premier XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Véronique Lamazou-Duplan (Pau: Presses Universitaires de Pau, 2011), 293–308; Helena de Carlos Villamarín, "A loa de Pamplona do Códice de Roda. Unha nova achega," in *As tebras alumeadas. Estudos filolóxicos ofrecidos en homenaxe a Ramón Lorenzo*, ed. Ana Isabel Boullon Agrelo (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2005), 103–13.

²⁰ Muruzabal Aguirre, "Nuevos datos," 42–3; Miranda García, "De laude Pampilone," 295–7.

²¹ Carlos Villamarín, "A loa de Pamplona".

²² See e.g. Thomas Deswarte, *De la destruction à la restauration. L'idéologie du royaume d'Oviedo-Leon (VIIIe–XIe siècles)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 124–57.

heirs of the Visigoths, and by so claiming as the last heirs of the Roman Empire, at least in Iberia. If it was so, the letter attributed to Emperor Honorius may have been copied for this reason too: by showing the Emperor as recognizing Pamplona as an older city than Oviedo or Leon, the monks who copied the codex Rotensis intended to establish a legitimizing symbolic genealogy from Rome up until Pamplona.

Together, the imperial letter and the praise of Pamplona constituted a rhetorical interlude preparing the reader for the new historical times dominated by the new kingdom of Pamplona. In fact, the Pamplonan royal list was copied after those two texts. In Escorial d.I.2, it was still a simple list of three kings serving as an appendix to the laterculus of the Asturleonese kings. Now, twenty years later, the copyist did much more. He copied a very detailed genealogy of the first rulers of Pamplona, Queen Toda and King Sancho Garcés I, followed by the list of the counts of Aragon and the genealogies of the dependent counts of Pallars, Gascogne and Tolosa, across several generations (fols 191r–192v).²³ These lists must have been composed in the region, sometime around the mid-tenth century. This effort has no parallel in earlier known codices. Lacarra suggested that these genealogies have been influenced by Muslim examples from the Ebro region.²⁴ They legitimize the dynasty of Sancho Garcés I, by showing that he and specifically his wife descended from the region's previous rulers. At the same time, through their dynastic ties with the principal noble families of the region, the rulers of Pamplona not only became the kings of a small kingdom but extended their authority to a much wider region of Spain and south-western Gaul. We do not yet find a lengthy chronicle. However, through these series of chronologically organized names, ending at the first half of the tenth century, we can already catch glimpses of the later political project of Sancho III the Great.

The Kingdom of Pamplona's effort at building an independent and prestigious historical identity, guaranteed by royal lists, *laudes* and genealogies, is therefore clear. However, it is also true that, even considering the several genealogical lists of names, none of these small texts is still

²³ Lacarra, "Textos navarros," 204–52; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "La elaboración de las genealogías de Roda," in *Miscelanea ofrecida al Ilmo. Sr. Dr. José María Lacarra y de Miguel* (Zaragoza: Universidad-Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1968); Fernando Canada Palacios, "Endogamia en la dinastía regia de Pamplona (siglos IX–XI)," *Príncipe de Viana* 48 (1987): 781–7; José María Lacarra, "Las genealogías del códice de Roda," *Medievalia* 10 (1992): 213–6; Thierry Stasser, "Consanguinité et alliances dynastiques en Espagne au Haut Moyen Âge: la politique matrimoniale de la reine Tota de Navarre," *Hidalguía* 277 (1999): 811–39.

²⁴ Lacarra, "Las genealogías," 213–4.

particularly robust in terms of its literary or intellectual achievement: in the kingdom of Pamplona in the late tenth century, the process of writing a complex historical narrative is still not at all similar to what had happened, for example, at the court of Alfonso III of Oviedo, about a hundred years before. The effort to form a political identity through a lengthy, original, and autonomous historiography had been incomparably greater in Oviedo, with what are now referred to as the “Asturian chronicles”. However, this difference is far from implying any lesser interest in the ideological value of the texts and manuscripts. Even if they were not able to write lengthy narratives from scratch, Pamplonan monks were capable of selecting and assembling earlier materials in an organized collection, at times corrected, amplified or updated according to what they were intending to prove or reveal. Thus, in the codex Rotensis, despite the absence of a new history, the effort to establish Pamplona’s historical memory in the specific context of a manuscript is evident. Its construction resulted from aggregating previous, smaller and seemingly disconnected material from different origins in order to create a recognizable, interpretative meaning for the set, based upon the genealogical lists of the main families connected to Pamplona.

However, similar to what had happened in manuscript Escorial, d.I.2, this effort is again clearly dependent upon previous material borrowed from Oviedo-Leon.

Before Pamplona: The Prophetic Collection

I have recently contended that the *Chronica Prophetica* and the texts preceding them in Madrid, *RAH*, cód. 78 (fols 156r–189va), copied just before the set about Pamplona, make sense together as part of a coherent historiographical collection which was formed in Oviedo. Together, they constitute what I have called the “Prophetic collection”.²⁵ A prophecy of pseudo-Ezekiel and its interpretation (*Dicta Ezeielis profete*; fols 186r–187r), assuring the Muslims’ final defeat in Spain, is the main motif of this collection.

The texts copied after these *Dicta* seek to document from an historical point of view the interpretation of the prophecy. Together, they transmit a chronological reading of the history of the Muslims from Abraham up to the present (in 883), when the prophecy was about to be fulfilled. The conclusion of the collection (*Explanatio*) is an exclusive excerpt of the codex Rotensis, that dates the *Chronica*: the anonymous author assures the reader that the Muslims will be expelled from Spain by King Alfonso III of

²⁵ See Furtado, “The *Chronica Prophetica*.”

León, after Saint Martin's day (November 11) in 883, seven months after the day he was writing. Therefore, I argue that the Rotensis version of the *Chronica Prophetica*, regardless of some later interpolations, was formed in Oviedo around April 883. A posteriori, when the interpretation of the prophecy announcing the Muslims' defeat in 883–884 had proved wrong, the drafting of a collection with the characteristics I mentioned seems to me very difficult to justify.²⁶

In the codex Rotensis, before the *Chronica Prophetica*, the sequence consisting of the *Historia Gothorum*, excerpts from the *Apocalypsis* of the pseudo-Methodius, the *Chronica Adefonsi III* and the *Tultu Sceptrum* (a strange text that explains how the prophet Mohammad had been deceived by the demon) narrates the history of the Gothic ancestors of the Asturian Kingdom, namely their victory over the Romans in Iberia, and justifies how the kings of Asturias became the Visigoths' rightful successors. These texts also add a religious legitimacy to Alfonso III's future recovery of the former Visigothic territory.²⁷ Hence, they come to form an extended collection intending to present the historical foundations of Alfonso III's neo-Gothic ideology.²⁸

In fact, Isidore had already shaped his *Historiae* according to this same principle: the Goths were the legitimate successors of the Romans in Spain, updating the process of *translatio regni/translatio imperii* until the time of Suinthila who had expelled the last Byzantine *milites* from Spain.²⁹ Though in a less explicit way, in his *Chronica* Isidore also tried to present the Visigoths as the Romans' legitimate political and religious successors in Iberia.³⁰ Again, this is what happened in the *Chronica Adefonsi III*: this text, whose title is *Cronica Visegothorum* in the main manuscripts, sought to make clear the *translatio regni* process, this time from the Gothic to the

²⁶ Furtado, "The Chronica Prophetica," 85–6.

²⁷ Furtado, "The Chronica Prophetica," 90.

²⁸ Furtado, "The Chronica Prophetica," 87–94.

²⁹ Luis Antonio García Moreno, "¿Por qué Isidoro de Sevilla quiso escribir una segunda versión de su Historia Gothorum?," in *Famille, violence et christianisation au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Michel Rouché*, ed. Martin Aurell, Thomas Deswarte and Michel Rouché (Paris: Presses Universitaires de la Sorbonne, 2005), 387–408; Rodrigo Furtado, "From *Gens to Imperium*: a study on Isidore's political lexicon," in *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif VIII. Actes du VIIIe colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif*, Oxford, 6–9 septembre 2006, ed. Roger Wright (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms-Weidman, 2008), 408–14.

³⁰ See Marc Reydellet, "Les intentions idéologiques et politiques dans la Chronique d'Isidore de Séville," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 82 (1970): 363–400; Jamie Wood, *The politics of identity in Visigothic Spain. Religion and power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 70–2, 121–8.

Asturian Kingdom.³¹ Finally, the *Chronica Prophetica*, copied after the *Chronica Adefonsi III*, announced the final victory of Alfonso III over the Muslims. In the context of this larger compilation, the *Dicta Ezeielis profete* arise as the prophetic culmination of a long historical path, through which all world history tended toward the complete dominion of Spain: by defeating the Muslims, Alfonso III would imitate his ancestors, the Goths, who had in turn overcome the Vandals and Sueves, and the Romans.

In the codex Rotensis, this Oviedan collection was added to Orosius's *Historiae*. Indeed, Orosius was the great interpreter of this *translatio regni* theory in the West, by stating that the leadership of the world had passed from the Babylonians, through Macedonia and Carthage, down to the Romans. Based on the Book of Daniel and in its interpretation by Jerome, History was explained by Orosius through the succession of those four empires.³²

Now, at the end of the tenth century, the compiler of the codex Rotensis still knew how to use this interpretive key. In fact, by associating the collection organized around the *Chronica Prophetica* with Orosius's *Historiae*, the compiler provided the now-new codex with a providentialist tone from the beginning. Moreover, since Orosius's *Historiae* ended in 417/418, the *Historiae Wandalorum et Sueuorum* could be understood as a natural chronological sequence for Orosius's text, without eliminating the *translatio* process: by overcoming the Vandals and the Sueves, the Goths could also be seen as replacing their short dominion in Spain.

That is why, in the codex Rotensis, the list of Asturleonese kings (fol. 189va–b: *Nomina regum Catholicorum Legionesium*) was copied after the *Chronica Prophetica*. After the prediction of the Muslims' final defeat, this list showed once again that the Asturian kings would definitely succeed the Muslims in controlling Iberia. This Asturleonese list ends with Ramiro II.³³ This means that, at least in the middle-second half of the tenth century, this

³¹ Gil, *Chronica Hispana*, 125–7.

³² Cf. Eugenio Corsini, *Introduzione alle «Storie» di Orosio* (Torino: G. Giappichelli, 1968), 157–68; François Paschoud, “La Polemica Providenzialistica di Orosio,” *La Storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità: atti del convegno tenuto in Erice (3–8 XII 1978)*, ed. Salvatore Calderone (Messina: Centro di studi umanistici-Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, 1980), 113–33; Arnaldo Momigliano, “The Origins of Universal History,” *Annali della Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa* 12 (1982): 549–55; Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet, *Orose. Histoire contre les Païens* 1 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1991), XLV–LVIII, LXVI; Hervé Inglebert, *Les Romains Chrétiens face à l'Histoire de Rome* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1996), 519–25.

³³ Francisco Bautista, “Breve historiografía: listas regias y anales en la Península Ibérica (siglos VII–XII),” *Talia dixit* 4 (2009): 131–8.

collection built around the *Chronica prophetica* was still perceived as a set destined to assure a continuous reading of the past which led to the Asturian Kingdom.

The set of royal and county lists related to Pamplona and North-eastern Spain (the *De laude Pampilonae*), copied just after the Asturleonese royal list, makes greater sense in this context. In fact, as I have pointed out, the same process of *translatio imperii* is again supposed in the forged letter in praise of Pamplona explicitly attributed to Emperor Honorius, and in the subsequent royal and county lists of the border regions of the Pyrenees, of strategic interest to the Pamplonan kings. Therefore, since the creation of the world, mentioned by Orosius, and by using a collection forged in Asturias, the codex Rotensis revealed history as a continuous succession of *regna*, until reaching Navarra-Pamplona-La Rioja in the late tenth century, as if the whole preceding story fed into that of the region.

After the *De Laude Pampilonae*: More Lists and Genealogies

Just after the Pamplonan genealogies, the codex was expanded with other new texts:

1) a collection of laterculi and other lists (fols 193ra–194va). This section is composed of a list of the emperors who had persecuted the Christians, which José Carlos Martín called *Annales martyrum codici Rotensis*, and two laterculi of the Visigothic (here referred to as *Nomina Sebigotorum*) and Frankish kings.³⁴ As Francisco Bautista has pointed out, the Visigothic laterculus here is a very corrupted list, from which Kings Theudis, Liuva II, Suinthila and Sisenand are missing.³⁵ The Frankish royal list starts with Charlemagne and goes as far as Lothair of France (954–986).

These two laterculi also appear in manuscript Escorial Z.II.2, fol. 6r–v, a codex from Barcelona, copied in 1012.³⁶ In this manuscript, after the entry

³⁴ José Carlos Martín Iglesias, “Los *Annales martyrum* transmitidos por Madrid, BN, 10029 y Madrid, BRAH, 78: edición, estudio y panorámica de su influencia en la literatura analística latina de la Hispania medieval,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 41 (2011): 318–24.

³⁵ Bautista, “Breve historiografía”, 125 n. 4.

³⁶ Guillermo Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* 4 (Madrid, Imprenta Helénica, 1916), 250–2; Ferran Valls Taberner, “El «Liber Iudicum popularis» de Homobonus de Barcelona,” *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 2 (1925): 200–12; Luis Antonio García Moreno, “Sobre un nuevo ejemplar del Laterculus regum Visigothorum,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 47 (1974): 5–14; Yolanda García López, *Estudios críticos y literarios de la “Lex*

for King Rodrigo there was copied a short reference to the conquest of Barcelona by Louis the Pious, followed by the laterculus of the Frankish kings, this time up to Robert the Pious (996–1031). In Escorial Z.II.2 the copyist clearly wanted to stress the continuity between the Visigoths and the Franks. However, I do not think that this happens in the codex Rotensis. Here, these two lists do not offer a continuous reading either of the previous Asturian-Pamplonan or of the Pamplonan materials. In fact, even if the Visigothic and the Frankish laterculi are the ones copied in Escorial Z.II.2, in the codex Rotensis there is an important difference: at the end of the Visigothic laterculus one clearly insists that *finit regnum Gotorum. Reges Gotorum defecerunt* (fol. 194ra), after the Muslim invasion.³⁷ Therefore, in the codex Rotensis the *Nomina Sebigotorum* expressly refers to the end of the Visigothic rule and does not suppose any continuity between the Visigoths and the Franks.

In addition, between the Visigothic and Frankish royal lists, an *Origo gentis Romanorum* concerning Romulus and Remus was copied in the codex Rotensis, necessarily compromising a sequential chronological reading from one laterculus to the other. Therefore, I maintain that the copyist of Madrid, *RAH Aem.* 78 did not identify any relationship between the Visigothic and the Frankish kings as appears in Escorial, Z.II.2.³⁸

The origin of these lists, copied in codex Rotensis after the *De laude Pampilone*, is most likely north-eastern Iberia and, more specifically, the Catalanian mark. The fact that the *Annales martyrum* were most probably composed in Catalonia³⁹ indicate that all this new material had originated and/or was circulating in the Catalanian mark, where the Frankish influence was very pronounced from the end of the eighth century.

So how can one combine what I have argued earlier, regarding the use in Pamplona of the neo-Gothic *translatio regni* ideology, with this new material explicitly affirming the end of the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo? I believe that this contradiction is only explained if these new laterculi were not understood to be directly connected to the previous collection. In fact,

Wisigothorum” (Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá, 1996), 85–95; Jesús Alturo *et al.*, *El liber iudicum popularis ordenat pel jutge Bonsom de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Justícia i Interior, 2003), 125–35.

³⁷ See Is. *Goth.* 65; Madrid, *RAH Aem.* 39, Part II (2/2 11th c.), fol. 250v: “Tunc Sarraceni, Spania obtenta, regnum Gotorum exterminatur”; and *Chronicon Moissiacense*, MGH SS 1, 290.36: “Sicque regnum Gothorum in Spania finitur”.

³⁸ See Luis Antonio García Moreno, *El fin del reino visigodo de Toledo: decadencia y catastrófe. Una contribución a su crítica* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1975); Deswarte, *De la destruction*, 29–34.

³⁹ Martín, “Los *Annales martyrum*,” 322.

they cut the “narrative”; they also cut its “ideological continuity”, and they have a different provenance. Thus, the great historiographical dossier formed by Orosius’s *Historiae*, the Prophetic collection and the *De laude Pampilone* ends in fol. 192v. After that there was copied what seems to be a Catalonian set of texts. It is evident that the copyist felt that there was a certain affinity between these texts: they were all lists of names, ordered chronologically and/or according to family relationships. However, they were not to be seen as a continuum.

The mise-en-page itself points to this conclusion: in fact, the entire *De laude Pampilone* was copied in a single column. And it is evident that, for some reason, the copyist could not or did not want to copy these texts on Pamplona in more than three folios (fols 190–192): that is why in this collection the last genealogy of the counts of Tolosa has been added, by the same hand, on the left margin of the last folio of the Pamplonan collection (fol. 192v), rather than occupying any part of a new folio. In the new folio (fol. 193r), the *Annales martyrum*, belonging to a new collection not directly related to Pamplona, were copied in two columns.

2) after this Catalonian material, a different new dossier was copied, now organized around the so-called *Genealogia Christi*.⁴⁰ After finishing the Frankish laterculus, the scribe left $\frac{3}{4}$ of fol. 194v blank. The new collection appears, again in a single column, at the beginning of fol. 195r. It consists of seventeen texts, sometimes with images, arranged in three parts:

- eleven ethno-historical-geographical texts (fols 195r–198r): the first two are about the origin of the world and the *gentes* (one of them is pseudo-Isidore’s *De fabrica mundi*; CPL 1229a); six texts have a more geographical character: the description of Spain, copied from Is. or. 4.28–30 (*Exquisitio Spaniae*); two *De laude Spanie* (one is Isidore’s) and three images (accompanied by short texts) of Babylonia, Nineveh and Toledo, which appears as the successor of those ancient empires.⁴¹ Finally, a very short text about the seven wonders of the world and a moral catalogue of humanity were copied (which were also circulating with the *Chronica Albeldensia*), together with a list of the 72 languages of the world;

- at the centre of this new collection there is a very extensive illustration, in several folios, of the *Genealogia Christi*, including an Isidorian description of the world with a famous “T and O” map (fols 200v–201r).⁴²

⁴⁰ Jean-Baptiste Piggin, “The Great Stemma: A Late Antique Diagrammatic Chronicle of Pre-Christian Time,” *Studia Patristica* 62 (2013): 259–78; and his work-in-progress page at <http://www.piggin.net/stemmahistoryTOC.htm>.

⁴¹ Carlos Villamarín, “À l’ombre de Rome.”

⁴² See <http://www.piggin.net/stemmahist/codicoRoda.htm>; Carlos Villamarín, “El códice de Roda.”

This kind of family tree is well known in Iberia: it is usually associated with the Beati (e.g. Madrid, BN Vitr. 14.2, fols 10v–17r; year 1047), and with some Bibles (see the Bible of San Millán, in Madrid, *RAH Aem.* 2, fols 1r–4r; twelfth century *ex.*–thirteenth century *in.*). It is also copied in at least one manuscript from San Salvatore de Monte Amiata, Italy, that used a Visigothic model (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 20.54, fols 38r–45r; beginning of the eleventh century).

After the *Genealogia Christi*, a set of four chronological excerpts was copied (fols 207v–210r):

- an independent version of the *De sexta etate seculi*, much more developed than it usually appears in the *Chronica Albeldensia* (see for instance Madrid, *RAH*, cód. 39, fol. 247rb–va). Its last chronological reference is to year 929 (fol. 207v);

- the *Ordo annorum mundi* (= OAM-4, ed. Martín), ending in 876. The text of the *Ordo annorum mundi* is copied shortly after the *Genealogia Christi*, and was expanded here with a short life of Christ. These two characteristics are shared also by Firenze, Plut. 20.54 fol. 45v and Madrid, *RAH Aem.* 2-3, fol. 4va–b, where the *Ordo annorum mundi* was also copied. The archetype of both the *Genealogia* and the *Ordo annorum mundi* in the codex Rotensis goes back, as Martín has confirmed, to a Visigothic model from 672, which had also been the source used by the Beatus of Liebana's *Commentarium* (776).⁴³ As the *Genealogia Christi* lacks any chronological references, Jean-Baptiste Piggin suggests that the *Ordo annorum mundi* may have been thought of as its chronological complement;⁴⁴

- two texts with complicated chronological calculations about the life of Christ and arguing the impossibility for men of calculating the date of the Parousia.⁴⁵

There is no comprehensive study of this collection. However, it seems clear that, regardless of the fact that it may establish some thematic relations with previous sections, as Villamarín has contended, this is an autonomous geographical and chronological dossier. In the codex Rotensis, these texts and images insert God into history and the world he had created, thereby revealing him as the centre of time and the universe.

⁴³ José Carlos Martín Iglesias, “Ps. Iuliani Toletani episcopi Ordo annorum mundi”, in *Iulianus Toletanus, Felix Toletanus, Iulianus Toletanus (Ps.)*. *Opera II: Elogium Ildefonsi, Vita Iuliani (auctore Felice Toletano), Antikeimena, Fragmenta, Ordo annorum mundi* (CCSL 115B), ed. José Carlos Martín Iglesias (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 269–72.

⁴⁴ See <http://www.piggin.net/stemmahist/oam.htm>.

⁴⁵ Gil Fernández, “Textos olvidados del códice de Roda,” 170–1.

3) After this collection comes a set of religious and theological texts. As noted by Díaz, it is possible that these theological texts, apparently with no historical meaning, comply with an eschatological interest, similar to what is found in the Mozarabic world during the ninth century.⁴⁶ It is possible that these texts came from there. I believe that these theological texts can also provide history with a religious dimension, reaffirming the Adamic fall and, before the imminent end of the world, assuring of the second coming of Christ and the salvation.

Closing the Stage: the Last Pamplonan Section (fols 231r–232v)

At the very end of the codex, one finds new texts about Pamplona. The first is a short chronicle formed by ten notices from the end of the ninth century up to the death of a certain “Ranimirus”, who is said to be queen Toda’s grandson.⁴⁷ Half of the first notice is not recoverable: the upper left edge of the folio is ripped. It refers to an alliance (*coniunctio*) between a certain *Adefonsus Astu[ricensis]*, probably King Alfonso III of Oviedo, and an unknown person, perhaps the Pamplonan caudillo Fortún Garcés (882–905). The purpose of this alliance is now lost with the ripped part of the folio. It possibly intended to fight the leader of the Banu-Qasi, Muhammad ibn Lupp. In fact, the next four notices are about this particular character, who died in 898, and his son, Lubb ibn Muhammad (who, according to the text, died in 908). Therefore, (almost) half of this small chronicle refers not to the Christian kings of Pamplona, but to the Muslim rulers of the Upper Ebro before the Christian conquest. After Lubb ibn Muhammad, the following five notices are about the Pamplonan kings of the Jimena dynasty: Sancho Garcés I, Jimeno Garcés, García Sanchez I (whose death is placed in 962), and the deaths of Queen Toda (undated) and Ramiro, *nepus eius* (also undated). This short series presents the kings of Pamplona as successors not of the ninth-century Christian leaders of the region, but of the Banu Qasi clan who had dominated La Rioja and Zaragoza between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries.

The last two references, about Toda and Ramiro, confirm the political centrality of Queen Toda, Sancho Garcés I’s wife, whose ascendancy was already relevant in the genealogies of Pamplona copied in the codex. Her death was considered important enough to be registered, along with the

⁴⁶ Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, 35.

⁴⁷ Lacarra, “Textos navarros,” 255, edits the first date as *DCCC[C]XXXVIII*, but today the manuscript is difficult to read.

kings of Pamplona. Ramiro, certainly Ramiro of Viguera, is referred to only in his capacity as Toda's grandson and not as the second son of King García Sanchez I. Toda had been buried in Suso, San Millán, which could perhaps again relate this monastery to the copying of the codex, as I have suggested above. Sancho Garcés II, Ramiro's brother and effective king of Pamplona, is not even mentioned. This absence may perhaps be explained by the fact that Sancho was still alive when this chronicle was finished. Although politically subordinate to his elder brother, Ramiro also had the royal title (which he transmitted to his descendants) and he was a central figure in the context of the monasteries of La Rioja, as can be seen in manuscript Escorial d.I.2. In any case, it is certain that this chronicle was written shortly after Ramiro's death, which was considered significant enough to deserve the final reference of the text.

Also copied after this chronicle was the *Initium regnum Pampilonam*, which can also be read in Escorial d.I.2 (see above). The text copied in the codex Rotensis was remodelled. The two notices on Sancho Garcés I and García Sanchez I were also included here, now with the information that García Sanchez I died in 970 (in Escorial d.I.2 this date is written in the margin of the folio). This text may have also included the same final paragraph on Sancho Garcés II and Ramiro of Viguera copied in the Escorial d.I.2. However, probably at the end of the eleventh century, some copyist erased it. In its place and in the space left blank at the end of the folio, he continued the chronology, in a smaller script, until the battle of Sagrajas (1086). He was a poor historian: he confused Sancho Garcés II and Sancho III, the Great, and did not count the reign of García Sanchez II.

I do not know why it is that at the end of the tenth century, after the religious texts, a copyist decided to copy into the codex Rotensis these other historical texts which had not been included before among the other Pamplonan material. Nevertheless, this new compiler understood that the codex Rotensis had been thus far an eminently historiographic manuscript, in which the kingdom of Pamplona played a fundamental role. This codex was seen as a kind of repository of texts related to the recent monarchy of Pamplona, either because it compiled texts on the history of the world before the advent of the Pamplonan kings, or because it compiled all the older texts of the realm. That short *Initium* follows this criterion: it performs no other function except to provide further information on the early governors of La Rioja.

The same must be said of the list of the bishops of Pamplona, which is copied without a title in fol. 231v. Since part of the folio is missing, the beginning of the text is mutilated. The list transmitted eight names and ended with the ordination of Sisebutus, abbot of San Millán, as bishop of

Pamplona on January 1, 988. In 1020, two new names were added (one of them is a certain *comes Martinus*) and, probably a little later, the reference to the death of a third bishop in 1021. It is not clear whether these additions still refer to Pamplonan characters or not. Regarding the first eight names, this seems a text written from scratch directly into this codex: indeed, the copyist was still working on the list when he copied it because he deliberately left several dates blank. He probably intended to complete them in the future.

The last text copied is the famous *Versi domna Leodegundia regina*.⁴⁸ They confirm again the *coniunctio* between Pamplona and Oviedo/Leon, this time through a marriage. This is a composition of 87 verses, distributed through 29 rhythmic stanzas whose initials form the acrostic *Leodegundia pulcra Ordonii filia*. The text is an epithalamium about young Leodegundia's wedding with an anonymous king of Pamplona. No one knows for sure who this Leodegundia was. She is usually identified as Ordoño I of Leon's daughter, probably married to one of the Pamplonan caudillos of the second half of the ninth century, perhaps García Iñiguez or Fortún Garcés. In any case, there is no consensus as to the identity of this princess who is known to us from no other source; perhaps she can also be identified with the Leodegundia responsible for manuscript Escorial a.I.13, a *codex regularum* copied in 912 in Bibadilla, Galicia (?), and containing lives of the Holy Fathers and some holy women, together with some letters of Jerome, Augustine and Leander of Seville. The literary topics of the *Versi Leodegundia* are the most common: the praise of the princess' ancestors; her high virtues; the wish for offspring; the joy of the realm at receiving her; the reference to the queen's endeavours with the poor and orphans; the praise of her religiosity; the vows for her eternal salvation. Regardless of who Leodegundia really was, the copyist who decided to copy this poem at the end of the codex Rotensis did so because he considered that this *Leodegundia regina* had actually been an important character for Pamplona. Indeed, there was a thematic affinity between this text and the whole codex: Leodegundia was an Asturian historical character; and she had been Queen of Pamplona. Therefore, despite being a poetic composition and not strictly a historiographical text, it could well be fitted into a repository of historical knowledge built around the Kingdom of Pamplona.

Moreover, the presentation of Leodegundia as "Ordoño's daughter" again established a close relationship between Pamplona and Asturias which preceded the copy of the codex by perhaps one hundred years. This addition confirms once again that the scribes of Pamplona did not intend to

⁴⁸ Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, 38–42; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "El matrimonio de la reina Leodegundia," *Medievalia* 10 (1992): 451–4.

construct their own identity separately from Oviedo's, but rather to express, in laudatory tones, their close relationship with this neighbouring kingdom.

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A codex is rarely a product of chance: it is an expensive and often gilded tool and, as is the case here, a repository of the available knowledge on one or several subjects. For that reason, too, it could be an extremely precious resource. Most of the time, medieval historiographical codices can be interpreted as a whole narrative, their sense readable variously from the individual texts, by following one of the collections, or sometimes by reading from the first to the last text in a continuum. Several syntheses and compilations were produced in Medieval Iberia, with more or less universalistic intentions, based on Eusebius/Jerome's text, or selecting, epitomizing or amplifying information, or adding other texts. To a large extent, it was not just a matter of literary style; it is the conception of history and its writing as an abbreviated and easy accessible text that is revealed here.

Our codex Rotensis depends on a conception of history as a continuous succession of *regna*, just as Orosius's own *Historiae* had theorized. In fact, in the Mozarabic world, John of Biclar's *Chronica* and Isidore's *Historiae* had already been taken by the *Chronica Byzantia-Arabica* and by the *Chronica Muzarabica a. 754* to present Muslims as the real successors of the Visigoths in Spain. In Oviedo, the Albeldensis collection did exactly the same thing, also abbreviating short Visigothic and Muslim texts in order to argue that the Asturian kings succeeded both Visigoths and Muslims in overcoming them. In the codex Rotensis, Pamplona achieved what had hitherto been the standard Iberian ideological use of history: in La Rioja, during Sancho Garcés II's reign, perhaps under the direction of Bishop Sisebutus of Pamplona, some monk took a foreign collection announcing the final victory of Alfonso III over the Muslims, and adapted its ideological principles to the new reality of Pamplona.

This process of building a codex is exactly the same as for the codex copied in Albelda, the El Escorial d.I.2, twenty years earlier. With a similar ideological programme, both manuscripts are based on an external collection of texts: the *Chronica Albeldensis*; or the *Chronica Prophetica* and the texts that shaped it. Both collections come to La Rioja from Oviedo where they had been formed in the same context of the reign of Alfonso III. The copyists of Pamplona now used these foreign collections to the advantage of their own kingdom. Even if Pamplona was not in open conflict with the Kingdom of Asturias at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, its political identity-building process was by then clearly conceived in emulation of the neighbouring kingdom of Leon, by showing

that the Kingdom of Pamplona had with time surpassed its Asturian neighbour. In that sense, this codex is a quite coherent instrument: with their neighbours' textual weapons, the copyists of La Rioja fashioned a new ideological legitimizing instrument through which they intended to appropriate the neo-Gothic ideology of the Kingdom of Oviedo. The construction of Madrid, *RAH*, cód. 78 was ultimately meant to show that the Asturian kings were mistaken, and sought to affirm the kingdom of Pamplona as the culmination of a historical process and, thereby, its superiority over the remaining neighbouring powers.

PART I

Orosius, *Historiae* (CPL 571) ff. 1r-155r

PART II

1. ['Prophetic' collection]⁴⁹ [ff. 156r-189va]
 - Isidore of Seville, *Historiae Wandalorum et Sueuorum* (CPL 1204) ff. 156r-158v
 - Isidore of Seville, *Chronica* (CPL 1205) ff. 159r-167r
 - Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum* (CPL 1204) ff. 167r-176v
 - Apocalypsis Sancti Methodii* [excerpta] (ed. Aerts-Kortekaas, 1998) ff. 177r-177v
 - Chronica Adefonsi III – Rotensis* (Díaz 519) ff. 178r-185r
 - Tultu sceptru de libro domini nostri Metobii* (Díaz 469) f. 185v
 - [*Chronica Prophetica*]:
 - Dicta de Ezeielis profete* (Díaz 521) ff. 186r-187r
 - Genealogia Sarrazenorum* (Díaz 522) f. 187r
 - Storia de Mahometh* [pseudopropheta] (Díaz 461) ff. 187r-188r
 - Ratio Sarrazenorum de sua ingressione in Spania* (Díaz 523) f. 188v
 - De Goti qui remanserint ciuitates Ispaniensis* (Díaz 524) ff. 188v-189ra
 - Laterculus of the Muslim governors (ed. Gil, 2018) f. 189ra-b
 - Laterculus of the Emirs of Cordoba (ed. Gil, 2018) f. 189rb
 - <*Explanatio*> inc. *Remanent usque ad diem sancti Martini*; expl. *ipse qui uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum amen* f. 189rb-va
2. *Nomina regum Catholicorum Legionensium* (Díaz 568) f. 189va-b
3. *De laude Pampilone* [ff. 190r-192v]
 - Epistola Honorii imperatoris* f. 190r
 - De laude Pampilone* (Díaz 400) f. 190r-v
 - Ordo numerum regum Pampilonensium* (Díaz 615) f. 191r-v
 - Item alia parte regum* (Díaz 616) ff. 191v-192r
 - Genera comitum Aragonensium* (Díaz 617) f. 192r-v
 - Nomina comitum Paliarensium* (Díaz 618) f. 192v
 - Nomina comitum Guasconiensium* (Díaz 619) f. 192v

⁴⁹ Rodrigo Furtado, "The *Chronica Prophetica* in MS. Madrid, *RAH* Aem. 78," in *Forme di accesso al sapere in età tardoantica e altomedievale VI*, ed. Lucio Cristante and Vanni Veronesi (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2016), 75–100.

- Nomina comitum Tolosanensium* (Díaz 620) f. 192v *marg.*
4. Catalanian (?) collection of laterculi and lists [ff. 193ra-194va]
Annales martyrum (ed. Martín, 2011) f. 193ra-va
Nomina sanctorum qui in arcibo Toletano repperta sunt f. 193va *marg.*
 inc. *Teudoricus ipse construxit ciuitas Niniue primus; expl. qui habebat quinque milia passos et CCLXXXIII* f. 193vb *marg.*
Nomina Sebigoatorum (Díaz 241) ff. 193vb-194ra
De origine Romanorum f. 194ra-b
De reges Francorum f. 194rb-va
 5. Collection surrounding the *Genealogia Christi* [ff. 195r-210r]
 inc. *Agnoscamus generationes quod processerunt a Noe; expl. usque ad Christum natiuitatem anni VLXLVIII* f. 195r
 ps.-Isidorus, *De fabrica mundi* (CPL 1229b) f. 195r-v
 Isidorus, *De laude Spaniae* (CPL 1204) ff. 195v-196r
Exquisitio Spaniae (= *Chronica Albeldensia*) f. 196r-v
De septem miracula (= *Chronica Albeldensia*) f. 196v
De proprietatibus gentium (= *Chronica Albeldensia*) f. 196v
De LXXII generationes linguarum f. 196v
Item de uitulorum carnibus putridis nascuntur apes, de quibus scarabei, de mulis locuste, de cancris scorpiones. f. 196v *add.*
 Images of Babylonia, Nineveh and Toledo, with short texts. ff. 197r-198r
De laude Hispaniae (Díaz 526) f. 198r
Genealogia Christi ff. 198v-200r;
 201v-207v
De orbe terre ff. 200v-201r
Ordo annorum mundi (CPL 1266b) ff. 208r-209r
De sexta etate seculi ff. 207v-208r
De natiuitate et passione et resurrectione Domini f. 209r-v
De fine mundi (ed. Gil, 1971) ff. 209v-210r
 6. Religious and theological texts (e.g. Díaz 406, 623) [ff. 210v-230v]
 7. Second Pamplonan collection [ff. 231r-232v]
Chronicon Pampilonense (Díaz 698) f. 231r
Initium regum Pampilonam=<Additio de regibus Pampilonensibus> (Díaz 830) f. 231r
Necrologium episcopale Pampilonense (Díaz 716) f. 231v
Versi donna Leodegundia regina (Díaz 592) f. 232r-v

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CHAPTER 4

EARLY ALLIENCES AND LONG-STANDING ENEMIES: THE PRODUCTION OF MANUSCRIPTS AS EVIDENCE OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN LEÓN CATHEDRAL AND THE SAHAGÚN ABBEY (ELEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)

LETICIA AGÚNDEZ SAN MIGUEL¹

The long jurisdictional conflict between the bishopric of León and the Abbey of Sahagún left its marks not only in the judicial sources but also in the production of manuscripts whose making and original purpose are directly involved in the development of this dispute. Despite different strategies behind their creation, the similarity of these manuscripts' subject matter and dates reveal the priority given this issue by the two institutions, and the documental competition between both scriptoria.

Introduction

The delimitation of different ecclesiastical institutions' jurisdictions was a constant cause of conflict throughout the Middle Ages, as scholars in many countries have demonstrated.² The Iberian Peninsula does not escape this

¹ This contribution is part of the research project *Scriptoria, lenguajes y espacio agrario en la Alta Edad Media*, (HAR2017-86502-P), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness.

² Linda McMillin, "Gender and Monastic Autonomy in Thirteenth-Century Barcelona: abbess vs. bishop," *Journal of Medieval History* 18:3 (1992): 267–78; Ulrich Rasche, "The Early Phase of Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval England," *Journal of Medieval History* 26:3 (2000): 213–37; Pierre Chastang, "Mémoire des moines et mémoire des chanoines: réforme, production textuelle et référence au passé carolingien en Bas-Languedoc (XI^e–XII^e siècles)," in *L'autorité du passé dans*

generalisation, as shown by the large volume of documentation generated in the course of lawsuits that are still conserved (in the form of a sentence, inquiry or other) in our archives.³ In the case of the diocese of León, researchers' interest has focused particularly on the tension resulting from the co-existence of the first competent ecclesiastical institution, the bishopric of León, with one of the most important monasteries in the area, Sahagún Abbey.⁴ The conflict between these two establishments over their respective jurisdictions lasted from the late eleventh to the early fourteenth

les sociétés médiévales, ed. Jean-Marie Sansterre (Brussels: Institut historique belge de Rome, 2004), 177–202.

³ Pablo Díaz Bodegas, “La disputa cluniacense-obispado de Calahorra por la posesión de Santa María la Real de Nájera (1079–1224). Mas de cien años de conflicto jurisdiccional en la Diócesis de Calahorra por una disposición real,” *Berceo* 126 (1994): 89–119; Tomás Lerena Guinea, “El conflicto jurisdiccional entre el obispado de Calahorra y los clérigos de Santa Cruz con los monjes cluniacenses de Santa María de Nájera (siglos XIV–XV),” in *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV*, ed. José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (La Rioja: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004), 497–518; José Antonio Calvo Gómez, “El reiterado conflicto sobre la jurisdicción eclesiástica entre el obispado de Ávila y el abad de Burgohondo (siglos XI–XIX),” *Anthologica annua* (2005): 247–435; David Peterson, “Reescribiendo el pasado: el “Becerro Galicano” como reconstrucción de la historia institucional de San Millán de la Cogolla,” *Hispania* 69:233 (2009): 653–82; Mariel Pérez, “Aristocracia, monasterios particulares y poder episcopal en el reino de León: los monasterios de los Flaínez,” *Trabajos y comunicaciones Segunda Época* 39 (2013): 165–89; Francesco Renzi, “The Bone of the Contention: Cistercians, bishops and papal exemption. The case of the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela (1150–1250),” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5:1 (2013): 47–68; Carlos Manuel Reglero de la Fuente, *Amigos exigentes, servidores infieles. La crisis de la orden de Cluny en España (1270–1379)* (Madrid: CSIC, 2013), 133–49.

⁴ Carlos Manuel Reglero de la Fuente, “La querrela entre el Abad de Sahagún y el Obispo de León: recuerdos de un enfrentamiento (1215),” in *Escritos dedicados a José María Fernández Catón*, ed. Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 2004), 1149–76; Vicente Álvarez Palenzuela, “Jurisdicción episcopal y monástica. Su delimitación entre el Obispado de León y el monasterio de Sahagún,” in *Escritos dedicados a José María Fernández Catón*, ed. Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 2004), 65–86; Tomás Villacorta Rodríguez, “Conflictos de jurisdicción entre el Obispado de León y el Abad de monasterio de Sahagún,” in *Escritos dedicados a José María Fernández Catón*, ed. Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 2004), 1445–96; Fernando Luis Corral, “Propiedad y derechos eclesiásticos en Villavicencio: un litigio entre el abad de Sahagún y el episcopado leonés,” *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III. Historia Medieval* 16 (2003): 169–76.

centuries. However, it should be pointed out that it is not only the judicial sources directly involved in this conflict that are relevant for its understanding, as has traditionally been thought. Indeed, the jurisdictional competition between these two institutions was written down not only in the form of confirmation of privileges, but also, as will be shown here, in manuscripts that are an equally valuable source.⁵ Thus the study of two monastic cartularies, the *Becerro gótico* and the *Becerro segundo*, along with the cathedral cartulary and a parish record, the so-called *Tumbo legionense* and the *Becerro de presentaciones*, provide information not only about the capacity of these two institutions as producers of manuscripts but also about the implications of the dispute for the aims of their production.

The emergence of the Conflict and the Production of the First Manuscripts

To understand the beginnings of the two establishments' relationship, it is necessary to go back to the early tenth century, when the first documentary evidence refers to the Abbey's vital collaboration with the bishopric owing to the lack of a parish network.⁶ Although the bishopric of León was founded in the mid-ninth century, at that time its existence must have been rather theoretical, without the actual organisation which did not begin to form until the second decade of the tenth century. In contrast, Sahagún Abbey has its origins in the tradition of the martyrdom of the Brothers Facundus and Primitivus, and the erection of a chapel in the middle of the fourth century at the site of their veneration.⁷ However, it is not until the

⁵ For examples of the production and use of cartularies in jurisdictional conflicts see Laurent Morelle, "Moines de Corbie sous influence sandionysienne? Les préparatifs corbéiens du synode romain de 1065," in *L'Eglise de France et la papauté (X^e-XII^e siècle)*, ed. Rolf Grosse (Bonn: Studien und Dokumente zur Gallia Pontificia, 1993), 197–218; Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 64–65; Maria João Branco, "Constructing Legitimacy and Using Authority: the production of cartularies in Braga during the twelfth century," in *Erinnerung, Niederschrift, Nutzung: Das Papsttum und die Schriftlichkeit im mittelalterlichen Westeuropa*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Ingo Fleisch (Berlin/New York: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 2011), 31–62.

⁶ Álvarez Palenzuela, "Jurisdicción episcopal y monástica," 66–7.

⁷ Regarding this establishment's sacred origins see José María Fernández Catón "Datos para la historia del martirio y culto de las reliquias de los mártires leoneses Facundo y Primitivo," in *Bivium. Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz*, ed. AA.VV. (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), 67–79.

early tenth that documentary evidence presents the Abbey as owning several properties. Even if in this century the monks extended their possessions in several parts of the diocese, exercising their power without the bishop's authorisation, the first information about the institutions' relationship reveals attempts at collaboration. In the Monastery's collection of documents, this supposedly harmonious cooperation is attested by the Leónese bishops' donations to the Monastery throughout the tenth century, even though it has been demonstrated that some of these charters were produced in a campaign of documentary falsification in the Monastery's scriptorium during the late eleventh century.⁸ Among the dubious documents, for example, is one with the date of 921, conserved only in the first monastic cartulary describing the Leonese Bishop Fruminio's false concession of the tithes from a series of churches over which the bishopric supposedly claimed rights more than 150 years later.⁹

This document raises significant suspicions over its authenticity and has consequently been considered completely false. The first doubt arises because tithes were not institutionalised in the Kingdom of León until the Gregorian reform, and therefore this diploma's possible dates of issue would be over a century later. The use of the term *decimis* in the Abbey's documentation reveals that (apart from the document in question) the first diploma containing it is a privilege granted by Pope Urban II in 1095. The second element in the diploma that creates reticence is the appearance, twice, of the expression *ius episcopalis* and its corresponding *ius regalis*. Tracing these in the Sahagún documentation shows that, this dubious concession aside, the first document in which *ius episcopalis* appears is dated 1091, containing Archbishop Bernardo's abovementioned arbitration sentence. In turn, the nearest expression to *ius regalis* is *iugo regalis*, which is found in the town charter granted by King Alfonso VI in 1085, a document also regarded as suspicious. These expressions are therefore of the age of the Gregorian reform. This evidence suggests that Fruminio's supposed donation is false, perhaps based on an authentic one containing much smaller concessions, and drafted during the reform in order to favour the Abbey's interests in its conflict with the cathedral. While the document itself only guaranteed ownership of the disputed possessions, it more importantly established a precedent for the Abbey's privilege of receiving

⁸ Leticia Agúndez San Miguel, "Escritura, memoria y conflicto entre el monasterio de Sahagún y la catedral de León: nuevas perspectivas para el aprovechamiento de los falsos diplomáticos (siglos X a XII)," *Medievalismo* 19 (2009): 261–85.

⁹ José María Mínguez Fernández, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún. I (Siglos IX–X)* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1976), no. 28.

tithes, both because of the date of the concession and the donor's importance. The contents of many of the manipulated documents in the first folios of the cartulary are directly related to the rest of the properties under litigation.

The production of this earlier monastic cartulary, titled *Liber testamentorum Sancti Facundi* but better known as *Becerro gótico of Sahagún*, finished in the year 1110.¹⁰ Held in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, it is one of the oldest cartularies of the Kingdom of León and Castile to be preserved.¹¹ The physical structure of this voluminous codex,

¹⁰ These dates are only valid for the first stage in the production of this cartulary, that is, the original corpus, which is characterised by the compilation of most of the documentation that had been conserved. Indeed, to understand the totality and complexity of this cartulary's method of production, it is important to assess the group of documents copied later in booklet thirty-one. The second phase of production began with fol. 238 and consists of a series of mostly royal documents, dated from the late tenth to the second half of the thirteenth centuries. These documents were added to this cartulary over a long period of time, between the mid-thirteenth and the late fifteenth centuries. This second stage consists of an unconnected series of documents which were copied into the cartulary and justified for various reasons. Most of them are diplomas issued by kings and popes, acting as guarantees of the Abbey's rights and properties that were causes of litigation for various reasons. Indeed, the fact that some of these documents were copied into the manuscript a few years, or immediately, after they were promulgated, shows the urgency that forced the monks at Sahagún to validate their contents by incorporating them into this codex, which already enjoyed the recognition of age and prestige. Consequently, the material justification for this second stage lies in the continual documentary guarantee required by the community of monks and the lack of another cartulary that might satisfy this need. José Antonio Fernández Flórez and Marta Herrero de la Fuente, "Libertades de los copistas en la confección de cartularios: el caso del Becerro Gótico de Sahagún," in *Scrivi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copista dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, ed. Emma Condello and Giuseppe de Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1993), 301–18; Marta Herrero de la Fuente, "Del Becerro Gótico de Sahagún al Tumbo Legionense y al Libro de las Estampas," in *La escritura de la memoria: los cartularios*, ed. Elena Rodríguez and Antonio C. García (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2011), 111–52; Luis Romera Iruela, "El Becerro Gótico de Sahagún: Esbozo de estudio codicográfico," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 18 (1988): 23–41; Sonia Serna Serna, "Munio y el Becerro Gótico, de Sahagún: una muestra de su actividad como copista," in *El monacato en los reinos de León y Castilla (siglos VII–XIII)*, ed. José Ignacio Ruiz (Ávila: Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 2005), 426–36; Barbara Shailor, "The Scriptorium of San Sahagún. A Period of Transition," in *The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, ed. Bernard Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 41–61.

¹¹ A.H.N., Códices y Cartularios. L. 989.

consisting of thirty complete quires and one incomplete, did not condition the later distribution of its 994 documents (of which over 60% are only preserved in its folios). Written in Visigothic script, this compilation is traditionally believed to have been copied by a single scribe, the Monk Munio, who worked in the scriptorium at Sahagún from at least 1102 until 1115. It is important to bear in mind that this cartulary represents the Abbey's greatest effort to manage its possessions and re-construct its historical memory until the time it was completed. Consequently, the inclusion in its first folios of privileges and grants issued by Leonese monarchs and bishops, forged during the above-mentioned documentary manipulations with supposed dates between the early tenth and the late eleventh centuries, reveals their importance to the strategic discourse crafted by the cartulary.

The laborious writing of this huge manuscript cannot have been lightly undertaken and its motivation should be sought in the tensions with the bishopric. After the original phase of collaboration between these institutions, indeed, the bishopric's improved control of the diocese in the late eleventh century (owing to the financial need to increase its income) led to a drastic change in their relationship. Certainly, the previous cooperation began to disintegrate with the materialisation of the first reform measures in the diocese of León and the strengthening of episcopal power personified in the figure of Bishop Pelayo (1065–1085). His work began with the material restoration of León cathedral and continued with the imposition of a reform programme concentrating particularly on ensuring the receipt of rents from the diocese's dependent churches. In attempting this, he soon encountered the problem that the churches in Sahagún did not pay the corresponding tithes to the bishop. Another factor stemmed from a pivotal moment in the history of Sahagún Abbey: an exemption from all civil and ecclesiastic authority, and direct dependence on the Holy See, granted by Gregory VII in the year 1083.¹² This measure noticeably and in particular harmed Bishop Pelayo and his successor Pedro (1087–1112). The inclusion of this papal privilege in the second folio of the *Becerro gótico*, together with false royal and episcopal diplomas, constitutes a claim to monastic independence.

The Leonese bishopric's foreseeable opposition to the papal concession is attested in the sentence passed in 1091 by Bernardo, Archbishop of Toledo and former Abbot at Sahagún, which put an end to the episcopal

¹² Marta Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún. II (1000–1073), III (1073–1109)*, (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1988), no. 809.

claims upon the payment of tithes.¹³ This diploma's inclusion on the sixth folio of the monastic cartulary shows its importance to the monastic community. The cathedral scriptorium, during this time of compulsory adherence to the Archbishop's sentence, in turn produced the cartulary known as the *Tumbo Legionense*, which contains over a thousand documents and was concluded in the year 1124.¹⁴ The main reason for its production was connected to the reform of the cathedral chapter and the separation of income. Regarding the litigation with Sahagún Abbey, the bishopric's disadvantaged position is clear since it copies the archbishop's sentence on fol. 79 of the manuscript. Nevertheless, this initial agreement remained in force for over 75 years, during which neither institution neglected the ratification or enlargement of its privileges through several papal bulls. The Abbey's perceptible triumph in the first stage of this jurisdictional conflict is based on a skilfully written defence that recreated its past through the placement of false diplomas in the *Becerro Gótico*. Certainly, it was the need to justify the ownership of those properties, many of which lacked documentary evidence proving their dependence on the Abbey, which led to the task of creating documents, culminating in the production of this cartulary. However, this project's intentions were not restricted to legitimising the ownership of the disputed possessions. It formed part of the Abbey's higher goal to free its rights of ecclesiastical exemption from the claims of the Leonese bishopric. Consequently, this cartulary was both an instrument for legitimising the Abbey's ambitions and a reflection of its vulnerability to these pressures.¹⁵

Both institutions' ceaseless requests for diplomas of papal protection from the mid-twelfth century onwards indicate the growing tension which is also seen, for example, in Alexander III's confirmation of the monastic exemption in 1161, and his ratification of the cathedral privileges two years later, particularly of its rights over the churches belonging to Sahagún

¹³ Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática*, no. 885. Bernardo decided that the Abbot of Sahagún should make an inventory of the churches from which the bishopric should not claim tithes, as it was an "ancient custom" that they were paid to the Abbey.

¹⁴ Archivo de la Catedral de León. Códice 11. José María Fernández Catón, "El "Tumbo Legionense". Notas sobre su origen, redacción, estructura, contenido y utilización," in *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Latín Medieval Hispánico*, ed. Aires Nascimento and Paulo Farmhouse (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Classicos, 2006), 415–34; Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática*, 132–43.

¹⁵ Cathedral documentation still extant does not contain any references to the properties and rights under litigation, parallel to those studied in the case of the Abbey.

Abbey.¹⁶ The unrest became evident in 1177, when Alexander III entrusted the bishops of Segovia and Oviedo with resolving the dispute between the two institutions. This papal initiative was unsuccessful, as attested by the nomination of new judges by the same Pope four years later, and three years after that by Lucius III. The reason for this apparent ineffectiveness was the non-collaboration of the monastic authorities. Later, Celestine III's intervention in this matter clearly favoured the monks' ambitions. Through several privileges granted in 1194, he confirmed the monastic rights and included a long list of churches traditionally exempt from paying tithes to the bishop, such as those of the burgh and surrounding possessions, while stating that the others should pay the same as they had for the last forty years.¹⁷ The designation of Innocent III as pope saw an immediate reaction from the bishop of León, who began a new chapter in the legal process which (not without its difficulties) achieved the presentation of witnesses by both parties and a new papal sentence in 1216.¹⁸ This recognised the episcopal rights since it restricted the exemption to the burgh of Sahagún, and allowed the bishop to exercise his rights in the surrounding area and other churches, albeit moderating their tithes. The cathedral's apparent triumph, supported by the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council which restricted the invasion of bishoprics by some abbots, is regarded as the first legal landmark on the way to resolving the dispute. However, its application was limited by obstacles set by the monks, resulting in a new arbitration sentence three years later that reduced part of the episcopal claims.¹⁹ This agreement seemed to put an end to the long dispute, despite monastic attempts to challenge it by asking successive popes to limit the recognition of episcopal jurisdiction.

New Manuscripts as Evidence of the Strengthening of the Dispute

Against this background of apparent harmony the cathedral scriptorium began one of its most ambitious projects, the codex known as the *Becerro*

¹⁶ José Antonio Fernández Flórez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún. IV (1110–1199), V (1200–1300)* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 1991), nos 1338, 1347–48, 1354.

¹⁷ Fernández Flórez, *Colección diplomática*, 199 and nos 1487–92.

¹⁸ José María Fernández Catón, *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León VI (1188–1230)* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 1991), no. 1849.

¹⁹ Fernández Flórez, *Colección diplomática*, no. 1620.

de presentaciones.²⁰ Considered a parish record, this was intended to include all the churches in the bishopric and the corresponding rights of presentation. In the manuscript it states that it was written in the year 1468, although a little further on it explains that it is a faithful copy of the “Old Becerro” that was in such a poor condition as to be in danger of becoming unusable. This remark and other reasons allow its editor, José Antonio Fernández Flórez, to conclude that the manuscript “reflects the situation of the Leonese diocese in the mid-thirteenth century, and the additions or omissions carried out in the fifteenth century were in any case minimal”.²¹ Its apparent concern for systematic administration attests the episcopal assertion of jurisdiction in the area of its diocese. As pointed out above, this lay at the root of its long dispute with Sahagún Abbey, and also of numerous lawsuits between the cathedral and other monasteries and councils, such as the Monastery of San Isidoro in León.²² Additionally, the financial difficulties of the Leonese bishopric in the mid-thirteenth century must have forced it to keep a careful watch over benefices.²³ By writing this manuscript the conflict with Sahagún Abbey was, from the episcopal point of view, stabilised. Through this compilation, and in accordance with the latest papal decisions, the bishopric defined the rights it firmly believed it possessed, in a skilful deployment of the codex as an instrument of institutional administration and defence. Consequently, the *Becerro de presentaciones* reflects the status quo of the two institutions’ relationship in the mid-thirteenth century, when episcopal intentions appeared to receive support. However, the monks at Sahagún neither ceased their efforts to change the situation nor hesitated to produce a new cartulary bringing their claims up to date.

The late thirteenth-century production of the *Becerro segundo* by the Monastery scriptorium represents an attempt to renew the textual strategy devised by the monks in the writing of the *Becerro gótico*. It is not therefore by chance that the inclusion of documents in the first cartulary came to an end, abruptly, at the same time as the opening of the new codex. The corpus

²⁰ Archivo de la Catedral de León, código 13.

²¹ José Antonio Fernández Flórez, “El Becerro de Presentaciones. Código 13 del Archivo de la Catedral de León,” in *León y su Historia. Miscelánea histórica* 5, ed. AA. VV. (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 1984), 265–565.

²² Therese Martín, “La rivalidad entre la Catedral y San Isidoro a la luz de las fuentes (ss. XI–XIII),” in *La Catedral de León en la Edad Media*, ed. Joaquín Yarza Luaces *et al.* (León: Universidad de León, 2004), 509–18.

²³ Peter Linehan, “La iglesia de León a mediados del siglo XIII,” in *León y su Historia. Miscelánea histórica de temas leoneses* 3, ed. AA. VV. (León: Universidad de León, 1975), 16–9.

of this cartulary, also conserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, mainly consists of documents copied entirely between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.²⁴ Of the 86 documents copied in this register, over 22% are conserved uniquely in its folios. The production of its central corpus took place from the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries and covers folios 1 through to 53, although its study reveals diplomas, especially in its final folios, that were copied between the mid-fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Consequently, this second cartulary is less uniform in composition than the first since it received several additions after the completion of its original corpus.²⁵ As the documents in this cartulary are in practice restricted to papal and royal privileges and confirmations, it may for its part possibly be described as a cartulary-dossier.²⁶ Hence, this second compilation is organised by theme rather than the topographic order in the first cartulary, and is arranged in defensive dossiers that emphasise the conflicts between the Abbey and the surrounding powers. In addition, this new cartulary displays an evolution in the formal and functional logic of its production; it also omits the references to the Abbey's remote past, and therefore excludes the false documents written to legitimise its foundation which had held such an important place in the first cartulary.

The conflict with the Leonese bishopric is especially prominent in the folios of the *Beccero Segundo*, as the defence of the ecclesiastical exemption takes up the largest part of its discourse. Specifically promoted is the jurisdictional exemption enjoyed by the Abbey since the time of Gregory VII's concession, through 32 papal diplomas arranged in two series of documents from folios 4 to 15 and 45 to 46, respectively. The first series includes diplomas awarded up to 1236 and reflects a quite exhaustive review of the popes who gave their support to the Abbey. These are not arranged in chronological order, but in a way that favours the argument of monastic hegemony, following Gregory VII's grant of direct subordination to the Holy See which opens this first section. In turn, the second series adds documents issued between 1236 and 1260, including diplomas from Gregory IX, Innocent IV and Alexander IV. These are not in chronological

²⁴ A.H.N., Códices y cartularios. L. 988.

²⁵ Leticia Agúndez San Miguel, "Estudio de las transformaciones formales y funcionales en el género de los cartularios: el ejemplo de los becerros del monasterio de Sahagún (siglos XI–XIV)," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 7:1 (2015): 44–56; Leticia Agúndez San Miguel, "Análisis de las dinámicas de producción formal y funcional de un cartulario tardío: el ejemplo del Becerro Segundo de Sahagún," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 47:2 (2017): 499–531.

²⁶ For the cartulary-dossier typology see Laurent Morelle, "Moines de Corbie," 214–28.

order either but provide a coherent account opposing Leonese aspirations on the questions of patronage and reception of benefices. This second series appears more significant for the monastic aims concerning episcopal jurisdictions. It provides a continuation of the prerogatives expressed in the first series even without establishing a spatial succession, although its contents are specifically related to the direct conflict with the Leonese cathedral. Thus, the chronology and contents of the diplomas chosen for this second series refer directly to the progress made by the monastic community after the supposed end to the litigation marked by Innocent III's sentence in 1216. More exactly, the interventions of those three popes favoured the Abbey's petitions. That of Alexander IV is particularly significant since, for example, in 1260 he reaffirmed the Monastery's papal patronage and its possessions, which he declared exempt from any authority, and ratified the right of presentation in the churches for which the Monastery possessed the right of patronage.²⁷ The inclusion and grouping of these diplomas in a separate dossier to record new developments in the dispute seems to be one of the main reasons for producing this manuscript. In this way, the composition of this group of documents manifests the monks' intention to facilitate a specific understanding of the progress made in the dispute; the new cartulary faithfully transmitted the monastic achievements in the lawsuit.

Regarding the right of patronage and reception of benefices, the contents of these diplomas clashed directly with the intentions of the *Becerro de presentaciones* described above. The manuscripts' closeness in subject matter and date of production not only indicate the priority given the dispute by the two institutions but also reveal the documental competition between the two scriptoria. Indeed, as Isabelle Rosé has pointed out, emulation and competition are justified causes for the writing of cartularies in a short space of time by neighbouring institutions.²⁸ In this context, it is likely that news of the cathedral codex's drafting inspired the second monastic cartulary, and halted the process of adding documents to the *Becerro Gótico* which had been in production until that time. Thus, the creation of a new cartulary capable of countering the assertion of episcopal jurisdiction in the *Becerro de presentaciones* represented the monks' development of new arguments in favour of their exemption. This conflict was thereby prolonged and intensified in documents not only through the promulgation of papal privileges and confirmations, but also through producing such manuscripts to legitimise differing aspirations in matters of jurisdiction. After several

²⁷ Fernández Flórez, *Collección diplomática*, nos 1775, 1777–78.

²⁸ Isabelle Rosé, "Panorama de l'écrit diplomatique en Bourgogne: autour des cartulaires (XI^e–XVIII^e siècles)," *Bucema* 11 (2007): 15.

attempts, the conflict was ended in 1330 through the arbitration of the abbot of San Isidoro of León, who definitively favoured episcopal rights.²⁹ The inclusion of this sentence between folios 55 and 61 of the *Becerro Segundo* marks the end of the discourse developed through the cartulary's production. Thus, the end of the litigation was also faithfully reflected in this codex, which had been so intensely devoted to transmitting its progress from the monastic point of view.

Conclusions

It should be stressed that for centuries these two institutions competed for the recognition of their respective rights not only in the jurisdictional realm, through the types of documents traditionally used for that purpose, but also by the drafting of successive manuscripts. The importance of the conflict, which resulted in a convincing triumph for the originally-dismissed episcopal aspirations, thereby justified the manuscripts' production, above all the *Becerro gótico* and the *Tumbo legionense* in the first stage, and in the second the *Becerro de presentaciones* and *Becerro segundo*. All these codices, but particularly the latter two, manifest the two institutions' aspirations to the ecclesiastic benefices in the diocese of León. They were produced at different times in the conflict and thus provide different views of it. Hence, despite this conflict's continuity, it is clear that the shifting balance of monastic power was also accompanied by a modification in each cartulary's strategies. According to the logic governing its production, the *Becerro Gótico* was based on a previous campaign of falsification that authorised its production and extolled it as an instrument of conservation, validation and propaganda for the arguments wielded by the monks in their defence. Thus in the composition of this manuscript, which had become a kind of *locus credibilis*, the conflict is approached through the manipulation of a remote past that is vindicated in defence of the community's interests. In the production of the *Becerro Segundo*, by contrast, contemporary tensions are placed in the context of its present, or at least immediate past, as the falsification campaign that shaped the first cartulary was completely abandoned. Its new discourse was arranged around an exposition of the conflict and the most useful information for meeting the community's new needs for jurisdictional defence. Consequently, while with the *Becerro Gótico* the Abbey sought to ensure the permanence of a situation supposedly inherited from the time of its foundation, the *Becerro Segundo* represents its attempt to adapt to new, less favourable circumstances. The cathedral

²⁹ Fernández Flórez, *Collección diplomática*, no. 2109.

scriptorium, for its part, was less effective at exploiting its documental production capacity in the first stage of this conflict. The reason for the cathedral's apparent lack of interest is, probably, that episcopal vindications were based on the "right" granted by the Gregorian reform, whereas the Abbey, which enjoyed the disputed benefits "de facto", was more alert to its defensive need for good documentary support. Thus the *Tumbo legionense* is a faithful testimony of the failure of the episcopal aspirations. After decades of dispute, however, and in a favourable climate, the production of the *Becerro de presentaciones* represents the climax of episcopal claims to jurisdictional authority. Hence this manuscript was created as a useful instrument of confirmation, management and of defence against surrounding threats. The prominence of the jurisdictional battle in the contents of these manuscripts allows us to perceive not only some of the reasons for their production, but also their significance to the strategies conceived by the two institutions to achieve victory in this notorious conflict.

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CHAPTER 5

A CROSS-CULTURAL FRIENDSHIP IN THE *CHRONICA ADEFONSI IMPERATORIS*: THE CASE OF ZAFADOLA AND KING ALFONSO VII OF CASTILE-LEÓN

HARALD ENDRE TAFJORD

The article examines the friendship between King Alfonso VII and Sayaf al-Dawla, a son of the last Huddid ruler of Zaragoza, as it is portrayed by the author of the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris. Sayaf al-Dawla, or Zafadola as he is referred to in the chronicle, is a fascinating character who transgressed cultural and religious boundaries in twelfth-century Iberia. Cross-cultural friendship of this kind gradually became more difficult at the time due to the Almoravids' involvement in al-Andalus. This friendship is of particular interest since the author's narrative, from an ideological point of view, displays a strong resentment towards Islam and Muslims whereas his description of Zafadola deviates from this general pattern. Although a Muslim, Zafadola seems to have been respected as a participant in the period's political culture alongside members of the Christian aristocracy, even becoming a close friend and advisor of King Alfonso VII.

Introduction

The twelfth-century chronicle *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is devoted to the deeds of King Alfonso VII (1126–1157) of Castile-León, and is the best surviving source for his reign.¹ As the chronicle is both contemporary (or nearly so) with the events covered, and an elaborate narrative, it is valuable

¹ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, in *Chronica Hispania saecvli XII* 1, ed. Emma Falque Rey, Juan Gil Fernández and Antonio Maya Sánchez. Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis 71 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 147–248.

as a source concerning the political culture of early twelfth-century Castile-León. Included in the chronicle is the portrayal of the relationship between Alfonso and Sayaf al-Dawla, a son of the last Huddid ruler of Zaragoza, whom the author refers to as Zafadola.² The author's presentation of this particular friendship is of interest as it deviates from the strong general ideological resentment of Muslims and Islam found in the chronicle. This is a feature emphasized by its organisation, as the author divided his work into two separate books – while the first addresses the internal politics of the Christian political sphere, the second book focuses entirely upon the war fought against the Muslims of al-Andalus. The fact that the conflict between Castile-León and the Almoravids is dealt with separately, in its own book, strongly indicates its ideological importance. The chronicle's narrative is characterized by a powerful crusading spirit, suggesting an author both inspired and affected by the ideological currents of the time.

This article will focus upon the character of the friendship between these two figures, King Alfonso VII and Sayaf al-Dawla, as the author presents it in the chronicle but also viewed within the period's political and social context, since this is of importance in a close reading of the narrative.³ The main questions that I wish to address in this article are: how did their friendship emerge, what were its characteristics and did their different cultural backgrounds and faiths have any implications for their friendship or their involvement in political culture? In handling the sources I have been inspired by anthropological approaches to medieval politics, in which the study of friendship is one of several themes addressed. Before turning to that of Zafadola and King Alfonso VII, a brief introduction to the study of friendship, the political context and the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is in order.

The Study of Friendship

Since the beginning of the 1970s, the study of conflict has proved to be a rewarding point of departure, not just for investigating individual conflicts but also related aspects of medieval political culture. Conflicts drew into themselves a wider part of society as individuals and families were forced

² Sayf al-Dawla of Rueda de Jalón is referred to as Zafadola by the author. In order to avoid any confusion, he will be referred to hereafter as Zafadola.

³ On the importance of the social and historical context of medieval historical texts, see: Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past. The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 8–10.

to take sides and define their relationship to those involved.⁴ Conflict thereby has the inherent quality of setting other mechanisms in play, and its interdependence with other, often-related features makes it an excellent starting point for exploring other aspects of politics, such as the bond of *friendship* which is the main focus of this article. For several decades, this particular line of research has drawn inspiration from anthropologists and their approach to contemporary traditional societies. Since the initial investigation in the early 1970s, an increasing number of studies inspired by anthropology have emerged.⁵

The study of friendship in medieval society may be broadly divided into two areas: first, as a political phenomenon, and secondly concerning its emotional and spiritual aspects.⁶ In this article the focus will be on the political, since this covers ties of friendship from the perspective of power, in which the bond can be seen as a pragmatic instrument associated with lordships, the establishment of alliances and the resolution of conflicts.

⁴ Patrick J. Geary, *Living With the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 138.

⁵ In particular, such an approach has been prominent in historians' work on medieval France, Germany and Scandinavia; see Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1997); Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers. The Political Importance of Group Bonds in the Early Middle Ages*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 (1990)); Dominique Barthélemy, "La mutation féodale a-t-elle eu lieu?," *Annales ESC* (1992), 167–77; Jesse L. Byock, *Feud in the Icelandic Saga* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Kim Esmark, *De hellige døde og den sosiale orden. Relikviecult, ritualisering og symbolsk makt (Anjou, 10.–12. århundrede)* (Unprinted doctoral thesis, Roskilde University, 2002); Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, *Chieftains and Power in the Icelandic Commonwealth* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1999); William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Hans Jacob Orning, *Unpredictability and Presence: Norwegian Kingship in the High Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Stephen D. White, "'Pactum ... Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium': The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France," *American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1979), 291–309. For an introduction to this research, see Piotr Górecki and Warren Brown, *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Kim Esmark, Lars Hermanson and Hans Jacob Orning, "Det rettsantropologiske perspektivet innenfor europeisk middelalderhistorie," in *Gaver, ritualer, konflikter. Et rettsantropologisk perspektiv på nordisk middelalderhistorie*, ed. Kim Esmark, Lars Hermanson and Hans Jacob Orning (Oslo: Unipub, 2010), 5–38.

⁶ Lars Hermanson, *Bärande band. Vänskap, kärlek och brödraskap i det medeltida Nordeuropa, ca. 1000–1200* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009), 18.

Important contributions to our understanding of medieval friendship have been made by Gerd Althoff, Brian McGuire and Jón Viðar Sigurðsson.⁷ Within an Iberian context, a prominent contribution was that of María Isabel Alfonso in her article “Sobre la ‘amicitia’ en la España medieval”, published in 1973;⁸ others have also been made by Carlos Heusch, Marilyn Stone and Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo.⁹ Liuzzo Scorpo in particular has focused on friendship from several perspectives including the political and cross-cultural, using the legal, literary and historical works attributed to King Alfonso X (1252–1284) as her main sources.

The Chronicle: Origin, Ideology and Political Context

The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* deals with important events during the reign of King Alfonso VII, from the difficult political situation after his ascension to the throne, including internal unrest and the territorial conflict with Alfonso I of Aragon (1104–1134), through to the fight against the Almoravids and gradual conquest of Muslim territory. The narrative ends with the *Poema de Almería*, celebrating the siege of Almería in 1147.¹⁰ It also covers earlier events, included for literary purposes, dealing with the Almoravid attack on Toledo after the death of King Alfonso VI.¹¹ A

⁷ Gerd Althoff, “Amicitias (Friendships) as Relationships Between States and People,” in *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, ed. Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Malden: Blackwell, 1998), 59–74; Gerd Althoff, “Friendship and Political Order,” in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 91–105; Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*; Sigurðsson, *Chieftains and Power*; Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, *Den vennlige vikingen. Vennskapets makt i Norge og på Island 900–1300* (Oslo: Pax, 2010); Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250*. Cistercian studies series 95 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publication, 1988).

⁸ María Isabel Alfonso, “Sobre la ‘amicitia’ en la España medieval,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 170 (1973), 379–86.

⁹ Carlos Heusch, “Les fondements juridiques de l’amitié à travers les Partidas d’Alphonse X et le droit médiéval,” *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 18–19 (1993–4): 6–48; Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia. Historical, Legal and Literary Perspectives* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Marilyn Stone, *Marriage and Friendship in Medieval Spain: Social Relations According to the Fourth Partida of Alfonso X* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).

¹⁰ “Prefatio de Almería”, ed. Juan Gil Fernández, in *Chronica Hispana saecvli XII* 1, ed. Emma Falque Rey, Juan Gil Fernández and Antonio Maya Sánchez. Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis 71 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 251–67. See also H. Salvador Martínez, *El “poema de Almería” y la épica románica* (Madrid: Gredos, 1975).

¹¹ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, 109–248.

highlight in the narrative is the coronation of Alfonso VII as emperor in the royal city of León on Saturday, May 25, 1135.¹²

The author was probably closely connected to the King as it is likely that he had access to written documents concerned with Alfonso VII's rule. Judging by the numerous biblical references in the narrative, it has been surmised that the author was a cleric. His identity has been a matter of discussion amongst historians but a satisfactory proposal has yet to be made.¹³ One suggestion is Bishop Arnaldo of Astorga (1144–1152/53), first made by Juan de Ferreras in 1765, and today supported by several scholars in the field.¹⁴ Bishop Arnaldo was a regular visitor to the court of Alfonso VII and was rewarded by the King for his loyal service. According to the *Poema de Almería*, Arnaldo was amongst those who accompanied Alfonso VII's army during the campaign of 1147.¹⁵ The chronicle's close connection to a royal environment appears beyond dispute.

The chronicle was written sometime after the events of 1147 and prior to King Alfonso's death in 1157. There are indications in the narrative that the king was still alive at the time of writing.¹⁶ Also clear is that the author does not mention the death of Alfonso VII's spouse, Queen Berengaria, in February 1149; the absence of such information makes it likely that the chronicle was completed by that time.¹⁷ The date of composition is important to a close reading of the narrative. By the time the chronicle was

¹² The author refers to Alfonso VII as King or Emperor of León, depending respectively on whether before or after his coronation as emperor. In this article I therefore refer to him as king. For the coronation, see *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 70.

¹³ For an introduction to the scholarly debate on authorship, see Simon Barton, "Introduction to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*," in *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, ed. Richard Fletcher and Simon Barton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 155–61; Maya Sánchez, "Introducción," in *Chronica Hispania saeculi XII* 1, ed. Emma Falque Rey, Juan Gil Fernández and Antonio Maya Sánchez, Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis 71 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 112–15.

¹⁴ Simon Barton, "Islam and the West: A View From Twelfth-Century León," in *Cross, Crescent and Conversion. Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, ed. Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 155–6.

¹⁵ See also Barton's discussion of the origin of Bishop Arnaldo and his connection with Toledo and the royal family. Barton, "Introduction to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*," 158–60.

¹⁶ "Prefatio de Almaria", 255.

¹⁷ Antonio Ubieta Arteta, "Sugerencias sobre la *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 25–26 (1957): 325.

put into writing, King Alfonso VII had reached a position of political prominence both within his kingdom and beyond it.

By the end of the 1140s, the Iberian Peninsula had witnessed the fall of the Almoravids, and their once-powerful empire then reduced to a few strongholds in al-Andalus. Yet it took some time before the political vacuum caused by their collapse was filled by their successors, the Almohads.¹⁸ The latter had launched their first expedition into al-Andalus in 1147 with designs on controlling their former rivals' territory, as they had recently accomplished in North Africa. At the time the chronicle was written, the Almohads had not yet managed to establish control over a larger area, and it was not until 1163 that they did so.¹⁹

Relative to its time of origin, the narrative's ideological content can be read as a celebration of Alfonso VII and the success of his reign. The chronicle's division into two separate books reflects different aspects of this success. The first deals with his achievements within the borders of his kingdom and in his relationships with the other Christian rulers of Iberia. The second book can be read as a celebration of his successful struggles against the Almoravids. Here the narrative follows the kingdom from the difficult situation during the attacks on Toledo, after the death of Alfonso VI, to renewed success and further conquest in the reign of Alfonso VII. The political situation during the conquest of Almeria thereby represents a remarkable contrast to the situation in both 1109 and 1126.

Relevant to Alfonso and Zafadola's friendship is the question of the hegemony of Castile-León and its relationship with the Peninsula's other Christian principalities, one connected to the chronicle's ideological perspective. Hegemony over the Iberian Peninsula had been lost by Castile-León through the death of King Alfonso VI, and Alfonso VII's efforts to re-establish it is a central ideological theme. This loss occurred during the reign of Queen Urraca, to Alfonso I, King of Aragon. The latter had been in the forefront of the fight against the Almoravids and of the process of *reconquista*; his death in 1134 altered the political situation, and must be considered a turning point in the narrative and the status of King Alfonso VII in Iberian politics.

¹⁸ On the Almoravids, see Jacinto Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1998); Vincent Lagardère, *Las Almoravides jusqu'au règne de Yusuf B. Tasfin (1039–1106)* (Paris: L'Hermattan, 1989); Vincent Lagardère, *Les Almoravides. Le djihad de Andalou (1106–1143)* (Paris: L'Hermattan, 1998).

¹⁹ For the second Taifa-period, see Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996), 189–95.

Friendship between a Christian and a Muslim Political Leader

Sayf al-Dawla, or Zafadola as he is called by the author, was the son of the last Huddid, ruler of Zaragoza, prior to the Almoravid takeover of the kingdom in 1110. The Almoravids, following their engagement in Iberian politics during the late 1080s, seized power at the expense of the *Taifa* kingdoms' political leaders.²⁰ The Huddids of Zaragoza were among those rulers who opposed them and, together with the ruler of the Balearics, managed to remain in power for a while. When Zaragoza was lost to the Almoravids, the Huddids were able to retain some strongholds in their former kingdom, and according to the author Zafadola was the political leader of Rueda de Jalon at the time that he established a political friendship with Alfonso VII.²¹ The relationship which developed appears to have served the interests of both, and the fact of their adherence to different and opposing religions does not seem to have been a hindrance in establishing friendship. It is important to stress that this friendship was not between equals, and that within it Zafadola had a subordinate position in the relationship.²² The incidents included in the narrative primarily concern the political aspects of the friendship: the role of Zafadola in relation to King Alfonso VII, to members of the Christian aristocracy and to fellow Muslims in al-Andalus. How did the friendship emerge and how did King Alfonso act towards Zafadola? Did their different cultural backgrounds and faiths have practical consequences for their friendship and involvement in political culture?

The author presents the friendship as resulting from Zafadola's initiative, when he approached the King based on the latter's solid reputation gained during efforts to reclaim territories in Castile. The author's emphasis on the success of Alfonso VII against Alfonso I of Aragon is highly controversial,

²⁰ The *taifa* kingdoms were the local principalities which emerged after the disintegration of the Umayyad Caliphate in 1009, both before the formal abolition of the Caliphate in 1031, and onwards through to the Almoravid invasions during latter part of the 1080s. See David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

²¹ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 27. Rueda de Jalón is located 35 kilometres west of Zaragoza.

²² This is in accordance with the pattern found by Liuzzo Scorpo in the Alfonsine works of the thirteenth century, where friendship between individuals belonging to different ethnic and religious background generally implied a submission of one of the parties. See Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia*, 200.

stressing that the former had besieged the latter and consequently achieved success in reclaiming his land. In addition, the author hints that King Alfonso of Aragon had earned a bad reputation as a perjurer and a ruler who did not keep his word, for which reason Zafadola might have preferred to seek friendship with the political leader of Castile-León.²³ Despite being highly controversial, with its glorification of Alfonso VII and negative description of Alfonso I, the narrative provides us with information about personal qualities that the author deemed attractive to friends, and about behaviour, which made political participants reluctant to seek friendship. Military strength was of importance as was the ability to be trusted and to keep one's promises. The focus on King Alfonso of Aragon *el Batallador*, who at times styled himself as emperor, is connected to an ideological perspective in the chronicle; this was a title which, from the author's point of view, should be restricted to the ruler of Castile-León.²⁴ The King of Aragon had been in the forefront of the fight against the Almoravids and of the process of *reconquista*.

The emergence of the friendship between Alfonso VII and Zafadola required explanation, since political strength was of importance when entering into a strategic relationship, and one must assume that strategic considerations were hugely important. At the outset of their friendship, the King of Aragon must by many contemporaries have been regarded as a more powerful political leader than Alfonso VII, as the latter was yet to achieve the level of his opponent's political influence on the Peninsula. All three leaders had a common foe in the Almoravids, but the establishment of friendship between Alfonso VII and Zafadola occurred at a time when Alfonso I of Aragon must have been regarded as the single most important political figure on the Peninsula. In particular, he played an important role in fighting the Almoravids when Alfonso VII was still occupied with consolidating power within his kingdom. One might therefore assume that Alfonso I would have been regarded as a more suitable friend, were fighting the Almoravids Zafadola's primary intention. However, other factors must have been of importance to him but were omitted by the author, such as the

²³ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 27.

²⁴ Concerning the use of the imperial title by King Alfonso I, see Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *El imperio hispanico y los cinco reinos* (Madrid: Institutio de Estudios Políticos, 1950), 133–8. On the use of the imperial title in general and related to this chronicle in particular, see Andrés Gamba Gutiérrez, “El imperio medieval hispánico y la *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*,” *e-Spania* 26 (2013).

conflict which previously existed between Aragon and Zaragoza, and the fact that Alfonso I himself had designs on this territory.²⁵

How then did the friendship between Zafadola and Alfonso VII come about? Zafadola seems to have needed an ally and protection against the Almoravids; according to the author, this made him turn to the king of Castile-León. King Alfonso's political power was increasing, and Zafadola must have seen him as a potential challenger to Alfonso I for regional hegemony. In addition, friendly relations with Alfonso VII presented an opportunity for Zafadola to regain power in Zaragoza. A friendship between these two leaders was beneficial for both, in the short and long terms. Zafadola's short-term interest was to secure protection and a safe haven against the Almoravids, and the author gives the impression of a tense situation:

For indeed they were confined by fear of the Moabites, because the Moabites had killed all the descendants of the king of the Hagarenes and had also taken their kingdom. King Zafadola was confined there in Rueda with some of his people, who had sought refuge with him and were there with him, and he said to them: "Listen to my counsel: let us go to the king of León and let us make him king over us, our lord and friend, for I know that he will rule over the land of the Saracens, because God in heaven is his deliverer, and God on high is his help. I know that with his assistance my children and I will recover the other dominions that the Moabites plundered from me, from my parents and from my people."²⁶

A friend who was powerful and could offer protection was valuable. Zafadola and his followers seem to have been in dire need of protection,

²⁵ Alfonso I of Aragon captured Zaragoza in 1118 and made this city the capital of his kingdom. Examples of Aragonese political aggression against Zaragoza can be found in *Historia Roderici*. See *Historia Roderici*, in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII* 1, ed. Emma Falque Rey, Juan Gil Fernández and Antonio Maya Sánchez. *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 71 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 45–98, chs 5, 22–23 and 47.

²⁶ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 27: "Ipsi enim erant clausi propter metum Moabitarum, quia ipsi Moabites occiderant omne semen regum Agarenorum et inde abstulerant regnum eorum. Et ipse supradictus rex Zafadola erat ibi in Rota inclusus cum quibusdam ex gente sua, qui ad eum confugerant et erant ibi cum eo. Quibus et dixit: "Audite consilium meum: et eamus ad regem Legionis et faciamus eum regem super nos et dominum et amicum nostrum, quia, sicut ego noui, ipse dominabitur terre Sarracenorum, quia Deus celi liberator eius est et Deus excelsus adiutor eius est. Et scio quia per ipsum recuperabo ego et filii mei alios honores, quos abstulerunt Moabites mihi et patribus et gentibus meis." Translation into English by Simon Barton; see Fletcher and Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 176.

since extinction, at least political, threatened. He could find such a friend in King Alfonso, to guarantee the security he and his people needed. The prospect of recovering his kingdom in the future was also mentioned. In such a difficult situation, differences in faith seemed less important. Previous relations between their ancestors were possibly also significant in Zafadola's decision to approach Alfonso VII. During the reigns of Fernando I and Alfonso VI, Zaragoza had been among the Taifas that regularly paid *parias* (tribute) and in exchange benefited to some degree from military support given by Castile-León against other Christian principalities. One example of an incident resulting from such an alliance can be found in the *Historia Roderici*, which describes how Rodrigo Díaz participated in the battle at Graus in 1063 together with King Sancho II, when Castilian and Zaragozaan forces together fought King Ramiro of Aragon.²⁷ Since their ancestors had been on friendly terms, past experiences might therefore have been significant in shaping the friendship between them.

How does the author describe the establishment of their friendship? According to the narrative it was Zafadola who took the initiative by sending an envoy to the king, asking for an escort to come to him in safety. In response, King Alfonso sent Count Rodrigo Martínez and Gutierrez Fernández, considered among the great nobles of the realm.²⁸

They [Alfonso's envoys] went to Zafadola in Rueda and he received them with honour, gave them great gifts and went with them to the king. Alfonso received him with honour, and made him sit with him on the royal throne, and he ordered that he be given quantities of innumerable kinds of food. Seeing this, the nobles of King Zafadola looked on with wonder and said to one other: "Who is like unto the king of León among the kings?"²⁹

Gifts and hospitality are stressed as important for the establishment of friendly relations, first when Zafadola received the delegation from King Alfonso, and later when Zafadola was received by King Alfonso. The reference to food might refer to *convivium*, a common meal, which in a ritual sense symbolized the beginning of a friendship when used as a display of

²⁷ *Historia Roderici*, ch. 4.

²⁸ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 28: "...qui unus erat ex magnis principibus regis".

²⁹ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 28: Qui uenerunt ad eum in Rota et suscepit eos honorifice deditque eis magna dona et uenit cum eis ad regem. At ille suscepit eum honorifice et fecit eum sedere secum in solio regali et iussit dare ei spensas ciborum innumerabilium. Hoc uidentes principes regis Zafadole mirati sunt et dixerunt ad inuicem: "Quis similis regi Legionis in regibus?". Translation into English by Simon Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 176.

friendly sentiment.³⁰ Even though hospitality and generosity are stressed by the author, other factors might also have been important. It is possible that envoys from King Alfonso, Count Rodrigo Martínez and Gutierre Fernández, could have negotiated on his behalf or delivered the King's terms for accepting Zafadola's friendship.³¹ Friendship was useful but often conditional and came with obligations for those involved. The narrative is silent about the communications between two parties prior to their meeting, that is, about Zafadola's messengers at the court of Alfonso and between Alfonso's envoy and Zafadola; one can only assume that there had been negotiations about terms before they entered into their friendship. Their agreement involved the future of Zafadola's followers and the land of which he was in possession, and through this agreement and the resulting friendship Zafadola became one of King Alfonso's men. It is important to note that the agreement involved not only Zafadola but also his political network – his family and followers. In particular, the author mentions how his sons were made knights by King Alfonso and that they received land in the area around Toledo. This area was regarded as a prime target for Almoravid attacks, and in return King Alfonso VII received control over territories which Zafadola held in Rueda. Zafadola and his men seem to have been given land on the same basis as Christians, which meant that he had an obligation to protect it and to support the king. Zafadola also seems to have been trusted by Alfonso and, according to the author, acted as one of his advisors and trusted men. Furthermore, like other members of King Alfonso's following, Zafadola contributed to campaigns into al-Andalus.³²

The friendship between King Alfonso and Zafadola increased the military and political strength of both. It is possible that the *de facto* subordination and friendship of Zafadola increased Alfonso's prestige. Zafadola is for example among the high-status attendants at his coronation as emperor, and is referred to then as “king of the Saracens”.³³ This is in accordance with Gerd Althoff's findings on the character of friendship within a Carolingian, East-Frankish and German context, in which political

³⁰ Althoff, “Friendship and Political Order,” 94–5.

³¹ Negotiations prior to agreements seem to have been common. An example of this can be found in *Historia Roderici*, when Rodrigo Díaz and Count Berenguer of Barcelona entered into friendship after a proposal was submitted to Rodrigo. The arrangements concerning the friendship were made in advance by others. On the public character of rituals, see Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter*, 11–2, 122–6.

³² See *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, chs 33–42.

³³ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch 70: “... et rex Zafadola Sarracenorum ...”.

friendship could easily coexist with relationships of superiority and inferiority.³⁴ Another remarkable feature of the narrative in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is the entirely positive treatment of Zafadola throughout, and the way that the author focuses on his close relationship with the king. For example, Zafadola is the only advisor mentioned by name among the advisors and great men present following an Almoravid attack on Toledo in 1133.³⁵ In connection with the attack prisoners were taken, among them Tello Fernández, who were later deported to North Africa. Alfonso VII decided to respond by avenging the attack and gathered a secret council. Zafadola was among those who participated, and at the council it was decided to invade the land of the Saracens.³⁶ Zafadola's participation in the council confirms a point made by the author that Zafadola, a former Muslim ruler, was among King Alfonso's trusted men. It is not unlikely that Zafadola was helpful in fighting the Almoravids, since his experience and knowledge gave him a competence valuable to the king. Alfonso was not experienced himself with campaigns in Muslim territory, and it is possible that his men also had limited experience, since the fight against the Almoravids had been more defensive since the rule of Alfonso VI.³⁷ This quality might in part explain the generosity that King Alfonso displayed towards Zafadola.

What role did Zafadola play in this campaign into Muslim territory? An incident which occurred while King Alfonso VII was raiding in the lands around Seville and south of the river Guadalquivir is included in the narrative.³⁸ Zafadola was one of the participants in this campaign, and while they were in the region he was approached by local Muslims asking him to act as a mediator between them and King Alfonso:

When the princes of the Hagarenes saw this, they secretly sent messengers to King Zafadola, saying: "Speak to the king of the Christians and, with his aid, free us from the hands of the Moabites. We will give to the king of León royal tributes larger than those our forefathers gave to his, and with you we will serve him free from fear and you and your sons will reign over us". On hearing this, King Zafadola, having deliberated with the king and with his loyal counsellors, replied to the messengers: "Go and tell your brothers the princes of the Hagarenes: 'Take some strong castles and some strong towers

³⁴ Althoff, "Friendship and Political Order," 94.

³⁵ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 33.

³⁶ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 33.

³⁷ See the author's remark concerning the situation in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, chs. 3 and 20.

³⁸ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 41.

within the cities, wage war in all parts and the king of León and I will swiftly come to your aid.”³⁹

The approach made by these Muslims suggests a growing opposition to the rule of the Almoravids in al-Andalus, as they seem to have been unable to repel the attacks from Alfonso VII. The messengers who approached Zafadola were probably seeking a political resolution to the campaigns by entering into an agreement with Alfonso, and thereby also to end Almoravid rule in al-Andalus. The quoted passage might indicate that the author considered a political arrangement in al-Andalus to be possible as articulated by the unnamed Muslim representative, in which al-Andalus would be ruled by King Zafadola under the suzerainty of King Alfonso VII, and the people of al-Andalus would acknowledge Alfonso’s rule above all. An interesting feature in this context is the role played by Zafadola. As an adherent of Islam and a descendent of the former political leaders of Zaragoza, who was also well connected with the King of Castile-León, he was regarded as a suitable mediator. The Muslim delegation probably knew that Zafadola belonged to King Alfonso’s following for the reason that he and his family had fought against the Almoravid regime. As viewed by the author, Zafadola’s skills and descent made him trustworthy and suitable for the Muslims of al-Andalus, and his connection with King Alfonso was valuable to them.

Zafadola and the Christian Campaigns in al-Andalus

After the al-Andalus campaign of 1132, Zafadola disappears from the narrative for a time, but reappears on the political scene when King Alfonso increases his engagement in al-Andalus. Zafadola’s reappearance is connected with a campaign conducted in al-Andalus at the end of the year 1145. At the time his political status seems to have changed, since he was actively involved in the politics of al-Andalus, trying to gather support in

³⁹ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book I, ch. 41: “Hoc uidentes principes Agarenorum secreta mittebant nuntios regi Zafadole dicentes: “Loquere cum rege Christianorum et cum eo libera nos de manibus Moabitum. Et dabimus regi Legionensi tributa regalia amplius quam patres nostri dederunt patribus suis et tecum securi seruiemus illi et tu regnabis super nos et filii tui”. Hoc audito, rex Zafadola, consilio accepto cum rege et cum fidelibus consiliariis, respondit nuntiis: “Ite, dicite fratribus meis principibus Agarenorum: ‘capite uobis aliqua fortissima castella et aliquas firmissimas turres ciuitatum et mouete in omni loco bellum et ego et rex Legionensium succurremus uobis uelociter.’” Translation into English by Simon Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 181.

the region and apparently aspiring to leadership among the Muslims. Judging by the treatment of the matter in the narrative, this was a political strategy executed with the consent of King Alfonso and one which met with resistance in al-Andalus. Of particular interest is the origin of a conflict between Zafadola and members of the Christian aristocracy, which resulted in Zafadola's murder at the hands of a Christian knight. This situation must have presented conflicting interests for King Alfonso and demonstrates how he could act pragmatically in such situations.

These events occurred after a change of direction in Alfonso VII's politics; having secured his position within his Kingdom, Alfonso could devote more time and resources to tackling his Muslim enemies, and began to campaign in al-Andalus. During these campaigns he captured strategically important places such as Oreja and Coria, and engaged the Almoravids in battle. One such battle dealt with by the author was the one fought by Muño Alfonso and his men against the joint armies of Avencheta of Seville and Azuel of Cordoba at Montiel.⁴⁰ The author gives an impression of Christian success in most of the battles he included, but also mentions some defeats such as the disaster that befell the men of Salamanca.⁴¹ In al-Andalus the political situation had changed with the Almoravids' defeat by the Almohads in North Africa two years earlier. This political change affected the situation in al-Andalus: with their collapse in North Africa, the Almoravids' rule in al-Andalus came under the control of Avengania, and although their power was fragmented, they were able to retain it in parts of the region.⁴² Zafadola's role in these changing circumstances is dealt with by the author and, to judge from the content of the narrative, he seems to have been actively involved in the region's politics, possibly as a leader of those opposing Almoravid rule:

At that time King Zafadola and all the citizens of Córdoba, Jaén, Ubeda, Baeza, Andújar, Seville, Granada, Almeria, and that region which is near the Mediterranean Sea as far as Toledo, all joined in war against the Moabites, and against their leader Avengania, and many thousands of Moabites and Hagarenes were killed. The Hagarenes were victorious, and drove

⁴⁰ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, chs 64, 66, 68–73.

⁴¹ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, ch. 29. On these urban militias in the border regions near al-Andalus, see Powers, *A Society Organized For War*, 13–39, concerning these towns in particular 28–32.

⁴² His Arabic name was Yahyā ibn Ghānya (d. 1148). Ibn Ghānya was an Almoravid governor who made an effort to uphold the authority of the regime. In 1148 he lost Seville to the Almohads and retired to Granada where he died the same year. See Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, 288–95.

Avengania out of Córdoba and all the Moabites out of many other towns and castles.⁴³

The situation described by the author gives the impression that Almoravid rule was resisted by many, with the opposition under Zafadola's leadership. Despite the central role given Zafadola, the author also makes it clear that there were those who opposed him. This is exemplified by a conspiracy against him and plans to kill him, led by the *qadi* and later governor of Cordoba, Abenfandi, together with others, among them Farax the *adalid* of Calatrava.⁴⁴ The conspiracy came to the attention of Zafadola, and is of relevance in displaying the connection Zafadola still had to the King of Castile-León, since he was supported by “fideles milites et pedites Christianos”, and in indicating the complexity of the political situation.⁴⁵

In addition to the conspiracy, a larger opposition existed to Zafadola in al-Andalus: he faced an opponent in Abenfandi who had support in Cordoba, and the author reports further difficulties in Ubeda and Baeza. The problems he encountered in those towns were significant enough to warrant Zafadola sending messengers to King Alfonso VII, asking for military support to overcome them. Alfonso complied with the request and sent Count Manrique, Count Ermengol and Count Ponç, together with Martín Fernández, against Baeza, Ubeda and Jaén.⁴⁶

Seen together, these two incidents show that Zafadola still had close connections with King Alfonso, even though he seems to have operated to a large degree independently in al-Andalus. The friendship between them had remained strong over the years and Zafadola must have had the King's trust. His special standing is made clear by the king's reply when Zafadola

⁴³ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, ch. 94: “In diebus illis Zafadola rex et omnes ciues Cordube et Iaen et Vbete et Baece et Anduger, Sibilie, Granate et Almerie et illius regionis, que est circa mare Mediterraneum usque in Toletum, omnes commiserunt bellum cum Moabitis et cum Auengania, duce eorum, et mortua sunt multa milia Moabitarum et Agarenorum et Agareni preualuerunt et eiecerunt Auenganiam de Corduba et omnes Moabitas et de multis aliis ciuitatibus et oppidis.” Translation into English by Simon Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 242.

⁴⁴ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, ch. 95. The *qadi* or judge who the author refers to by the name of Abenfandi was Ibn Ḥamdīn.

⁴⁵ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, ch. 95: “... faithful Christian knights and foot-soldiers, ...” Translation into English by Simon Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 243.

⁴⁶ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, ch. 96.

asked for military support: “Ite et subiugate mihi et regi Zafadole...”⁴⁷ This was the initial phase of the situation leading to the killing of Zafadola, in which King Alfonso displayed a pragmatic attitude towards those involved as matters developed. The counts mentioned above acted according to Zafadola’s request and carried out the King’s orders; they seized the land and subdued the people living there. These people then seem to have changed their minds about Zafadola, sending an embassy to ask him to free them and stating that they were committed to serving him. In response, Zafadola appeared in the counts’ camp:

He immediately came with a great army and, having left it facing the Christians, went in peace to their camp and said to the counts: “Surrender to me the prisoners and the booty you have taken, and I will go with you to the emperor, and I will do whatever the emperor may command me”. The counts replied to him: “Far be it from us, for you sent messengers to the emperor saying: ‘The men of Ubeda and Baeza are rebels against me and you. Send an army now to destroy them and their land.’ And just as you and the emperor commanded, so we have done.” Zafadola replied to them saying: “If you do not give up all the prisoners and booty to me, I will take up arms and fight against you.” The counts replied to him: “Now is the time and the opportunity.” Straightaway, having drawn up their troops, they joined battle and the conflict intensified greatly.⁴⁸

In the battle that followed Zafadola was defeated and captured. He was then held by the counts’ knights so that they might take him to their tents. While in their custody, Zafadola was killed by other knights, referred to as “pardos”, who had arrived and recognized him. The narrative gives no indication that the counts were in any way involved in the killing, and according to the author they were greatly saddened by the course of events.

⁴⁷ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, ch. 96: “Go and subdue for me, and for King Zafadola...” Translation into English by Simon Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 244.

⁴⁸ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, ch. 97: “Qui statim uenit cum magno exercitu, quo relicto in facie Christianorum, pacifice uenit ad castra eorum et dixit comitibus: “Reddite mihi captiuationem et predam, quam fecistis, et ibo uobiscum ad imperatorem et, quicquid mihi preceperit imperator, faciam”. Cui comites responderunt: “Absit hoc a nobis, quia tu misisti nuntios imperatori dicens: ‘uiri Vbete et Baece rebelles sunt mihi et tibi; et nunc mitte exercitum, qui destruat eos et terram suam.’ Et sicut tu et imperator nobis precepit, ita nos fecimus”. Quibus Zafadola respondit dicens: “Si mihi non dederitis omnem captiuationem et predam, armatus pugnabo uobiscum”. Cui comites responderunt: “Modo est tempus et hora”. Et protinus, paratis aciebus, commiserunt bellum et ingrauatum est prelium nimis.” Translation into English by Simon Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 244.

The news of the battle against Zafadola and his subsequent death was communicated by messenger from the counts to the King, informing him of the battle fought against Zafadola and his subsequent death. How did Alfonso react to the development? The narrative makes it clear that Zafadola's death had a great impact on the King, greatly saddening him. Receiving the news, the King stated: "Mundus ego sum a sanguine Zafadola amici mei".⁴⁹ Thus the author clearly states the nature of their relationship. Even though he emphasizes the bond between the two, it is striking that the narrative does not mention any further developments in this case, such as whether or not the knights who committed the killing was punished.

There are no similar reports of the killing of a high-ranking prisoner in other chronicles of the early twelfth century such as the *Historia Silense*, the *Historia Roderici* or the *Historia Compostelana*. It seems unlikely that a knight belonging to the aristocracy of Castile-León would have been unaware of Zafadola's position within society and in particular his close relationship with the king. It might be that the author considered Zafadola's role in Iberian politics to be different to that of King Alfonso VII, and consequently imply that those of lower rank fighting alongside them shared the author's view. The author labelled the knights as "pardos", a term which literally refers to the colour of their garment but also to their being so-called "caballeros villanos", not of noble origin or part of the aristocracy.⁵⁰ Is the reference to their origin an effort by the author to explain their ignorance, or was it just a way to disguise what really happened? A highborn member of the political elite was entitled to and could expect proper treatment while in captivity, could he not?

The outcome of events might not have been what the counts had intended, and did not seem to please their King who was saddened by the loss of his friend. The fact that the counts refused to give Zafadola what he asked for is made clear by the author, but also that they acted in accordance with their orders and with Zafadola's original wishes. One might argue that both parties' actions in this conflict were rash and ill-judged. Zafadola may have provoked the counts by positioning his army opposite them, signalling readiness to use military force, while he was in no position to demand the prisoners' release or the return of their wealth. On the other hand, the counts

⁴⁹ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, book II, ch. 98: "... I am guiltless from the blood of my friend Zafadola." Translation into English by Simon Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 245.

⁵⁰ See Reyna Pastor de Togneri, *Resistencias y luchas campesinas en la época del crecimiento y consolidación de la formación feudal: Castilla y León, siglos X–XII*, Historia de los movimientos sociales (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1980), 125–6.

might have been unwise in not accepting Zafadola's proposal to let King Alfonso VII decide the outcome of their disagreement. Another issue of importance concerns Zafadola's relationship with his followers among the Muslims of al-Andalus. Would he not have lost political credibility and face among them, as seems likely, had he decided to comply with the counts' decision and not tried to help the people of Ubeda and Baeza by force?

Conclusions

Zafadola is a fascinating character who transgressed cultural and religious boundaries, a behaviour which during the first part of the twelfth century became gradually more difficult. His background and skills made him a valuable friend of Alfonso VII, and the generosity displayed towards him must be seen in the light of these characteristics and the political context of the time. Even though a Muslim, he seems at first to have been respected as a participant in political culture alongside members of the Christian aristocracy. Having returned to al-Andalus on campaign with the king, it was his connections and descent that made him valuable as a mediator on behalf of the Muslims of al-Andalus. In Zafadola's case, King Alfonso acted generously because he was a valuable ally who complemented Alfonso's limited experience in Muslim territory. At this point the author of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* does not seem to have adjusted the character of their friendship to better fit the narrative's overall ideological content. The description of this particular cross-cultural friendship thus appears different from those found a century later when, according to Anonella Liuzzo Scorpo, the Alfonsine narratives "were masterfully shaped to the sovereign's moral and political agenda"⁵¹.

When a situation occurred that tested Zafadola's ability to reach agreement with the Christian nobility, contrary to his previous wishes and the Christians' rules for distributing booty, he was forced to enter into a conflict so as to not to lose face with the people of Baeza and Ubeda, to whom he had previously promised protection. The outcome of events is also of interest, ending as it did with the murder of Zafadola, which however did not seem to have any consequences for those involved. The fact that Zafadola was killed and the very manner of the killing suggests that he was not popular among all Christians. Nonetheless, he had enjoyed an unprecedented political status in Castile-León, on equal terms with members of the Christian aristocracy and clearly referred to as King Alfonso's friend in a source closely connected to the royal milieu. Despite

⁵¹ Scorpo, "Friendship in Medieval Iberia," 144.

his close connection to the King, members of the aristocracy might have resented him, a resentment which could have been a factor contributing to his death in captivity. However, the author remains silent about any ill will they might have harboured against him. His independent position and involvement in the politics of al-Andalus, which attracted followers there, might have complicated matters and made him a target when he overstepped the arrangements made between the King and nobles. The author emphasizes that his killers recognized him; that is, that they knew what they were doing. The incident is of interest because it illustrates the pragmatic approach which King Alfonso displayed in this situation. Even though affected by the killing, he did not pursue the matter any further as far as we know, nor create a situation potentially leading to conflict with the counts involved. By stating that he had no part in the killing of Zafadola, he probably hoped to avoid reactions from Zafadola's friends and followers.

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CHAPTER 6

ARTISTIC EXCHANGES ACROSS THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR DURING THE ALMORAVID PERIOD: ANDALUSI ART IN NORTH AFRICA

MARÍA MARCOS COBALEDA

During the Almoravid period, the territories of al-Andalus and North Africa became a unity which spanned the Strait of Gibraltar, where many social and cultural exchanges between the Maghreb and the Iberian Peninsula took place, not only from north to south but also in the opposite direction. Within this framework, this paper analyses the cultural unity and exchange between both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar during the late eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century, specifically via the main examples of Andalusí works and masterpieces documented in North Africa during the Almoravid period. In the first section of this article, the background and causes of this particular exchange are introduced. In the following ones, the main examples of Andalusí artistic presence in North Africa are analysed: the minbar of the Great Mosque of Algiers, the minbar made in Cordoba for the Ibn Yūsuf Mosque in Marrakech and the Andalusí works documented in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez, including its minbar.

Introduction

During the Almoravid period, the territories of al-Andalus and North Africa became a unity, which spanned the Strait of Gibraltar, a fact made possible by their political conquest, by Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn and his son ‘Alī Ibn Yūsuf, in the second half of the eleventh and the early twelfth century. In 1116, after the conquest of the Balearic Islands¹, the Almoravid Empire thereby achieved its maximum territorial extension, stretching from

¹ Ibn Abī Zar‘, *Rawḍ al-Qirṭās*, trans. Ambrosio Huici Miranda (Valencia: Imprenta J. Nácher, 1964), 316.

Southern Mauritania to Saragossa. However, this splendour was then diminished with the latter conquest in 1118² by Alfonso I, King of Aragon, and with the birth of the Almohad movement in the 1120s.

Due to the political situation (the Almoravid control of both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar in the first half of the twelfth century), there were many social and cultural exchanges in this period between North Africa and al-Andalus, not only from north to south but also in the opposite direction. Thus, coins were minted in al-Andalus with gold brought from North Africa³, and there was great development of manufactures and commerce among different regions of the Almoravid Empire through maritime trade between Andalusi and North African ports.⁴ Many Almoravid governors in the Iberian Peninsula came from the Maghreb⁵, and some secretaries of state were Andalusi.⁶ These exchanges are also documented in the cases of the arts and artisans. During the Almoravid period, many Andalusi artisans

² Jacinto Bosch Vilá, “Los Imperios del desierto,” *Cuadernos Historia* 16 33 (1985): 18–23.

³ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Buluggin, *El siglo XI en primera persona. Las “Memorias” de ‘Abd Allāh, último rey zirí de Granada, destronado por los almorávides (1090)*, trans. Évariste Leví-Provençal and Emilio García Gómez (Madrid: Alianza, 2005), 321; Pierre Guichard, *De la expansión árabe a la reconquista: esplendor y fragilidad de al-Andalus* (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1951), 176; Hasan Ḥāfiẓī ‘Alawī, *al-Murābiṭūn: al-Dawla, al-Iqtiṣād, al-Mujtama’* (al-Ribāt: ʿYudhūr li-l-Nashr, 2007), 47–48.

⁴ María Marcos Cobaleda, *Los almorávides: arquitectura de un imperio* (Granada: Universidad de Granada/Casa Árabe Madrid, 2015), 60; Iḥsān ‘Abbās, “Some aspects of social life in Andalusia during the time of the Almoravides in the light of the Nawāzil of Ibn Rushd,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement 5 (1983): 154–6.

⁵ Ibn ‘Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān al-Muḡrib: nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades*, trans. and comments by Ambrosio Huici Miranda (Valencia: Gráficas Bautista, 1963), 153, 177; Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A’sha fī kitābāt al-Insha’*, trans. Luis Seco de Lucena. Colección Textos Medievales 40 (Valencia: Ámbar Ediciones, 1975), 74. Among the Almoravid governors in al-Andalus, Tāshufīn Ibn ‘Alī was the most important. ‘Alī Ibn Yūsuf’s son was Governor of Granada, Seville and Cordoba between 1126 and 1138 (María Jesús Viguera Molins, *Los Reinos de Taifas y las invasiones magrebíes: al-Andalus del XI al XIII* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1994–2000), 182).

⁶ This fact may be asserted based on the twenty-two official letters written by Andalusi secretaries, which have been studied by Maḥūd ‘Alī Makkī, “Wata’iq ta’rīkhiyya jadīda, ‘an ‘aṣr al-Murābiṭīn,” *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos de Madrid* 78 (1959–60): 109–98.

worked in the main towns of North Africa such as Marrakech or Fez.⁷ In both these cases, Andalusí people participated in the construction of the hydraulic systems; in the second, some artisans from al-Andalus also contributed to the ornamentation of the stalactite domes in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque.⁸

Furthermore, we have references to masterpieces which were made in al-Andalus and sent to North Africa. Most of these can be found in the main Almoravid mosques in the Maghreb. Reciprocal artistic influences emerging from both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar are also evidenced. The ornamental ones from al-Andalus upon North Africa have already been widely considered in the traditional historiography.⁹ Their main examples are the plant motifs of the Qubbat al-Bārūdiyyīn in Marrakech, the decoration of the mihrāb in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque of Fez and ornamentation in the Great Mosque of Tlemcen, where the Andalusí influence has previously been analysed in depth. Nevertheless, during the Almoravid period some ornamental changes took place and these North African ensembles exemplify this type of decoration's evolution during the times of the Emir 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf.

Conversely, constructive influences from the Maghreb upon al-Andalus can also be perceived, especially relating to hydraulic and military construction. The main instance of the first group was the ensemble of fountain and cistern in the citadel of Almeria, which was deeply influenced by the ablution complex of the Ibn Yūsuf Mosque of Marrakech.¹⁰ The

⁷ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Arquitectos andaluces de las épocas almorávide y almohade," *Al-Andalus* 11:1 (1946): 214–15.

⁸ Henri Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qarawīyīn à Fès* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1968), 19, 79.

⁹ Torres Balbás, "Arquitectos andaluces de las épocas almorávide y almohade;" Manuel Gómez-Moreno Martínez, *Arte español hasta los Almohades. Arte Mozárabe* (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1951); Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Artes almorávide y almohade* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1955); Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Nuevas perspectivas sobre el arte de al-Andalus bajo el dominio almorávide," *Al-Andalus* 17 (1952): 402–33; Henri Terrasse, "Art almoravide et art almohade," *Al-Andalus* 16:2 (1961): 436–47; Henri Terrasse, "La reviviscence de l'acanthé dans l'art hispano-mauresque sous les Almoravides," *Al-Andalus* 16:2 (1961): 426–35; Henri Terrasse, "L'art de l'empire almoravide: ses sources et son évolution," *Studia Islámica* 3 (1955): 25–34; Henri Terrasse, *L'art hispano-mauresque. Des origines au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions G. van Oest, 1932); Jacques Meunié and Henri Terrasse, *Recherches archéologiques à Marrakech* 54 (Paris: Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, 1952).

¹⁰ For more information about the influences from Marrakech upon the fountain and cistern ensemble in the citadel of Almeria, see María Marcos Cobaleda, "El

second group is the largest, including the Almoravid works on the walls of the main Andalusí towns, which were built or rebuilt after damage during the incursion in 1125–1126 of King Alfonso I of Aragón.¹¹

Within this framework, this article analyses the cultural unity and exchange between both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar during the late eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century, through the main examples of Andalusí works and masterpieces documented in North Africa during the Almoravid period. Throughout, I study the reciprocal artistic influences between North Africa and al-Andalus, especially in the case of ornamental patterns; I analyse not only Andalusí influences in the Maghreb, but also how certain Almoravid decorative elements were transferred to al-Andalus in the first half of the twelfth century. In this latter case, it is possible to highlight the choice of specific decorative patterns which were highly developed by the Almoravids in their North African buildings. Through the detailed study of these pieces and their meanings, I furthermore analyse the interest displayed by the Almoravid emirs in the arts and how this led in the period to the creation of their own aesthetic. I will show that during the Almoravid period there was a deep unity, not only political but also cultural, between both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar and that the Almoravids showed a significant interest in the arts, especially in Andalusí pieces which symbolically conveyed the power and religious supremacy of Almoravid emirs, the main sponsors of this kind of works, above all after 1120 and the birth of the Almohad movement.

Andalusí Masterpieces in North Africa

The deep unity between both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar under the Almoravids' rule was not limited to politics; artistic and cultural exchange between North Africa and al-Andalus was a reality during this period, shown by the Andalusí masterpieces that have been found in North Africa as well as by the shared artistic elements documented in al-Andalus and the Maghreb during the last years of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century. It is possible to uncover the circumstances of some masterpieces

patrimonio hidráulico de época almorávide: la fuente de la Alcazaba de Almería,” in *Proceedings of the II International Scientific Meeting on Heritage and Design of Geometrical Forms HEDEGFORM 2010* (Granada: University of Granada, 2011), 448–65.

¹¹ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib: nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades*, 160; Ibn Simāk, *al-Hulal al-Mawshiyya, Crónica árabe de las dinastías almorávide, almohade y benimerín*, trans. Ambrosio Huici Miranda (Tetuan: Editorial Marroquí, 1951), 110–5.

made in al-Andalus and sent to North Africa, including the well-known case of the export of marbles from Almeria through its port, and the re-use of Caliphal capitals, for example in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez.¹² Besides these, the minbars made for the most important Friday Mosques in the Maghreb (the Ibn Yūsuf Mosque in Marrakech, the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez and the Great Mosque of Algiers) also represent a good example of this exchange. As for the marbles from Almeria, they were exported to the main towns of the Almoravid Empire including its capital, an example being the maqābriya from Almeria found during archaeological works on the site of the first Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakech, where the ancient Almoravid palaces were located.¹³

The fact that these pieces were made in al-Andalus (where the arts had been highly developed since the days of the Caliphate), and intended for the most important mosques of the Almoravid Empire, may be considered material evidence of the Almoravid emirs' interest in artistic works.¹⁴ Such North African reception of Andalusī masterpieces, highly valued by Almoravid emirs, can also be interpreted as a display of their political power and religious supremacy. This assertion becomes more meaningful when we consider that the Almoravids were in constant conflict with the Almohads from the 1120s, and that all these masterpieces were delivered to Andalusī workshops thereafter. In this way these intricate works, shown in the main mosques of the Almoravid Empire during the most important moment of the Friday prayers, were to become symbols of the Almoravid emirs, as their main sponsors, and of their authority, as well as of Sunni orthodoxy against Almohad Shiite heterodoxy, amid increasingly scarce Almoravid political triumphs and increasingly worrying Almohad expansion of territory and devotees.

Andalusī Influences in the First Almoravid Minbars: the Case of the Minbar of the Great Mosque of Algiers

The interest of the Almoravids in Andalusī masterpieces began in the early years of the conquest of al-Andalus, discernible in the case of the minbar of the Great Mosque of Algiers. This is one of the most ancient minbars of the

¹² Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin à Fès*, 42.

¹³ Meunié and Terrasse, *Recherches archéologiques à Marrakech*, 85; Marcos Cobaleda, *Los almorávides: arquitectura de un imperio*, 371.

¹⁴ The Almoravid interest in arts has been systematically omitted in the traditional historiography. These kinds of artistic exchanges between al-Andalus and North Africa refute the widespread assumption that the Almoravids were only interested in the military aspects of the Empire.

Almoravid period as demonstrated by the Kufic inscription running along its sides and over the arch above its entrance, where the date of 1097 appears:¹⁵

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ اتم هَذَا الْمَنْبَرِ فِيْهِ وَلِ شَهْرِ رَجَبٍ الَّذِيْ اَن سَنَةَ تَسْعِيْنَ
وَرَبْعَمِائَةَ عَمَلٍ حَمْدٍ

This date permits the interpretation that the minbar was ordered by Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn, in addition to that of the Great Mosque of Nedroma, where the name of this emir can be read in the Kufic inscription on its backrest (the only part of this minbar which has been preserved).¹⁶ In the case of the Algiers minbar, the name of the artisan who worked on this piece also appears: Muḥammad. But we have no further details about him, such as his laqab or niṣba. Due to the absence of this second adjective and of the name of the town where this piece was made, one cannot prove from the sole information in its inscription if this piece was made in al-Andalus or not. This suggestion was advanced since the minbar of the Great Mosque of Algiers is the one that best preserves the typology derived from that of the Mosque of Cordoba.¹⁷ In the manner common to all pieces of this kind, its structure consists of a form of chair or throne located on the top part of the furniture, to which it is possible to ascend thanks to a stair with seven steps. This typology derives from the chair that the Prophet Muḥammad used to preach to his followers.

During the following period, these pieces were considered a symbol of authority by the political leaders. They were therefore located in the main mosques of the towns, to be used during the Friday prayers.¹⁸ If one accepts Jonathan Bloom's proposed interpretation of the minbars in the medieval Islamic world as pieces related both to political and religious power, and links this to the completion of the Great Mosque of Algiers' minbar on June 14, 1097, as its inscription mentions, it is possible to interpret it in the context of the political triumphs of Emir Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn in al-Andalus

¹⁵ 'Uṭmān 'Uṭmān Ismā'īl, *Ta'rikh al-'Imāra al-Islāmiyya wa-l-funūn al-Taṭbīqiyya bi-l-Maḡrib al-Aqṣā. al-Juz' al-Ṭānī: 'Aṣr dawla al-Murābiṭīn* (Rabat: Arabian al-Hilal, 1993), 183. Translation of the inscription: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This minbar was completed the first day of the month of rajab of the year 470 [June 14, 1097]. Muḥammad made it."

¹⁶ http://www.qantara-med.org/qantara4/public/show_document.php?do_id=470.

¹⁷ VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 54.

¹⁸ Jonathan Bloom, *The Masterpiece Minbar*, in <http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/199803/the.masterpiece.minbar.html>.

during the 1090s. In 1090 he conquered the town of Granada¹⁹, and only four years later, in 1094, he gathered under his control all the territories in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, alongside the entire west of al-Andalus²⁰ after the conquest that same year of Badajoz and Lisbon.²¹ If we also consider that in 1097 the Almoravid Emir prepared a military offensive upon the town of Toledo, which he attended to fight himself,²² due to its importance as the ancient Visigoth capital of the Iberian Peninsula, we may assume that the symbolism related to the Almoravid military supremacy and triumph should be borne by the Algiers minbar.

As for this minbar's typology, as mentioned before, in its lower part a pointed horseshoe arch was opened to allow the entrance to the first step of the stairs. On both sides of the minbar there are decorative panels in the shape of squares, trapezes and triangles.²³ The square-panel elements are also present in the ancient minbar of the Mosque of Cordoba, which has been considered the model for that of the Great Mosque of Algiers. Another shared characteristic is the straight shape of the upper part of both minbars,²⁴ which differs from the other preserved Almoravid pieces of this type, including the minbar of the Great Mosque of Nedroma, which was also commissioned by the emir Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn.

¹⁹ 'Abd Allāh, *El siglo XI en primera persona*, 324, 347.

²⁰ 'Abd Allāh, *El siglo XI en primera persona*, 342.

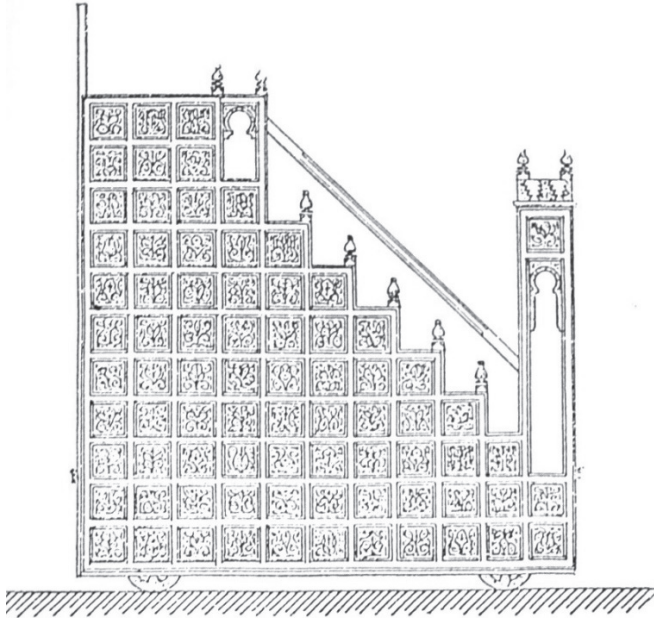
²¹ Viguera Molins, *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebies (al-Andalus del XI al XIII)*, 177.

²² Viguera Molins, *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebies (al-Andalus del XI al XIII)*, 177.

²³ Marçais, "La chaire de la Grande Mosquée d'Alger," *Hespéris* 1:4 (1921): 368.

²⁴ VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 54.

Picture 6.1: Drawing of the ancient minbar of the Mosque of Cordoba. Picture: VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 51.



Based on the previous stylistic analysis, the Algiers example is clearly similar to the missing minbar of the Mosque of Cordoba, and of all the preserved Almoravid minbars most accurately reflects its model. Following the trend of the other Almoravid examples, it is moreover probable that both were made in al-Andalus, and even in the same city, Cordoba. The precise structural similarities found with the minbar of Algiers are probably due to this piece's early date (only seven years after the Almoravid conquest of al-Andalus). The evolution of this type, and the differences with the primitive model, do not become visible until some years later, as shown by the other North African examples of Almoravid minbars. In the following cases of the minbars commissioned by the Emir 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf, there appear several innovations not found in the most ancient models, such as those of Algiers or Nedroma, on which the imprint of the Mosque of Cordoba's ancient minbar is still very strong.

The Minbar of the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakech: An Example of Exchange between North Africa and al-Andalus

Among the pieces of furniture-art made by the Almoravids, the minbar ordered by ‘Alī Ibn Yūsuf for the Almoravid Friday Mosque in the Empire’s capital, the Ibn Yūsuf Mosque of Marrakech, may be considered the most prominent. Although made for the Ibn Yūsuf Mosque, the current name was adopted after its transfer to the Kutubiyya Mosque during the Almohad period, in 1150.²⁵ The evolution from the ancient minbar of the Great Mosque of Algiers to that of the Kutubiyya Mosque is remarkable; due to the latter minbar’s high degree of perfection it became the model for further pieces of the kind ordered by the Almoravids, although none of them repeated its brilliance.

This minbar repeats the established model of a kind of throne with nine steps, and a chair on top made with the inlay technique. This masterpiece of Almoravid marquetry evidences the high development achieved by Cordoban woodcraft during the Middle Ages. The ornamental elements of this specific minbar consist of more complex geometrical forms than those of the Great Mosque of Algiers’ minbar, containing high-quality plant decorations based on digitated palm leaves. Due to this minbar’s Andalusī origin, its decoration is deeply influenced by the Caliphal and Taifa patterns. Nevertheless, after a thorough study of these plant arabesques it is possible to detect some designs based on simple numerical sequences in the palm leaves’ internal organization.²⁶ These patterns were not found within this

²⁵ VV. AA., *Al-Andalus. Las Artes islámicas en España*. Catálogo de la Exposición (Granada: Ediciones El Viso, 1992), 362; Ḥāmid Trīkī, “La herencia almorávide en Marruecos,” in *Mauritania y España, una historia común. Los almorávides, unificadores del Magreb y Al-Andalus (siglos XI–XII)* (Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalúsī, 2003), 202; Gaston Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech* (Rabat: Éditions Techniques Nord-Africaines, 1956), 14.

²⁶ María Marcos Cobaleda, “The Garden of Paradise? An Interpretation of Ornamentation in the Almoravid Art,” in *Light Colour Line- Perceiving the Mediterranean. Conflicting Narratives and Ritual Dynamics*, ed. Thomas Dittelbach and Ágnes Sebestyén (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2016), 49–50. These numerical sequences may be established from the internal organization of the digitated palm leaf, internally divided through a circular motif from which originates one or more groups of digitations within the leaves. In the particular case of this minbar, it is possible to see the numerical sequences of 2-0-2, 2-0-3 and 2-0-4 (where 0 represents the circular motif of the leaf and the other numbers correspond to the number of digitations into which the leaf has been divided). These three simple sequences are present in all Almoravid ensembles of plant decoration, from the most

type of decoration in al-Andalus before the Almoravids, and could be interpreted as an Almoravid contribution to the evolution of plant ornamentation in this period.²⁷

Epigraphic decoration on the minbar of the Kutubiyya Mosque is also highly remarkable, since it is made with cursive inscriptions. During the Almoravid period, this kind of epigraphy was elevated to the dignity of monumental writing.²⁸ Previously, it had been exclusively employed in a secondary manner because the space for monumental inscriptions was reserved for Kufic scripts. Nevertheless, during the Almoravid period a change in epigraphic tendencies took place and cursive inscriptions became features of the monumental writings of all of their main mosques. Yasser Tabbaa has considered this fact as a direct influence of the increasing Oriental use of these inscriptions from the second half of the eleventh century, closely linked to the Sunni revival.²⁹ For the same author, the Zangī Emir Nūr al-Dīn was the promoter of this change in monumental building inscriptions in the Oriental Mediterranean, with the previous examples considered as isolated manifestations.³⁰ Nonetheless, the first documented Almoravid use of cursive scripts with a monumental character was the

ancient to the latest, when these sequences become more and more complex, culminating with those of the Great Mosque of Tlemcen (where besides the simple numerical sequences, the following ones can be documented: 1-0-4, 1-0-4-0-3-0-2-0-5, 2-0-2-0-2-0-4, 2-0-2-0-5, 2-0-2-0-6-0-2, 2-0-3-0-1-0-3-0-2-0-2, 2-0-3-0-4-0-2-0-3, 2-0-3-0-8, 2-0-5, 2-0-6, 2-0-8, 3-0-1, 3-0-3, 3-0-4, 3-0-6, 4-0-1-0-5 and 4-0-3). In the particular case of the Kutubiyya Mosque minbar, the basic simple numerical sequences are combined with the following ones: 2-0-2-0-2-0-3, 2-0-2-0-4, 3-0-4 and 3-0-5. For more information about the specific numerical sequences of the Almoravid plant decoration, its evolution and interpretation, see María Marcos Cobaleda, “Estudio del ataurique almorávide a partir de las yeserías del Carmen del Mauror en el Museo de la Alhambra (Granada),” *Mediaeval Sophia* 19 (2017): 383–412.

²⁷ Although the arabesque in al-Andalus had been highly developed during the Caliphal and Taifa periods, the Almoravid models of plant decoration became more and more complicated over the years. This complexity in the combination of the palm leaves’ digitations with circular motives, to generate elaborated numerical sequences, is unknown before or after the Almoravid period. For this reason, we consider, it may be regarded as an important Almoravid contribution to the development of plant ornamentation in the Western Islamic art (Marcos Cobaleda, “Estudio del ataurique almorávide”, 401).

²⁸ Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin à Fès*, 36.

²⁹ Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 53–4.

³⁰ Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival*, 55.

inscription inside the Qubbat al-Bārūdiyyīn in Marrakech, built in 1125³¹, prior to any example of the architecture built by Nūr al-Dīn (after 1146). Indeed, all the main Almoravid architectural and artistic works were made before this date, and we cannot consider the architecture of Nūr al-Dīn as the source for this type of inscription-use in the Almoravid buildings. It is more probable that the Almoravid emirs' submission to the Abbasid Caliphs, at least from the times of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn,³² is the reason for the very first use of cursive calligraphy in Western Islamic monumental architecture. As Tabbaa proposes for the Oriental case, that these scripts were first employed at the most important and symbolic places of political expression (such as main gates, minarets or domes),³³ so the Almoravid emirs also chose this calligraphy for the principal mosques of their Empire, as a symbol of political and religious supremacy. Thus the use of this kind of epigraphy in the minbar of the Ibn Yūsuf Mosque in Marrakech, the Friday Mosque of the Almoravid imperial capital, may be connected to this intention. Moreover, and linked to the Andalusī origin of this minbar, the employment of cursive writings can be also interpreted as an artistic influence transmitted by the Almoravids from the Maghreb to al-Andalus.³⁴

Beyond illustrating the Almoravids' important introduction of monumental cursive inscription into Western Islamic art, the writings of the Kutubiyya Mosque minbar give a great deal of information about this masterpiece. Thanks to one of the minbar's inscriptions, we know with certainty the Andalusī origin of this piece as well as other details; it was made for the Friday Mosque of Marrakech in the workshops of Cordoba, and the works were completed in 1137.³⁵

³¹ Marcos Cobaleda, *Los almorávides: arquitectura de un Imperio*, 149.

³² Marcos Cobaleda, *Los almorávides: arquitectura de un Imperio*, 43; Helena de Felipe, "Berber Leadership and Genealogical Legitimacy: the Almoravid Case," in *Genealogy and Knowledge in Muslim Societies. Understanding the Past*, ed. Sarah Bowen Savant and Helena de Felipe (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 57.

³³ Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival*, 54.

³⁴ Other examples of cursive inscription use in al-Andalus during this period can be seen in the plasters from the Carmen del Mauror in Granada, preserved in the Museo de la Alhambra (Marcos Cobaleda, "Estudio del ataurique almorávide", 390).

³⁵ VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 20, 104. Translation: "This minbar was made in Cordoba, God protect it!, for the aljama for the people of Marrakech, God protect it!, and its construction began with the help of God on the first day of Muḥarram of the year 532 [September 18 or 19, 1137], God is the Sublime! He awarded the order with its fulfilment and look. The Unique and the Protective God and the faithful content us."

صنع هذا المنبر بقرطبة حرّسها الله لي المسجد لجام بحضرة كاش حرّسها
الله وكانت لنداية في صنعه بعون الله في أول يوم من شهر حرّ عن اثنين وثلاثين وخمس
مائة أعظم الله جرّ لار بعلمه وناظر ...
لواحد لحافظ الله ولابن حبرنا.

From the above, we also know with complete certainty that the Kutubiyya Mosque minbar was an Andalusī piece, commissioned by the Almoravid emir to be sent to North Africa at the end of the 1130s. Moreover, during the restoration process a signature behind the wooden panels has been found, from which the name لعزير (al-‘Azīz) can be read. It is very similar to the inscriptions located in the domes of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque, and, in this case, may be interpreted as the signature of an Andalusī artisan.³⁶

As discussed, the fact that the Almoravid emir commissioned an Andalusī piece for the main mosque of the Empire’s capital is highly significant. First of all, the choice of an Andalusī origin may reflect a relationship between the great refinement that arts achieved in al-Andalus, especially in Cordoba, and the idea of perfection. This idea is not exclusive to the Almoravid period but occurs at other times as well.³⁷ The choice of rich materials for these pieces also transforms them into very precious objects, symbolizing luxury and wealth. In the particular case of the Ibn Yūsuf Mosque minbar in Marrakech, the combination of rich woods, such as boxwood, acacia and jujube, with small ivory pieces³⁸ increases the colour range, making it one of the most outstanding examples of Almoravid inlay. Added to the richness of the Kutubiyya Mosque minbar is the fact of its being the tallest of all the preserved Western medieval minbars with a total height of 3.86 metres,³⁹ thus supporting the idea that this minbar was conceived as the most important in the Empire by the Almoravid emir, and as a symbol of himself.

³⁶ VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 15, 21.

³⁷ The symbolism of perfection borne by Cordoban artistry has been present since the times of the Caliphate. Especially prominent was the aura of perfection surrounding pieces from Madīnat al-Zahrā’, from the moment of its destruction during the Fitna. In the case of Almoravid architecture, there is the known re-use in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque of Fez of some pieces brought from Madīnat al-Zahrā’; some capitals were reused in the mosque’s miḥrāb as well as in the arches separating the mosque from the “Mosque of the Dead” (Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin à Fès*, 42).

³⁸ VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 7.

³⁹ Henri Terrasse, “Minbars anciens du Maroc,” in *Mélanges d’Histoire et d’Archéologie de l’Occident Musulman, tome II. Homage à George Marçais* (Algiers: Gouvernement Général de l’Algérie sous Direction des Beaux-Arts, 1957), 159.

On the other hand, the capacity to acquire this kind of precious and “perfect” piece may be interpreted as a display of the Almoravid emir’s power. This premise is clearly articulated in the case of this minbar, with the second and seventh Sūras of the Qur’an being chosen for its lateral inscriptions.⁴⁰ Both Sūras refer to the idea of God’s Throne. In the first inscription it is referred to as **كرسي** (Kursī):⁴¹

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ حَمْدٍ وَعَلَىٰ سَلَامٍ وَسَلَامًا /
 اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ
 مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ أَمْرِهِ
 إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ.

In the second inscription, from the beginning of the seventh Sūra, there is employed the other term used to refer to God’s Throne: **العرش** (al-‘Arsh):⁴²

أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ /
 مَنْ رُبِّكَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ ثُمَّ اسْتَوَىٰ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ
 يُغْشَىٰ لَيْلٌ نَهَارٌ يُطَلِّبُهُ حِثِّثًا وَالشَّمْسُ وَالْقَمَرُ وَالنُّجُومُ سَخِرَتْ بِأَمْرِهِ لِأَنَّ لَهُ الْخَلْقَ وَالْإِسْرَارَ
 تَبْرَكَ اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

Both Sūras were commonly used in medieval Islamic architecture and art works related to the power of kings and emirs.⁴³ Beyond the obvious display

⁴⁰ María Marcos Cobaleda, *Los almorávides: territorio, arquitectura y artes suntuarias* (Unprinted doctoral thesis, Universidad de Granada, 2010), 340; VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 18–9.

⁴¹ VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 104. Translation: “In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God bless Muḥammad and his family and save them./ God! There is no god except He, the Living, the Everlasting. Neither slumber overtakes Him, nor sleep. To Him belongs everything in the heavens and everything on earth. Who is he that can intercede with Him except with His permission? He knows what is before them, and what is behind them; and they cannot grasp any of His knowledge, except as He wills. His Throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and their preservation does not burden Him. He is the Most High, the Great.” (Qur’an, 2255).

⁴² VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 104. Translation: “I take refuge in God from the accursed Satan. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful./ Your Lord is God; He who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then established Himself on the Throne. The night overtakes the day, as it pursues it persistently; and the sun, and the moon, and the stars are subservient by His command. He is the creation, and His is the command. Blessed is God, Lord of all beings.” (Qur’an, 754).

⁴³ Within the Almoravid context, the second Sūra, which is found in the minbar of the Kutubiyya Mosque, is also present in the epigraphic ornamentation of the miḥrāb

of kingly power, however, why did the Almoravid emir feel this imperative to reaffirm and reinforce his supremacy? The answer may be found in the political context of the 1130s. It must be taken into account that the death of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, spiritual leader of the Almohads, took place in 1130.⁴⁴ Only three years later, in 1133, his successor ‘Abd al-Mu’min proclaimed himself as Caliph.⁴⁵ This fact led to the creation of a new Caliphate in the West which recognized neither the authority of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad nor of the Fatimid one in Cairo. Thus what began as a religious movement in the Atlas Mountains during the 1120s had in just over ten years become an important political and military revolution against the Almoravids, able to reach the gates of Marrakech.⁴⁶ In his political context, and amid the increasing number of Almohad followers and the subsequent Almohad military conquests, the Almoravid emir understandably wanted to reinforce the perception of Almoravid power and political supremacy over the Almohads in North Africa. If we consider that this minbar was ordered by ‘Alī Ibn Yūsuf for the Friday Mosque of Marrakech in 1137, therefore, the ideas of luxury, perfection and power which this masterpiece bears become meaningful and fully justified.

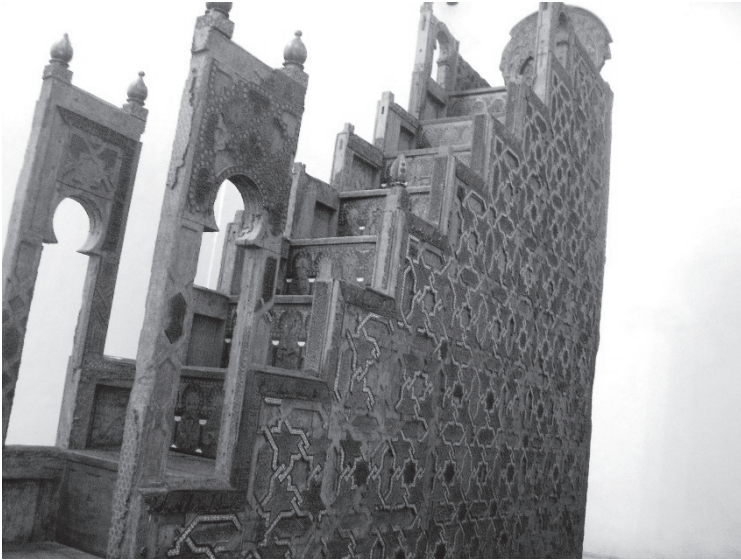
in the Great Mosque of Tlemcen (Cynthia Robinson, “Emanationist Thought and the Almoravids: Patronage, Power and the Pierced Stucco Dome of Tlemcen,” in *Envisioning Islamic art and architecture: essays in honour of Renata Holod*, ed. David Roxburgh (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 34). Besides both these Sūras, Sūra 67 (most commonly known as “Sūrat al-Mulk”) was also used in the same sense in medieval Islamic architecture. One of the best known examples of this last Sūra’s use during the Nasrid period is for the inscriptions which cover the walls of the Throne Hall built by Sultan Yūsuf I in the Alhambra of Granada, this Sūra being employed with the same intention as the two located on the minbar of the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakech.

⁴⁴ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib: nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades*, 193; Ibn Simāk, *al-Hulal al-Mawshīyya, Crónica árabe de las dinastías almorávide, almohade y benimerín*, 140.

⁴⁵ Dolores Villalba Sola, *La senda de los almohades. Arquitectura y patrimonio* (Granada: Universidad de Granada/Casa Árabe, 2015), 31.

⁴⁶ The famous battle of the Buḥayra took place in the environs of Marrakech in 1130 (Ibn Simāk, *al-Hulal al-Mawshīyya, Crónica árabe de las dinastías almorávide, almohade y benimerín*, 138–40). Although an Almoravid triumph against the rising power of the Almohads, the battle shows how this dynasty, less than ten years after its birth, was able to reach the walls of the Almoravid imperial capital (Marcos Cobaleda, *Los almorávides: arquitectura de un Imperio*, 33–4).

Picture 6.2: Minbar of the Kutubiyya Mosque, Marrakech (1137).



Almoravid Works in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez and its Andalusī Minbar

Although the Qarawiyyīn Mosque was already built when the Almoravids conquered this city in 1069⁴⁷, it was enlarged during the years of ‘Alī Ibn Yūsuf’s government. This architectural transformation was performed between 1130 and 1136, and the decorative works completed after that in 1144.⁴⁸ The Almoravid ornamentation was concentrated in the main parts of the mosque such as the axial nave and the miḥrāb, to underscore their importance. Due to the inscriptions and the signatures located in the stalactite domes of the axial nave, these ornaments have also been considered an example of Andalusī works in North Africa. This argument has been maintained because among the inscriptions there appear names of artisans involved in these domes’ ornamentation, some of them apparently

⁴⁷ Although the first arrival of the Almoravids at Fez was in 1069, as mentioned in *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshīyya*, this same source explains that the city was not completely conquered by Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn until 1075 (Ibn Simāk, *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshīyya. Crónica árabe de las dinastías almorávide, almohade y benimerin*, 41).

⁴⁸ Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin à Fès*, 20.

from al-Andalus. Among these artisans, one signed his works with the following inscription:⁴⁹

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ مُحَمَّدٍ / صَنَعَ هَذِهِ الْقُبَّةَ سَلْمَةُ بْنُ فَرَجٍ.

The claimed Andalusī origin of Salāma Ibn Mufarrij has been asserted by Henri Terrasse⁵⁰ and María Jesús Viguera Molins.⁵¹ If true, then he may very possibly have come from the Banū Mufarrij, a family known in al-Andalus since the days of the Caliphate.⁵² This would be new evidence of social and artistic exchanges between both sides of the Strait, showing the Almoravids' preferences for artistic pieces and artisans from al-Andalus for the principal mosques of the Maghreb.

Despite the Andalusī origin of some of the artisans who worked on the vaults and domes of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque, the use of the muqarnaṣ, highly developed in the domes and vault of this mosque's axial nave, was one of the Almoravids' main contributions to Western Islamic art. This element was employed for the first time in the West in the Qal'a of Banū Ḥammād (Algeria), at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century (that is, at the same time as the Almoravids reached al-Andalus). However, its employment in the Qal'a seems to be an isolated example in Western Islamic art,⁵³ and it was during the Almoravid period that the use of the muqarnaṣ became widespread; the first instance was in the four angle domes inside the Qubbat al-Bārūdiyyīn in Marrakech,⁵⁴ and later on in all their main religious constructions in the Maghreb. In a short time, this element reached an advanced state of development, and the stalactite domes and vault in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez are the highest examples of this form of artistic expression.

⁴⁹ Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin à Fès*, 78. Translation: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God bless Muḥammad/ Salāma Ibn Mufarrij made this dome."

⁵⁰ Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin à Fès*, 19.

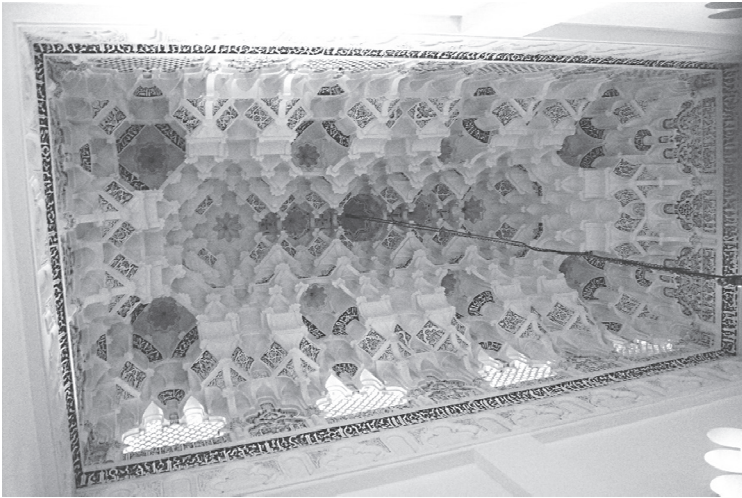
⁵¹ María Jesús Viguera Molins, *El retroceso territorial de al-Andalus: almorávides y Almohades. Siglo XI al XIII*. Historia de España de Ramón Menéndez Pidal 8:2 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1994–2000), 639.

⁵² Jorge Lirola Delgado (ed.), *Biblioteca de al-Andalus 4: De Ibn al-Labbāna a Ibn al-Ruyūlī* (Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2006).

⁵³ For more information about the origin of the muqarnaṣ in Western Islamic art, their distribution during the following centuries and their interpretation, see María Marcos Cobaleda and Françoise Pirot, "Les *muqarnas* dans la Méditerranée médiévale depuis l'époque almoravide jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle," *Histoire et Mesure* 31:2 (2016): 11–39.

⁵⁴ Marcos Cobaleda, *Los almorávides: arquitectura de un Imperio*, 154.

Picture 6.3: Stalactite vault in the axial nave of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez (1137). Photo: Mounir Aqesbi.



Besides the above-mentioned ornamental works of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque made by the Almoravids in 1144, the mosque's minbar was ordered by 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf the previous year, as the cursive inscription around the entrance arch shows.⁵⁵ In this case, the minbar's origin is not specified in the inscription. Nevertheless, if we study the formal aspects of this piece, we can determine that it is manifestly similar to that of the Kutubiyya Mosque. Some scholars have therefore thought that this minbar was also made in Cordoba like the one from Marrakech, and even that both minbars were made in the same workshop.⁵⁶ If this hypothesis is true, this would again be highly significant as a new example of the Almoravid emir choosing an Andalusī masterpiece (in this case, for the most important religious centre of the Maghreb during the Middle Ages, the Qarawiyyīn Mosque). Yet despite their presumed common origin, it is not possible to say that the minbar of Fez was a true copy of the Kutubiyya Mosque one. Their proportions are different, and the first is smaller and less sumptuous

⁵⁵ Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin à Fès*, 50; VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 58.

⁵⁶ VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 58; VV. AA., *Al-Andalus. Las Artes islámicas en España*, 364.

Picture 6.4: Minbar of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez (1144). Photo: Mounir Aqesbi.



than that of the Friday Mosque in Marrakech.⁵⁷ Nonetheless both have the same triangular profile, characteristic of this kind of piece, made with the inlay technique and ornamented using geometrical interlacing forms, with vegetal decoration inside the panels.

In the case of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque minbar and as with that of the Kutubiyya Mosque, it is again possible to find a cursive inscription invoking the ideas of power and supremacy. On this occasion, the Sūra 59 (“al-Ḥaṣhr”) runs along the arch of the entrance of the Fez minbar, where the names of “King”, “Mighty” and “Omnipotent” are given to God:⁵⁸

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا تَقَوُّوا اللَّهَ وَلْتَنْظُرْ نَفْسٌ مَّا قَدَّاتِ لَعْنًا، وَتَقَوُّوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ، وَلَا تَكُونُوا كَالَّذِينَ نَسُوا اللَّهَ فَأَنْسَاهُمْ أَنْفُسَهُمْ، أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ. لَا يَسْتَوِي أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ وَأَصْحَابُ الْجَنَّةِ، أَصْحَابُ الْجَنَّةِ هُمْ الْفَائِزُونَ. لَوْ أَنْزَلْنَا هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ عَلَى جَبَلٍ لَرَأَيْتَهُ خَاشِعًا مُتَصَدِّعًا مِّنْ خَشْيَةِ اللَّهِ، وَتِلْكَ الْأَمْثَالُ نَضْرِبُهَا لِلنَّاسِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ، هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ، هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ، هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ، الْمَلِكُ الْقُدُّوسُ السَّلَامُ الْمُؤْمِنُ الْمُهَيْمِنُ الْعَزِيزُ الْجَبَّارُ الْمُتَكَبِّرُ، سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ، هُوَ اللَّهُ الْخَالِقُ الْبَارِئُ الْمُصَوِّرُ، لَهُ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَى، يُسَبِّحُ لَهُ فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ.

After reading this inscription, it would seem that all these Andalusī masterpieces were selected by the Almoravid emirs with the clear intention to link them to the notions of political and religious power analysed above. Moreover, the year in which the minbar of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque was completed (1144) was for several related reasons a remarkable one in Almoravid history: it was in 1144 that Tāshufīn Ibn ‘Alī, the Emir of the

⁵⁷ Meunié and Terrasse, *Recherches archéologiques à Marrakech*, 82; VV. AA., *Le Minbar de la Mosquée Kutubiyya*, 58; Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qaraouiyyin à Fès*, 50.

⁵⁸ ‘Uṭmān Ismā‘īl, *Ta’rīkh al-‘Imāra al-Islāmiyya wa-l-funūn al-Taṭbīqiyya bi-l-Magrib al-Aqṣā. al-Juz’ al-Ṭānī: ‘Aṣr dawla al-Murābiṭīn*, 186. Translation: “O you who believe! Fear God, and let every soul consider what it has forwarded for the morrow, and fear God. God is aware of what you do. And do not be like those who forgot God, so He made them forget themselves. These are the sinners. Not equal are the inhabitants of the Fire and the inhabitants of the Paradise who are the winners. Had we sent this Qur’an down on a mountain, you would have seen it trembling, crumbling in awe of God. These parables We cite for the people, so that they may reflect. He is God. There is no god but He, the Knower of secrets and declarations. He is the Compassionate, the Merciful. He is God; besides Whom there is no god, there is no god; the Sovereign, the Holy, the Peace-Giver, the Faith-Giver, the Overseer, the Almighty, the Omnipotent, the Overwhelming. Glory be to God, beyond what they associate. He is God; the Creator, the Maker, the Designer. His are the Most Beautiful Names. Whatever is in the heavens and the earth glorifies Him. He is the Majestic, the Wise.” (Qur’an, 59:18-24).

Almoravid Empire since the previous year,⁵⁹ named his son Ibrāhīm Ibn Tāshufīn as his heir;⁶⁰ that the Christian General Reverter, among the most important figures in the Almoravid army, died in the fighting against the Almohads;⁶¹ and that the Andalusī revolts began in Gharb al-Andalus under the rule of Ibn Qāsi.⁶² Alongside the uprisings in al-Andalus, it should not be forgotten that since 1139 the Almoravids and Almohads had been involved in the so-called “War of the Seven Years,”⁶³ culminating in the Almohad conquest of Marrakech at the start of 1147.⁶⁴ While it is true that ‘Alī Ibn Yūsuf did not live to see either the death of Reverter or the revolt of Ibn Qāsi, in the last year of his life the political tensions in al-Andalus and North Africa were undeniable. For this reason, the Almoravid Emir ‘Alī Ibn Yūsuf’s decision to bring to North Africa this Andalusī masterpiece, imbued with the ideas of power and supremacy, seems to be a last, exhortatory attempt to reinforce his increasingly undermined authority in the Maghreb and al-Andalus.

Conclusions

After the above analysis, we can conclude in the first place that during the Almoravid period there was a deep unity between both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar, not only politically but also in social and cultural aspects. Within this framework, we can determine that the artistic exchanges between al-Andalus and North Africa were an important reality during the times of the Almoravid Empire. There was not only a tendency towards exchange of works of art (although this is a highly representative one), but also of artisans and artistic elements or decorative patterns.

Despite Andalusī art’s great influence on Almoravid constructions in North Africa, moreover, it can be concluded that the exchanges between

⁵⁹ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib: nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades*, 256; Ibn Simāk, *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya, Crónica árabe de las dinastías almorávide, almohade y benimerín*, 145; Ibn Abī Zar‘, *Rawḍ al-Qirtās*, 322.

⁶⁰ Ibn Simāk, *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya, Crónica árabe de las dinastías almorávide, almohade y benimerín*, 157.

⁶¹ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib: nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades*, 238.

⁶² Viguera Molins, *El retroceso territorial de al-Andalus: almorávides y Almohades. Siglo XI al XIII*, 67; Viguera Molins, *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebíes (al-Andalus del XI al XIII)*, 189.

⁶³ Marcos Cobaleda, *Los almorávides: arquitectura de un Imperio*, 57; Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘sha fī kitābāt al-Insha’*, 75.

⁶⁴ Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib: nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades*, 280–1.

both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar were reciprocal, a fact that has been forgotten in the traditional historiography. We have documented it in such cases as the Almoravid contributions to the evolution of plant-ornamentation, or the use of muqarnaş in the domes and vaults of their main mosques in Marrakech, Fez and Tlemcen.

On the other hand, we can also state that the Almoravids showed a significant interest in the arts, especially Andalusí, which served to symbolize the luxury, power and religious supremacy of Almoravid emir, as the main sponsors of these kinds of works. The case of the Andalusí minbars for the Almoravid Friday Mosques in North Africa is one of the most prominent. The choice of these sumptuous masterpieces is closely related to the political context of the second half of the twelfth century, especially the 1130s and 1140s when the Almohad movement began to gain strength. In this context, the Almoravid emirs saw in the Andalusí pieces an effective way to symbolize their political and religious supremacy over the Almohads and, in several cases, through their opulence to represent themselves.

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CHAPTER 7

THE PRESENCE OF RABBINICAL EXEGESIS IN THE ACCOUNT OF THE FLOOD IN THE *GENERAL ESTORIA*

DAVID NAVARRO

This article analyses the biblical account of the Flood (Genesis 6–9) and its version in Alfonso X of Castile’s historiographic work, the General Estoria. It argues that the principal source used for the Castilian version, the Historia Scholastica by Petrus Comestor, also shares parallels and examples extracted from rabbinic and midrashic writings not cited within the text, such as the Book of Enoch, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Pirq̄e de Rabbi Eliezer. The comparative study of these various sources permits one to link the Alfonsine version more closely to rabbinical ideas than to Roman Catholic ideology, distancing it from the framework of the initial Christian auctoritas model in which it was conceived.

Introduction

Universal historiography during the Middle Ages in Western Europe is rooted in the biblical text, which was employed as the narrative and expositive foundation of human history. The Bible, written through divine inspiration, served as a framework for this body of historical knowledge, providing it with specific content and a structural pattern. The most extensive work compiled on the history of humanity in that period is the *General Estoria* (*GE*), written within the Alfonsine *scriptoria*. Commissioned by King Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252–84) in 1274 and composed in the vernacular, the text combined the Bible and its glosses, as well as works by other authors, to construct a narrative starting with the creation story of

Genesis and ending, unfinished, before the birth of Christ.¹ Alfonso X's extensive work on the configuration of this project embodied its literary and encyclopaedic character, with the intention to "universalize the space of the narrative course of history".² The process began with the translation of the biblical source, maintaining the order of Genesis, while episodes from other sources were inserted, serving as integral stories to connect the biblical narration. In addition, the *GE* follows the structural pattern of other historiographic sources such as the *Antiquities of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus (*AH*) and *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor (*HS*).³ The pretensions of this universal history also translated into national demands. The use of Castilian as the target language represented a desire to lend prestige to the vernacular and to aid the monarch in his eagerness to achieve universal Christianity. Alfonso accepted the biblical text as a revelation of truth, and the heterogeneity of knowledge that was employed faithfully maintained the orthodox approach of the Scriptures and the doctrine of the Church Fathers.⁴ However, a closer look at the text permits a reading contradictory to this orthodox one of the Bible and its Patristic dogma. Francisco Peña has previously analysed the rabbinical and apocryphal influences as unacknowledged sources in the first chapters of the *GE* Genesis. His study provides an exegetical interpretation of the biblical narration more closely tied to rabbinical exegesis than to Roman Catholic thought.⁵ In this article, I propose to expand upon this argument, in order to

¹ The *GE* begins as a continuation of the *Estoria de Espanna* and is made up of six units, of which only the first five were finished. See the works cited in the bibliography by Menéndez Pidal (1951); Catalán (1963); De Malkiel (1959, 1960); Fernández-Ordóñez (1992); Gil (1985); Liuzzo Scorpo (2011); Rico (1984); Solalinde (1934). The citations of the *General Estoria* come from the 2009 edition by Pedro Borja Sánchez-Prieto. References from *Historia Scholastica* are from the edition by Georg Stampel (Munich: Bavarian State Library, 2011, digital edition). All quotations from the biblical text come from the Jewish Publication Society of America, *The Torah: The Five Books of Moses* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1999).

² María José Lacarra and Francisco López Estrada, *Orígenes de la prosa. Historia de la literatura española* 4 (Madrid: Júcar, 1993), 138.

³ Joaquín Rubio Tovar, *La prosa medieval* (Madrid: Playor, 1982), 84.

⁴ Manuel Alvar, "Didactismo e integración en la *General estoria* (estudio del Génesis)," in *La lengua y la literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X. Actas del Congreso internacional (Murcia, 5-10 de marzo de 1984)* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1985), 72-4.

⁵ Francisco Peña-Fernández, "La relatividad de las cosas. Heterodoxy and Midrashim in the First Chapters of Alfonso's *General Estoria*," *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 24 (2013): 551-70.

examine this “enarratio” of rabbinical traditions, taking as an example the account of the Flood (Gen. 6–9). The comparative analysis of the Castilian version with its principal source, the *HS* by Petrus Comestor, allows one to see how the *GE*, although created according to the Church’s theological model, presents parallelisms that stem from various Jewish exegetical works, distancing it from the framework of the Christian *auctoritas* in which it was conceived.

Biblical Exegesis in the Times of Alfonso X

The study and exegetic interpretation of the Hebrew Bible attracted Christian and Jewish biblical scholars, who sought to understand and respond to the stories in the Bible.⁶ The use of alternative external sources facilitated the exegetical study of the Sacred Scriptures. The consultation of Hebrew and apocryphal texts was common practice in the compilation of historical Castilian translations of the Bible, as the texts helped scholars to make educated guesses and explain controversial passages. It is possible that the openness of the *GE* relied upon the participation of Jewish exegetes expert in the *hebraica veritas* and the power of the vernacular to resolve textual questions, even though they remained anonymous.⁷ In spite of the anonymity of the collaborators in this work’s composition, and in contrast to their participation in the translation of scientific works, it is probable that “in the field of compilation they were experts in Hebrew text”.⁸ These Jewish editors contributed additional value to the text thanks to their competence in the vernacular and Hebrew. Castilian did not present a barrier to the Hebrew translator, being the language of communication within the Jewish quarters and having a didactic function, as well as that of contact with the monarch when Jews lacked sufficient proficiency in Latin.⁹ For its part, Hebrew never lost its value as a sacred language upon which Latin

⁶ Alvar, “Didactismo e integración,” 43.

⁷ Pedro Borja Sánchez-Prieto, “Introduction,” in *General estoria* 1, ed. Borja Sánchez-Prieto (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2009), cciv.

⁸ Borja Sánchez-Prieto, “Introduction,” cciv. For further study of the collaboration of Jews in translation of scientific works under Alphonso X’s patronage, see, José S. Gil, *The Jewish Collaborators of the School of Translators of Toledo* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1974); Norman Roth, “Jewish Collaborators in Alfonso’s Scientific Work,” in *Emperor of Culture Alfonso the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1990), 59–71; Norman Roth, “Jewish Translators at the Court of Alfonso X,” *Thought* 60 (1985): 439–55.

⁹ Abraham A. Neuman, *The Jews in Spain: their Social, Political and Cultural Life during the Middle Ages* 2 (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 100.

depended to decipher the word of God. It is no wonder that a certain number of these sources, although not mentioned directly in the texts, would have been drawn from rabbinical and apocryphal works.

Although no traces of Jewish apocryphal literature have been found on Iberian soil, it is possible that the editors of the *GE* had proof of the existence of such material.¹⁰ The references and subtle nuances throughout the text could not have been acquired only from the works of Flavius Josephus or Petrus Comestor.¹¹ If that is the case in other European biblical records which follow the pattern of Comestor's *HS* and add apocryphal traditions to create their narrative exegesis, in the *GE* this borrowing is even more common. One of these features is the desire on the editor's part to help the reader interpret literal biblical messages in a creative manner through explanatory or intertextual commentaries, similar to the role played by *aggadic* stories and *midrashim*:¹²

Alfonso's narration of biblical passages does not dwell on explanations or clarifications. In its retelling of the first episodes of the history of humanity, the *General Estoria* combines its desire to shed light into gaps, silences, and contradictions of the Scriptures with the progressive tendency for making up stories. The historiographical enterprise of Don Alfonso in its way of reading and expanding biblical literature would bear more resemblance to haggadic midrash.¹³

These narrations related to the biblical stories can be adapted to the life of the listener and reader; they promote creativity and imagination, filling the gaps in the biblical text with inter-texts.¹⁴ One of the episodes that most stimulated the creation and diffusion of rabbinical legends is that of humanity's destruction by the wrath of God as related in the story of the

¹⁰ Brian Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 34.

¹¹ Peña, "La relatividad," 559.

¹² *Midrash* (interpretation) and *aggadah* (narration) refer to the two types of rabbinic literary activity. The former represents ancient rabbinic interpretation of Scripture, while *aggadic* literature is focused on legendary and non-legal strata of the biblical texts in the form of parables, legends, humour and small talk. See Judah Goldin, "Midrash and Aggadah," in *Encyclopedia of Religion* 9 (New York: MacMillan, 1987), 509–15.

¹³ Peña, "La relatividad," 560.

¹⁴ Daniel Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 56.

Flood (Genesis 6–9).¹⁵ The Castilian version of this biblical story begins in the second part of the *GE*. The text translates this chapter directly from the Vulgate, relying on the *HS* as a supporting source. Nevertheless, two events in the narration stand out as being shaped from a more heterodox perspective, deviating from Comestor's version: the rebellion of the angels as the origin of evil in the world, and the role of the raven and the dove as messengers.

Rabbinic, Patristic and Alfonsine Interpretation of the *Sons of God* and the Origin of Evil

The Bible does not delve deeply into the factors that brought about the Flood, leaving room for numerous explanatory analyses by both Hebrew and Christian scholars.¹⁶ The passage in Genesis 6:2–4 interprets its cause as the union of the “sons of God,” or heavenly creatures, with mortal women exceptional due to their beauty and physical attractiveness.¹⁷ The analysis of this fragment spurred an ample series of interpretations in the rabbinical tradition, among them as an illicit sexual union that went against nature, and as the rise of a new immoral human race with evil habits which was involved in corrupting the world. Early rabbinical literature attributed the cause of

¹⁵ Three different accounts of the Flood of Babylonian tradition have survived: the Sumerian Flood story, the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic and the Atrahasis Epic. These are closely related to the biblical version of the Flood, and seem to follow a different retelling of the same Flood tradition. Details in these narrations include the placing of animals in the ark, the landing of the ark on a mountain, and the sending forth of birds to see if the waters had receded. Genesis describes the destruction of the world by God as a punishment for the wickedness of man (6:5). See Tikva Frymer-Kensky, “The Atrahasis Epic and Its Significance for Our Understanding of Genesis 1–9,” in *The Flood Myth*, ed. Alan Dundes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 61–71.

¹⁶ James Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 179; Sharon Nadav and Moshe Tishel, “Distinctive Traditions about Noah and the Flood in Second Temple Jewish Literature,” in *Noah and His Book(s)*, ed. Michael E. Stone, Ariel Amihay and Verel Hillel (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 148.

¹⁷ “And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. And the Lord said: My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be a hundred and twenty years. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.”

the Flood and the origin of evil to prohibited relations between angels and human beings. The so-called *Book of the Watchers* of the *Book of Enoch*, a pseudepigraphic text written between 300 BCE and 100 CE, holds responsible a group of guardian angels whose interaction with mortals culminated in an illicit union engendering the giants.¹⁸ Chapters 6 to 8 narrate how the angel Semihaza led his entourage of angels to cohabit with the “daughters of man”:

And it came to pass, when the children of men had multiplied, it happened that there were born unto them handsome and beautiful daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw them and desired them, and they said to one another: “Come, let us choose wives for ourselves from among the daughters of man and beget us children.” And Semihaza, being their leader, said unto them: “I fear that perhaps you will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone will become (responsible) for this great sin.” But they all responded to him, “Let us all swear an oath and bind everyone among us by a curse not to abandon this plan but to do the deed.” Then they all swore together and bound one another by it.¹⁹

Later, another angel, Azazel, serves as their leader, introducing men to the arts of metallurgy and weaponry, and the women to the art of seduction through making jewellery and the painting of the eyes:

And Azazel taught the people (the art of) making swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates; and he showed to their chosen ones bracelets, decorations, (shadowing of the eye) with antimony, ornamentation, the beautifying of the eyelids, all kinds of precious stones, and all coloring

¹⁸ Ascribed by tradition to Enoch, Noah’s great-grandfather, the book was compiled in Aramaic between the third and the first centuries BCE. It is composed of 108 chapters that stand out for their apocalyptic and messianic content. The book pretends to be a revelation given to Enoch, as it contains revelations given to Noah after Enoch’s death. Today it is omitted from the Rabbinic Tanakh and most Christian Old Testaments. For a study of the *Book of Enoch*, see the works by Bernard J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1952); Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees. Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Józef Milik, *Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); Devorah Dimant, “1 Enoch 6–11: A Methodological Perspective,” *SBLSP* 13:1 (1974): 323–39; Devorah Diamant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” *Vetus Testamentum* 33:1 (1983): 14–29. For this article, I rely on the translation of the text by Ephraim Isaac in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* 1, edited by James H. Charlesworth (New York: DoubleDay, 1983), 5–91.

¹⁹ Isaac, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 6: 1–4.

tinctures and alchemy. And there were many wicked ones, and they committed adultery, and erred, and all their conduct became corrupt.²⁰

The sexual contact between the angelic and human realm resulted in a new race of beings called *nephilim* (literally ‘fallen ones’), or giants. They began consuming humankind and all their possessions, devouring one another:

[...] And the women became pregnant and gave birth to great giants whose heights were three hundred cubits. These (giants) consumed the produce of all the people until the people detested feeding them. So the giants turned against (the people) in order to eat them. And they began to sin against birds, wild beasts, reptiles, and fish. And their flesh was devoured the one by the other, and they drank blood. And then the earth brought an accusation against the oppressors.²¹

Placed in this sequence, the transgression of the boundary between divine and mortal beings, the acquisition of forbidden knowledge by humans, the birth of the giants as the result of their union, and their brutal acts, led to the corruption of the Earth and the Flood.²² Based on this assertion, evil did not exist from the time of creation, but only entered the world at a later point. The biblical text, however, does not make a direct link between the angels’ descent and the events that led to the Flood nor assumes that the *nephilim* were the hybrid product of this union between angels and mortals. The ancient exegetes argued that the Flood was, directly or indirectly, a consequence of the sexual contact between the angelic and human realms, resulting in the giants.²³ This apocalyptic vision, initiated with Enoch, gained support from early rabbinic exegetic tradition and proto-Christian groups.²⁴ After the fourth century CE, however, it was replaced by a more

²⁰ Isaac, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 8: 1–2.

²¹ Isaac, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 6: 7.

²² Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 99.

²³ James Kugel, *The Bible as it Was* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 110.

²⁴ The interpretation of Gen. 6:4 is that the expression ‘sons of God’ appears without preamble or explanation by the narrator, who might have assumed that the term was already familiar to the audience but was lost to the later public. The expression raised several suggestions among the exegetical scholars. Proto-orthodox Christianity adopted the interpretation of the fallen angels of Genesis 6 without this being seen as marginal or heretical. This was due to the translation that the Septuagint made of the term *b’nei* as ‘angels’ or ‘celestial creatures’ (*ángeloi tou theou*). The New Testament rejected this idea by arguing that the angels did not marry and sexual contact with women was not reasonably viable. See Victor Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis. Chapters 1–17* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company,

rational conception relating the term ‘sons of God’ (*bnei ‘elohim*) not with celestial beings but direct descendants of Seth or members of the nobility.²⁵ Nevertheless, some exegetical texts still echoed references from the Enochic story of the *Watchers*, interpreting the ‘sons of God’ as fallen angels. One of the factors was the importance of the *Book of Enoch* as an apocalyptic text of the ancient literature of God (*Merkabah*), with reference to the vision of Ezekiel and the later mystic literature of *heikhalot* or ‘palaces’.²⁶ The *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (TPJ)* of the second century CE, influenced by the *Book of the Watchers*, emphasizes the maquillage, hair, and physical appearance of the women as tools used to captivate the angels:²⁷

And it was when the sons of men began to multiply upon the face of the earth, and fair daughters were born to them; and the sons of the great saw that the daughters of men were beautiful, and painted, and curled, walking with revelation of the flesh, and with imaginations of wickedness; that they took them wives of all who pleased them.²⁸

The *midrashic* text *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer (PRE)*, written in the ninth century, describes this forbidden union in a similar manner, highlighting the

1990), 261; Jack Lewis, *Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 105–11.

²⁵ Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity. The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 205–9; Meredith G. Kline, “Divine Kingship and Genesis 6:4,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 24 (1962): 187–204.

²⁶ For further analysis on this topic, see Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1946); Gersham Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary Press, 1960).

²⁷ *Targum* or “interpretation” is the Aramaic translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. It aimed to facilitate the study and exegesis of the biblical books. The first *targumim* were written after the Second Temple throughout the first and second centuries CE. This is the case of *Targum Onkelos*, the official eastern Babylonian Targum attributed to Jewish convert Onkelos; and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, also known as *Targum of Palestine*, assigned to Jonathan ben Uzziel. In Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 324–8. For further analysis, see Israel Drazin, *The Targum Onkelos to Exodus* (Denver: Center for Judaic Studies, 1990), 2–4; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, trans. Michael Maher (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1987).

²⁸ Michael Maher, trans, 6: 2.

seductive beauty of the daughters of the line of Cain as one of the factors that incited the angelic transgression.²⁹

The angels who fell from their holy place in heaven saw the daughters of the generations of Cain walking about naked, with their eyes painted like harlots, and they went astray after them [...] And the sons of Elohim saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose.³⁰

Christian orthodoxy rejected the notion that fallen angels were responsible for that evil, principally because they had already associated its origin with the fall of Satan and his followers at the start of Genesis. According to Christian mythology, demons were angels who turned against God, as revealed at the beginning of Creation. Their leader, Satan, was cast out of Paradise and his followers with him. The myth, which was never part of Jewish folklore nor is registered in the New Testament, appeared in the third century CE as a Patristic explanation of the origin of evil.³¹ Through the works of Tertullian and later Origen, Christian exegesis developed its own interpretation of Satan, the fall of the angels and their manifestation as demons.³² With the Augustinian doctrine, the Christian conception of evil was reformulated, interpreting the fall of Satan and his followers as eternal and without pardon, as opposed to the sin of Adam and the rest of humanity who are redeemed through the acceptance of Christ.³³ In the *City of God*, Augustine deduced that these fallen angels were spirits without corporeal form, pointing out the impossibility of their physical union with women. He perceived ‘the sons of God’ as mortal men descended directly from Seth, whose union with women of the line of Cain gave rise to the giants, a race that existed both before and after the Flood as a creation of God:

²⁹ The text was compiled around the eighth century CE and falsely ascribed to the Tannaitic scholar R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. It represented a *midrash* widely popular during the medieval period among exegetes who mistakenly attributed some of the passages to Rabbi Eliezer. In any case, the authorship of the book remains unknown. See Gerald Friedlander, introduction, *Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer (The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great)* (New York: The Bloch Publishing Company, 1916), xiii–xiv; Rachel Adelman, *The Return of the Repressed: Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer and the Pseudepigrapha* (Boston: Brill, 2009), 35.

³⁰ Gerald Friedlander, *Pirque*, XXII, 160.

³¹ See Dale Basil Martin, “When Did Angels Become Demons?,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 4 (2010): 656–7.

³² Martin, “When Did Angels,” 676.

³³ Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Prince of Darkness. Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 101.

These sons of God, however, were not angels of God in the sense that they were not also human beings, as some people think, but they were assuredly human beings. On this point the testimony of Scripture is unequivocal. For after the words “the angels of God saw that the daughters of men were good, and they took to wife such of them as they chose,” it at once adds; “Then the Lord God said: My spirit shall not abide in these men forever, for they are flesh.” They owed their creation as angels of God and sons of God to the spirit of God, but because they sank to a lower level, they are called human beings, a name that they had by nature, not by grace.³⁴

Therefore, the origin of evil in the world lay not with these celestial beings, but rather directly with the actions of mortals. This analysis gained validity within patristic ideology, influencing later authors in this tradition such as Petrus Comestor. In his *HS*, the author absolves the angels of responsibility for the evil in the world, placing the blame directly on the conduct of men:

After that men began to increase in numbers on the earth, the sons of God descendants of Seth the pious, saw the daughters of the lineage of Cain, and defeated by lust they took them as wives, and giants were born from them.³⁵

The account of the Flood in *GE* deviates from Comestor’s version portraying the myth of the fallen angels as responsible for the origin of evil. To do so, it narrates the preamble to the Flood in a similar manner to the Enochic interpretation of the “sons of God” as angels with demonic names and the ability to take human form, permitting them to interact with mortals:

they were among the evil angels, a group of them who had the power to take human form, and when they wish they can appear in that form to others, and when they wish they can vanish out of sight, and these spirits are called

³⁴ “Non autem illos ita fuisse angelos Dei ut homines non essent, sicut quidam putant, sed homines procul dubio fuisse scriptura ipsa sine ulla ambiguitate declarat. Cum enim praemisum esset quod videntes angeli Dei filias hominum quia bonae sunt, sumpserunt sibi uxores ex omnibus quas elegerunt, mox adiunctum est: Et dixit Dominus Deus: Non permanebit spiritus meus in hominibus his in aeternum propter quod caro sunt. Spiritu Dei quippe fuerant facti angeli Dei et filii Dei, sed declinando ad inferiora dicuntur homines nomine naturae, non gratiae.”, Levine, trans., *City of God, Volume IV: Books 12–15*, 554–5.

³⁵ *HS*, 30: “Cum coepissent homines multiplicari super terram, viderunt filii Dei, id est Seth, religiosi, filias hominum, id est de stirpe Cain, et victi concupiscentia, acceperunt eas uxores, et nati sunt inde gigantes.”

incubi [...] they throw themselves at men when they are asleep, and they lay with women in the shape of men and they get them pregnant.³⁶

In the same manner as the *Pirqe* and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, the account repeatedly describes the beauty of the daughters of Cain as the principal factor that motivated this transgression:

and so it happened due to the *beauty* of the women of the line of Cain, as you will learn here. [...] The women of the line of Cain were born into *beauty*, and so they grew and became many [...] and the sons of God, seeing the daughters of the men that descended from Cain and how *beautiful* they were, coveted them and took advantage of them, taking them as wives.³⁷
[emphasis by the author]

This forbidden union between angels and mortals engendered a new race, the giants. The *Historia Scholastica* mentions the etymological origin of this term, previously used in the Septuagint and the Vulgate, associating it with the ancient Greek root *-ge* meaning ‘earth’.³⁸ In contrast, the *General Estoria* explores the provenance of the term in order to clarify its function within the episode. To this end, the plural Latin expression *geniti* or ‘engendered’ was added to the text, providing it with an alternate figurative meaning. The word is not related to ‘earth’, or the organic material (*adamah*) from which the giants came as Comestor interprets it, but rather to the connotation of masters of the physical world (*olam*) who are responsible for the violence and corruption generated in it:

And these were called *giants*, and they were given this name from *ge*, which means ‘earth’ in Greek, and *geniti*, which in Latin means “engendered.” Accordingly, *gigantes* signifies engendered of the earth, not because they were born of it, but because they wanted to be the masters of the world [...] And seeing that they were powerful on the earth and more valiant than the

³⁶ *GE*, II, I, 48: “que ovo en los malos ángeles que cayeron una orden d’ellos que avién natura de poder tomar forma de omne, e quando quiere se muestran e quando quiere se desfacen de vista, e estos espiritos an nombre incubos [...] se echan desuso a los omnes de noche cuando duermen, e éstos yazen con las mugeres en forma de varón, e empañávanlas de omnes.”

³⁷ *GE*, II, I, 48: “e es cierta cosa que vino esto por la *fermosura* de las mugeres del linage de Caím, como oiredes aquí. [...] Las mugeres del linage de Caím sallieron muy *fermosas*, e crecién e eran ya muchas [...] e los fijos de Dios, veyendo a las fijas de los omnes, fascas del linage de Caím, cómo eran muy *fermosas* pagáronse d’ellas e cobdiáronlas e tomarónlas por mugeres.”

³⁸ Kugel, *The Bible as it Was*, 110.

rest, and more brave and defiant they began to abuse those weaker than them in all manner of ways, beating them and punishing them.³⁹

Various *midrashic* texts portray the giants as agents of terror. The *Midrash Rabbah Bereishit* (*MRB*) employs the word *nephilim* or “fallen” to refer to their earthly condition and their role in the devastation of the Earth.⁴⁰ The desolation of humanity caused by their impure acts was encouraged by the aggressive nature of these beings, and they are described as wearing chains around their necks, glorifying their fame as warriors and their violent attitude:

Rabbi Leazar b. R. Simeon said: *Nephilim* denotes that they hurled (*hippilu*) the world down, themselves fell (*naflu*) from the world, and filled the world with abortions (*nefilim*) through their immorality. [...] They laid the world desolate (*heshimu*), were driven in desolation from the world, and caused the world to be made desolate.⁴¹

Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer emphasizes their warlike behavior by referring to them as *anakhim*, signifying that they were loaded with chains upon chains. This violent conduct toward the mortals resulted in chaos and complete and utter desolation:

Rabbi Zadok said: From them were born the giants (*Anakhim*), who walked with pride in their heart, and who stretched forth their hand to all (kinds of) robbery and violence, and shedding of blood.⁴²

³⁹ *GE*, II, I, 46–7: “E estos fueron a los que dixieron *gigantes*, e ovieron este nombre de *ge*, que dizen en griego por tierra, e *geniti* en latín por engendrados. Onde segund esto *gigantes* quiere dezir tanto como engendrados de tierra, e non por que ellos de tierra naciessen, mas porque querián seer señores de toda la tierra [...]. E veyéndose poderosos en la tierra e valientes a manos más que todos los otros e más fardidos e atrevudos començaron a soberviar a los menores e a los otros, e a fazerles todos los males del mundo de dicho e de fecho, e quebrantarlos e apremiarlos.”

⁴⁰ *Midrash Rabbah Bereishit* is composed of 29 chapters ascribed to Palestinian scholar and rabbi Hoshayah around the third century CE. The material consists of a verse-to-verse homiletic and ethical interpretation of the biblical text. The compilation took place at some point after the redaction of the Jerusalem Talmud. See Harry Freedman and Simon Maurice, introduction, *Midrash Rabbah. Genesis 1* (London: Soncino Press, 1961), 29.

⁴¹ Freedman and Maurice, *Midrash Rabbah Bereishit*, 26:7.

⁴² Friedlander, *Pirque*, XXII, 161. The *nephilim* are referred to by other tribal names such as *emim* (terrors), *repha'im* (weakeners), *gibborim* (giant heroes), *zazummim* (achievers), and *awwim* (devastators). See Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis* (Indiana: Greenwich House, 1983), 106–7.

According to the Castilian version, the forbidden union between angels and mortal women and the subsequent corruption of the world at the hands of the giants was the original source of evil on the Earth instead of the Fall of Adam and Eve as it was conceived in Christian dogma.⁴³ It presents a bleak and imperfectly created world that God observes, contemplates and is witness to, making the decision to destroy it and create anew:

And looking ahead and heartbroken for what He wanted to do, He spoke to Noah and said: -I will destroy the mankind I created from the face of the earth and will destroy everything for him, from men to animals, from animals that crawl to the birds in the sky, for I am sorry for having created them.⁴⁴

Exegetical Interpretation of the Raven and the Dove in the *GE*

General Estoria presents another hermeneutic parallelism with rabbinical sources, in this case, observing the role of the raven and the dove as messengers. The narration of this episode stands out due to its extensive explanation, as it seeks an easily understandable and non-theological description of the roles of the two birds. Both animals were used to inform Noah that the waters had descended.⁴⁵ According to the biblical text, Noah first sent a raven, and later a dove, which returned with an olive branch. When he sent the dove out a second time, it did not return, which meant that it had found a place to land. The biblical version is unclear as to whether or not the raven ever returned to the ark, which led exegetes to make various interpretations. The rabbinical tradition undertook an analysis of the raven and the dove, based on their natural behavior and their interaction with man, rather than on their religious symbolism. Jewish folklore associated the raven with unburied corpses and its purpose of lamenting the deaths of these people.⁴⁶ In addition, although the raven is considered of impure nature, and

⁴³ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 52.

⁴⁴ *GE*, II, I, 48: “E guardándose pora adelante e seyendo tañido de dolor de corazón de dentro por aquello que querié fazer fabló a Noé e dixol: -Desleiré de la faz de la tierra all omne que crié, e desfer lo é todo por él, del omne fasta las otras animalias, e del animalia que rastra fasta las aves del cielo, ca repentido só porque los fiz.”

⁴⁵ Gen. 8:6–12.

⁴⁶ This symbolic feature of the raven appears in the story of Abel’s burial in *PRE*. The text narrates how Adam and Eve did not know what to do with the corpse of Abel. Then both parents observed how a raven scratched the earth away in one spot, and then hid a dead bird of his own kind in the ground. Adam, following the example

therefore forbidden for human consumption, it plays a necessary role; thanks to its being a bird of carrion, it assists humans in the search for food in times of crisis, removing the negative connotations or links to evil that occur in the Christian tradition:

Of all the birds that thou hast here thou sendest none but me! What need then has the world of thee?" he retorted; "For food? For a sacrifice?" R. Berekiah said in R. Abba's name: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him [Noah]: "Take it back, because the world will need it in the future. "When?" he asked. "When the waters dry off from off the earth". He replied: "A righteous man will arise and dry up the world, and I will cause him to have need of them [the ravens]."⁴⁷

For its part, the dove is identified as a loyal and honest messenger, as opposed to the impure raven, but without emphasizing its religious aspect:

Also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated. R. Jeremiah said: This proves that the clean fowl dwelt with the righteous.⁴⁸

He sent forth the dove to see what the state of the world was, and she brought back her message to her sender, as it is said. "And the dove returned to him at eventide," and, lo, in her mouth an olive leaf plucked off. [...] He who sends a message by the hand of an unclean (messenger) is (like one) sending by the hand of a fool, and he who sends a message by the hands of a clean (messenger) is like (one) sending by the hand of a messenger faithful to his senders.⁴⁹

Flavius Josephus in his *Antiquities of the Jews* omits the exegetical content in order to support a more concise explanation of the episode, affirming that the raven returned to the ark because it could not find a place to land, while mentioning only one journey of the dove:

But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven, finding all the land still overflowed, returned to Noah again. And after seven days he sent out a dove, to know the state of the

of the raven, buried the body of Abel, and the raven was rewarded by God. In Friedlander, *Pirqe*, XXI, 156.

⁴⁷ Freedman and Maurice, *Midrash Rabbah Bereishit*, XXXIII, 5.

⁴⁸ *The Soncino Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin*, ed. Jacob Shachter, Harry Freedman and Isidore Epstein (Teaneck, NJ: Talmudic Books, 2012), 108b.

⁴⁹ Friedlander, *Pirqe*, XXIII, 168.

ground; which came back to him covered with mud and bringing an olive branch.⁵⁰

The Patristic tradition sought an explanation based in theology for the function of these two birds in order to spread a Christian message. Philo of Alexandria interpreted the raven as Noah banishing whatever residue of folly there might be in the mind. Jerome related this unclean bird with the devil, and therefore, it was expelled by baptism.⁵¹ Augustine portrayed the raven's carrion behavior as the individuals defiled with impure desire and eager to deviate from the Church. The dove, on the contrary, embodied the Holy Spirit, the soul of the believer and the search for God:

Who cannot see what they do not see? And no wonder, since they do not wish to return from there, like the raven which was sent from the ark. [...] they are ungrateful to the Holy Spirit himself.⁵²

The dove descended upon the Lord, and upon the baptized Lord; and there appeared therein that holy and true Trinity which is to us one God. For the Lord ascended from the water, as we read in the gospel: "And behold, the heavens were opened to him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove and it remained upon him."⁵³

For that reason, the raven as a sinner never returned to the ark, while the dove being a docile and well-tempered animal came back to Noah:

Rightly the raven was sent from the ark and did not return; the dove was sent and returned. Noah sent both the birds. [...] For ravens feed on death; the dove does not have this characteristic. It lives of the fruits on the earth; its food is innocent.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Whiston, trans., *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, I, III, 89.

⁵¹ Lewis, *Study of the Interpretation of Noah*, 173.

⁵² Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John, 1–10*: "Quis non videat quod illi non vident? Nec mirum; quia qui inde reverti nolunt, sicut corvus qui de arca emissus est. [...] Et ipsi Spiritui sancto ingrati sunt.", trans. John W. Rettig (Baltimore: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 133.

⁵³ Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John, 1–10*: "Ecce columba descendit super Dominum, et super Dominum baptizatum; et apparuit ibi sancta illa et vera Trinitas, quae nobis unus Deus est. Ascendit enim Dominus ab aqua, sicut in Evangelio legimus: Et ecce aperti sunt ei coeli, et vidit Spiritum descendentem velut columbam, et mansit super eum.", trans. Rettig, 133.

⁵⁴ Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John, 1–10*: "Merito de arca missus est corvus, et non est reversus; missa est columba; et reversa est: illas duas aves misit

Petrus Comestor, while referring to Josephus's version, maintains the same Augustinian interpretation: he explains that the raven could have drowned in the flood waters, perhaps due to its malicious conduct as it stopped to feed on a corpse, preventing it from returning to the ark:

Forty days later, Noah opened the window, and sent out a raven that never returned (Gen. 8), perhaps because it drowned in the water or was enticed by a floating corpse floating. Yet, Josephus said that after discovering every part overflowed it returned to Noah.⁵⁵

The *GE* describes this section of the episode and the role of both birds in a similar manner to the *midrashic* commentaries and Josephus's *Antiquities*, searching for an answer that was not strongly rooted in theology, distancing itself from the Patristic view. It highlights the fact that the dove was accustomed to human contact, as it is “ave de casa más cutianamiente que otra ave de las bravas que ý moran” [a tame bird more accustomed to humans than the rest of the wild birds that lived there]. In contrast to the dove, it explains that the raven “falló toda la tierra cubierta de agua, e aun diz que se tornó all arca a Noé” [found all of the earth covered in water, and it is said that it returned to Noah], supporting Josephus' version and contradicting Comestor's analysis.⁵⁶ To establish the supposed return of the raven, the *GE* copyist forms a hypothesis that is based upon the classification of the pairs of animals selected that should have been included in the ark. The biblical text presents a contradiction in the directions Noah received as to how many pairs of animals should be chosen. This discrepancy is owing to the existence of two different versions that record these instructions: the Yahwist source (J) in Gen. 7:2–3 that distinguishes seven pairs each of clean beasts and only one pair of impure animals, including the birds, and the Priestly source (P) in Gen. 6:19, which only specifies one pair for each species of animal, without exception:⁵⁷

Noe. [...] Nam corvi de morte pascentur, hoc columba non habet; de frugibus terrae vivit, innocens eius victus est.”, trans. Rettig, 130–1, 133.

⁵⁵ *HS*, 33: “Cumque transissent quadraginta dies, aperuit Noe fenestram, et emisit corvum, qui non revertebatur (Gen. VIII), forte interceptus aquis, vel inveniens supernatans cadaver in aquis est illectus eo. Tamen Josephus ait, quod cuncta reperiens inundantia regressus est ad Noe.”

⁵⁶ *GE*, II, VII, 57-58.

⁵⁷ This compilation theory is known as the documentary hypothesis. Biblical scholars agree that the Pentateuch was the result of the combination of four distinct literary sources: the Jahwist (J) source, the Elohist (E) source, the Priestly (P) source, and the Deuteronomy (D) source. In addition, it identifies various post-Mosaic redactors who edited the four accounts in one text. The evidence for its composite

Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that *are* not clean by two, the male and his female. Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth. (Gen. 7:2–3) [J]

And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every *sort* shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep *them* alive with thee; they shall be male and female. (Gen. 6:19) [P]

GE reorganizes both versions into one united paragraph in order to eliminate textual and interpretative confusion:

He ordered him to carry with him into the ark a male and female pair of all of the animal species of the earth, and the same was done with the birds. But of the wild animals that did not naturally serve as food for humans, he would take one pair of each species, male and female, and of the other animals, that were good to eat as they are tame and clean, he should take seven pairs of each species, male and female.⁵⁸

The raven was classified as an impure animal due to the fact that its food source was considered unclean, and as such, only one pair of its species was included on the ark. Having clarified this aspect, the copyist provides a factual argument to explain the fate that befell this particular bird: the issue raised by the Castilian editor is not the bird's abandonment or its return to Noah, but rather the survival of the animal once it left the ark. To achieve this objective, the copyist refutes the idea that the raven could have perished in the floodwaters, as this would have prevented its reproduction, leading to the extinction of the species:

character lays on its variations in the divine names in Genesis and Exodus (i.e., *Yhwh - Elohim - El Shaddai - El Elyon*); the secondary variations in diction and style; the *doublets* or parallel accounts (Gen. 1–2; 6–7; 37:25–8, 36); and the continuity of the various sources. For further analysis on the theory of Genesis composition, see Douglas A. Knight and Gene M. Tucker, ed., *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985); George Robinson, *Essential Torah: A Complete Guide to the Five Books of Moses* (New York: Schocken Books, 2006), 104–27.

⁵⁸ *GE*, II, III, 52: “mandól que metiesse consigo en el arca de todas las animalias de la tierra de cada natura d’ellas dos e dos, maslo e fembra, e que otrossí fiziesse de las aves. Mas de las animalias bravas e que naturalmientre non eran antes pora comerlas ell omne que metiesse y seños pares de cada natura maslo e fembra, e de las otras segund su natura serién pora comer, e que son mansas e limpias, que metiesse y siete pares de cada natura, dos e dos maslo e fembra.”

It is said that if there had only been one pair of ravens on the ark, and if one of them were to die, it would not have been possible to maintain this species of bird, and for this reason, it seems unlikely that the raven died.⁵⁹

The Alfonsine description seeks a clear and reasonable explanation that is absent in Comestor's text. It places secondary importance on the exegesis of the passage without losing the narrative thread of the story, eliminates any negative connotation hitherto attributed to the raven and inserts an intertextual commentary. This addition functions in a similar manner to the *midrashim*, providing an explanation of the destiny of this particular animal and of its species, in this case highlighting its survival.

In conclusion, not discounting the importance and influence of the ecclesiastical Latin tradition on this work, a closer look at the text from a new perspective demonstrates the variety of the sources employed in its composition and the original interpretative focus of many sections of the episode of the Flood. If indeed the *Historia Scholastica* serves as framework to provide the Castilian text with a narrative form, the editor or editors did not hesitate to add passages which, without detracting from the sacred tale, support an exegetical analysis of the episode, diverging on occasion from Christian theological dogma. The transgression of the fallen angels, who were attracted by the beauty of mortal women, seems to be the true cause of the corruption of the world, which is later enhanced by the birth of the giants and their domination of the Earth. This apocalyptic vision approaches that revealed in various *midrashim*, distancing itself from the patristic conception of the origin of evil portrayed by the rebellion of Satan and his followers.

Similarly, the explanation of the role of the raven and the dove in secular terms, and the possible return of the former to the ark to continue the future of its species, make it clear that the Alfonsine editor(s) was familiar with texts outside of the ecclesiastical canon and had the ability to clarify and resolve textual doubts. The fact that a work as extensive as the *General Estoria* relied upon the collaboration of numerous editors and was not completely supervised by Alfonso X allowed for the insertion of commentary and interpretative conclusions outside of Christian ideology. Although references to these sources may be omitted in the text, it nevertheless accommodates these voices of the rabbinical tradition that are only recognizable by the editor or editors and their Hebrew audience,

⁵⁹ *GE*, II, VII, 57: "Ca dizen assí que si en el arca de cuervos non ovo más de un par e uno d'ellos muriessse d'aquella guisa que non oviera donde se cobrar la manera de aquella natura de aves, e que non fueran después, mas á muchas d'estas aves, onde más con razón semeja que non murió."

questioning the orthodox value of the composition of Genesis in this work and opening a new space in defence of its heterodoxy.

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CHAPTER 8

WRITING AS A CHRISTIAN: THE FOOTPRINT OF CRYPTO-JEWISH WRITERS IN THE ALFONSINE SCRIPTORIUM

FRANCISCO PEÑA FERNÁNDEZ¹

This article presents a tentative argument supporting the role of Jewish authors or collaborators in the making of the first chapters of Alfonso X's General Estoria. This hypothesis begins with the most provisional evidence – the knowledge and use of specific Jewish sources – and moves, progressively, to more evidence-based arguments.

Introduction

The vast cultural project supported by King Alfonso X of Castile-León (r. 1252–1284) was delimited by and closely linked to his political objectives, characterized by the centralization of power, expansionism and the legal and linguistic unification which proved to be a continuation of the legacy of his father, Fernando III. However, Alfonso's cultural enterprise had unprecedented characteristics that distinguish it from earlier endeavors and models, including those of medieval monarchs who had also demonstrated a thirst for knowledge and learning.

The Castilian monarch's specific interests in science and history, according to Francisco Márquez Villanueva, differentiate his work from any

¹ This paper is part of a larger collaborative project. The goal of the “Confluence of Religious Cultures in Medieval Spanish Historiography: A Digital Humanities Project” (granted by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada) is to bring Digital Humanities tools to study the confluence of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Biblical and Historiographic Interpretations in Medieval Iberia.

other cultural model of European Christianity.² Looking closely at Alfonso's most important work, the *General Estoria* (*GE*), we witness an exceptional predilection and fascination for the past, construed from a quite novel point of view. Even though in his concrete historiographical examples Alfonso maintained faithfulness to previous models – mostly defined by the work of the Paris-educated theologian Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (c. 1170–1247) – in the case of this composition, the freedom with which he diverts from that same model is especially prominent.

Due to its uniqueness, the conception and content of Alfonso's ambitious universal chronicle resist definition according to defined patterns present in Western Christianity. The multifaceted aspect of this monumental work – able to combine various visions of history, aiming at a multiform knowledge,³ and showing a remarkable relativism in dealing with some information, even the “indisputable truths”⁴ – separate it ideologically, philosophically and theologically from its supposed scholastic models.

² Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural alfonsí* (Madrid: Ediciones Bellaterra, 2004), 30.

³ *Alfonso X. General estoria*, ed. Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, 10 vols (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2009), xvi–xvii, xv–xvi (Henceforth: *GE*): “...el relato historiográfico no se polariza alrededor de la concepción católica del saber, sino que la enorme diversidad de las fuentes, de la *Metamorfosis* ovidiana al *Pantheon* de Godofredo de Viterbo, conforman una historia polifónica, que huye del unilateralismo cultural, por lo que ni siquiera al dictado alternativo de la exégesis musulmana se omite. Antes lo contrario se ensambla con el testimonio canónico de la Biblia en su versión Vulgata dentro de una visión integradora y abierta que causa asombro en un texto del siglo XIII, si no hoy mismo [...] La historiografía alcanza así un enorme desarrollo, pero la crónica universal del rey Sabio trasciende el concepto mismo de historia, al menos tal y como lo concebimos ahora [...] también de su originalidad, aspectos creativos, conciencia histórica y política, y una curiosidad intelectual que no conoce límites y que se concreta en lo que sin ambages podemos identificar como actitud científica ante el reto de trazar la historia universal [...]”.

⁴ “Manuel Alvar strongly believes that Alfonso's relativistic approach results from the syncretism of his enterprise, which learns from the heterogeneity of knowledge. In his study, the critic firmly asserts that the theory of knowledge defended by Don Alfonso should not be understood as ecclesiastical, but rather as universal, defending the integration and consultation of multiple sources of information (Manuel Alvar, “Didacticismo e integración en la General estoria (estudio del Génesis),” in *La lengua y la literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X. Actas del Congreso internacional* (Murcia, 5–10 de marzo de 1984) (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1985), 37). Recognizing that the *alfonsí* universal history demonstrates an understanding of the discrepancies and theological controversies of its time, the Spanish medievalist argues in his article that the Castilian king and his work did not deviate from orthodox Christianity. This

Another substantial difference between the Castilian King's cultural project and that of other medieval Christian monarchs was, undoubtedly, the role of prominent Hispano-Hebraic collaborators in making it a relevant reality. Alfonso's association with Jewish collaborators in his historiographical enterprise should not be ignored, given that otherwise it would not have materialized, nor could we understand its singularity. Scholarship has not traditionally recognized the contribution of non-Christians to Alfonso's historiographical works. Following Diego Catalán, scholars such as Francisco Rico have held that Alfonsine historiography is part of a unitary project linking the work of the *GE* scriptoria to a solely "Christian" tradition, following the patterns laid down by Isidore of Seville, the *Chronica albeldense*, thinkers associated with Chartres, and the *De rebus Hispaniae*.⁵ On such assumptions, the same method used to study other historiographic works, such as Alfonso's national history the *Estoria de España*, was applied to his more ambitious universal history, thought to come from the same scriptoria.

King Alfonso's decision to defend the use of vernacular language extended to areas that were not only highly innovative but also rather problematic: the recounting of history and the obvious need for his work to present translations of the Bible. Both Roman and peninsular ecclesiastical authorities repeatedly forbade the reading of the Holy Scriptures in vernacular translations. Although thereby partially hindered, the *GE* is still the largest universal history written in medieval Europe and was revolutionary in the age of Latin literacy, making available to vernacular readers a history of human experience beginning with Adam and Eve, and intending to end with the reign of their renowned *patrón* of the arts and science. If Jews, and likely also Muslims, were at the heart of Christian historiographical work in the Iberian Peninsula, then Castilian monarchs like Alfonso were in fact highly selective in applying edicts against religious "otherness". The *GE* is proof of this selective application. For Pedro Sánchez-Prieto, the possibility that Alfonso X's collaborators included knowledgeable Jews, whose voices took precedence over the sources, is not only an attractive theory but also the only way to explain concrete linguistic

is further supported by considering the heterogeneity of the royal workshop, consisting of a large number of translators from different cultural and religious backgrounds (37; 53; 72)." Francisco Peña-Fernández, "La relatividad de las cosas. Heterodoxy and Midrashim in the First Chapters of Alfonso's *General Estoria*", *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 24 (2013): 551.

⁵ This thesis is still supported by scholars like Inés Fernández-Ordoñez, *Las "Estorias" de Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1992).

details found in the text. It also enables one to appreciate its peculiar open-mindedness.⁶

Dealing with a work as extensive as it is heterogeneous required not only numerous copyists and translators for its arrangement, but also many teams. The aim of this article is not to take a defensive stance on the authorship and presence of Jewish authors who necessarily had to write as if they were Christians for the work's entirety, but rather to defend the truth that those collaborators, necessarily silenced, are concretely present in books and significant chapters of this universal chronicle. Following the research I have already published about the first chapters of the *GE*⁷, I would like to present a tentative proof of this hypothesis, starting with the most provisional evidence – the knowledge and use of specific Jewish sources – and moving, progressively, to more evidence-based arguments.

Knowledge and Use of Pseudo-Epigraphic and Legendary Biblical Traditions

That Jewish biblical legends reverberated through Christian literature, art, and popular culture is not a medieval novelty. The copious production of para-biblical texts and their religious and cultural relevance during the Hellenistic period and Late Antiquity can be corroborated not only through valuable testimonies such as the Dead Sea manuscripts, but also through the literature of the first Christian communities that continued similar writings. In fact, as we approach the pseudo-epigraphic or apocryphal corpus of the Old Testament, we notice how in many cases its content reveals a hybridity making it impossible to completely separate its Jewish roots from subsequent Christian readings. Christianity not only inherited tradition, later affirmed as Jewish orthodoxy, but also its apocryphal literature. As for texts of apocalyptic matter, the great interest of the early Christian communities in these writings led to a marked continuity in the production of stories of eschatological content. This inclination actually helped ensure the retention of a good part of the apocalyptic Jewish writings of the Hellenistic epoch.

The exegetical commentaries of Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus, New Testament literature, the corpus of Gnostic literature and patristic literature, selectively but profusely incorporate preterit apocryphal traditions. All these re-readings and expansions of the Scriptures, characterized in many cases by a marked dualistic accent, provided a new approach to the Bible's different chapters, which become colonized by new

⁶ *GE*, xlii, xviii.

⁷ Peña-Fernández, “La relatividad de las cosas.”

stories, new or completely transformed characters and a great deal of exegesis and affirmations that had been ambiguously exposed in its canonical version. This rich and profuse incorporation of stories, images and references aroused the interest of exegetes, artists, preachers and, above all, the public, maintaining their currency in the medieval imagination.

Among the biblical episodes, those most visited by these traditions are, without a doubt, the primordial ones of Genesis. The predilection of the oral or popular Bible for these concrete ancient traditions is widely attested, as shown by the medievalist Brian Murdoch. For all this, the extensive reference of Alfonso's universal chronicle to pseudo-epigraphic literature does not markedly contrast with its presence and popularity in areas such as England, France and Italy. The British specialist's surprise at the lack of apocryphal testimony in the Adamic cycle in Castilian literature,⁸ which shows that he did not dwell on works like the *GE*, need not lead us to the conclusion that their rich mention in the Alfonsine work is necessarily clear proof of active Jewish collaboration. Many of these mentions may have come from the hand of Lucas de Tuy himself (whose *Chronicon mundi* was an important source for Alfonsine historiography), who also draws on the references to the historical Bible by Petrus Comestor, the vast collection of Jacob of Voragine's *Golden Legend* or other works by Christian authors. But certainly, the generous Alfonsine collection of apocryphal legends justifies the possibility of such a collaboration.

The perfect compatibility of Jewish and Christian apocryphal traditions may be understood in examples such as the association in Genesis 3:1 of the serpent of paradise with a diabolical being. Such correlations do not present a problem, stemming as they do from apocryphal texts of the Hellenistic period (1 Enoch 69; Apocalypse of Moses 16; 4 Macc. 18) which were consolidated both in the Christian tradition (Rev. 12:9; Justin Martin. Dialogue of Trypho 103; Ephraem. Commentary on Gen. 2:18) and in the rabbinic (Targum Pseudo-Jonathan Gen. 3:6). Another obvious point of encounter between Jewish and Christian exegesis was the adoption of those ancient apocryphal traditions that showed a greater interest in imagining the life of the first parents after the expulsion from Eden.⁹ The episodes

⁸ Brian Murdoch, *The apocryphal Adam and Eve in medieval Europe: vernacular translations and adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 34.

⁹ *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 2*, ed James H. Charlesworth (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1983), 254–5: "Numerous allusions and quotations from the Septuagint are to be found in Apocalypse 15–30 and from the Vulgate through the *Vita* [...] Interesting parallels to several New Testament passages can be found: Hebrews 1:16 (*Vita* 13–14); James 1:17 (*Vita* 29:2; ApMos 36:3); the tree of life

recreating the sadness of Adam and Eve, abandoned to their fate in the Hebron Valley, enjoyed enormous popularity in medieval times; having a marked dramatic content in which lament, penance and remorse seem to be a constant, these episodes survived the passage of time and never failed to encourage the imagination of authors and exegetes of the Middle Ages, both Jewish and Christian.¹⁰

The *GE* also offers the vernacular reader the popular traditions concerning the first family's aimless existence after their disobedience, including the unavailing expeditions in search of the fruit of the Tree of Life¹¹ carried out by Eve with her son Seth (Life of Adam and Eve (*Vita*), 37; 44). It also tries to answer enigmas like those surrounding the wives of Abel and Cain. The difference, in the case of the Alfonsine work, and unlike other medieval European texts, is not so much in the degree of knowledge of such apocryphal echoes, but in the degree of interest and thus of selection between them. The traditions mentioned above provide key examples. While there is only brief allusion to the most appealing apocryphal stories in medieval European literature, such as the adventures of Seth, there is fuller discussion of Cain's wife, who garners little interest in any other work. Differences such as these demand more attention.

In addition to this selective interest, the modern reader who traces pseudo-epigraphic echoes in the *GE* may be struck not only by the author's familiarity with these extra-biblical extensions, but the awareness he demonstrates in locating and explaining gaps in information¹², duplications,

(Rev 22:2). However, it is the writing of Paul with which the documents have the closest affinity, as can be seen in the idea that Eve was the source of sin and death (cf. 2Cor 11:3; 1Tim 2:4; in Rom 5:12–21 death follows the sin of Adam)."

¹⁰ *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 2, 255: "The biblical story of the Fall of the first humans and its effect has grasped and stimulated the minds of Jews, Christians, and Muslims from antiquity to the present day [...] The popularity of these two documents [Life of Adam and Eve] can be seen both by the fact that various versions of the Greek were made, notably the Armenian and the Slavic, and also by their apparent use in several of the series of prophecies and events leading to the crucifixion".

¹¹ *GE*, Libro I, cap. IV: "nin Eva con que fazer lo que preteneçié a las mugieres en sus casas, fueron en cuidado de meterse a buscar la carrera e tornase de cabo a aquel paraíso terrenal del deleite donde sallieran". (Nor could Eve do the tasks that women complete in their houses. They cautiously started searching for the way out, to go back toward this earthly paradise – full of delights – from which they had come.)

¹² *GE*, Libro I, cap. II: "E contónos Moisés en lo que es ya dicho de la estoria que fiziera Dios all omne, mas non nos dixo aún dónde e cuémo." (Moses informs us of what has been said concerning the story of God's creation of mankind, though he does not describe a time or a date.)

and contradictions within the Genesis account. Also surprising is the author's confidence in alluding to words of Hebrew origin, even affirming their etymological origin.¹³ In some instances we also find specific details that would suggest access to Jewish texts very uncommonly used by Christian scholars, such as the Testament of Adam and rabbinic commentaries such as Genesis Rabbah or Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer.

Exegetical Boundaries

The *GE* informs its readers how, immediately following Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden, God takes pity on them and ensures that both learn how to till the ground, and thus that their Edenic ignorance does not end their lives.

And according to what we found in the writings of knowledgeable Arabs, who related the reasons for these things and stated that during that casting out from heaven Our Lord God had also given Adam and Eve seeds for bread, and vegetables, and other things that could be sowed in the soil and harvested, by which they could sustain themselves.¹⁴

This addendum, certainly not drawn from Comestor or any of the Christian authorities quoted by Alfonso, represents one of the first apocryphal borrowings in this medieval universal history that in its first chapters seeks to stay as close as possible to the letter of the biblical account. Not present in any other pseudo-epigraphic expansion, this story is disclosed in two main midrashic (rabbinical literature and commentary) collections: Genesis Rabbah and Pesikta Rabbati (Genesis Rabba xxxiv; Pes. 564a). The narrator of the *GE* seems to feel the need to acknowledge the non-Christian origin of this apocryphal anecdote and attributes it to some “escritos de arávigos sabios”. As Guadalupe González had noted, the *GE*'s assertion regarding its origin could be correct, and certainly could have been indirectly transmitted from an Islamic source.¹⁵ But the important point here is the choice to

¹³ Among many other examples, the translation of “In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram” as “Cuando Nuestro Señor Dios crió en el comienzo el cielo y la tierra” shows an evident familiarity with Hebrew and the Hebrew Bible.

¹⁴ *GE*, Libro I, cap. III: “E segund que fallamos en escritos de arávigos sabios que fablaron en las razones destas cosas dizen que en aquella echada del paraíso que dio otrossí Nuestro Señor Dios a Adam e a Eva las simientes de los panes e de las legumbres e de las otras cosas que sembrassen en ela tierra e cogiessen dond se mantoviessen.”

¹⁵ “But another possible answer is that, as the text claims, these narrative traditions, also found in midrashic sources, came to the Iberian Peninsula through their

include, in the first expansion of a literal reading of the Scriptures, a parabolic story that has never been mentioned by any Christian Genesis commentary, and for obvious theological reasons.

This rabbinic tradition presents a divinity that changes His mind, a proposal which certainly challenges the Christian view of the Creator God¹⁶, and creates a serious theological incompatibility. If Christ in the Christian Bible is the expiatory sacrifice liberating humans from the enslavement (Rom 8:3) that originated in this specific transgression, then by extolling God's generosity and compassion this passage, as small as it is, deviates from the Christological reading of the primordial events. From the Patristic era onward, Christian theology viewed the banishment of the first couple as part of the economy of salvation, a divine plan that could only be accomplished through the Church's intervention. According to Irenaeus of Lyon, only through God as the Son, and in the fullness of time, could the fellowship between God and humanity be restored after its fracture by the original sin of disobedience.

In small examples such as this, even when we cannot assume Jewish authorship from their origin or means of transmission, it is surely difficult to imagine a Christian writer. In this instance it is not only because the story was not mentioned in Christian sources, but also because it crosses very clear theological boundaries: one of the biblical foundations of the doctrines of the Trinity and of Original Sin. This example is far from being isolated and, in fact, is not even the *GE*'s most glaring violation of orthodoxy. The faithful, literal presentation of the first two chapters of Genesis or of its two different Creation stories (1:1 to 2:3 and 2:4 to 2:5) contrasts markedly with any other Christian proposal, even with its most obvious apparent template, Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*.¹⁷

incorporation in Arabic histories, in the literary genres known as histories of the prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) and stories about the Israelites (*Israiliyyat*). Early Jewish converts to Islam, such as Abdullah ibn Salām (d. 663), Ka'ab al-Ahbar (d. Ca. 652), or non Jews versed in the traditions, such as Wabb ibn Munabbih (d. Ca. 730) are said to have reported these stories, of Jewish and Christian origin." Guadalupe González Dieguez, "On An Arabic Source of the General Estoria: the Book of Roads and Kingdoms (Kitāb al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik) by Al-Bakrī (ca. 1068)," (forthcoming).

¹⁶ Peña-Fernández, "La relatividad de las cosas," 554.

¹⁷ "Both the *Antiquities of the Jews* of Flavius Josephus, the historiographical model that inspired Medieval Biblical Paraphrases and Medieval Popular Bibles, and the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus of Troyes, the first and most influential work in their respective genres, influenced a large number of pages of the masterpiece of the historical prose of don Alfonso. Secondary to the main task of translating the text of the Vulgate, the degree of importance or prominence in the work of the chancellor

Still guided by theological and philosophical questions, *De Genesi ad Litteram* represents Augustine's most evident effort to offer an approximation of the first chapters of Genesis according to the letter, and not allegorically. But since the Christian doctrine of sin originates in the history of creation, the latter remains integral to the defense of the former. The Church's doctrine of creation has always been obligated to reflect Christological themes because the world, according to its mandates, was created for an inherently Christological purpose.¹⁸ The advent of Jesus, as the incarnation of the word, always had to be reflected as a central event in any representation of a divine creation *ex nihilo*. Christ is clearly portrayed in the New Testament writings as the agent and sustainer of all creation (Col. 1:16), and as the Word of God (Rev. 19:3). John defended the word's pre-existent nature at the opening of his Gospel. Faithful to this proclamation, so do Augustine and Comestor at the opening of their not so *literal* accounts. While wanting to avoid a typological reading of the Scriptures, neither of them could dispense with a Christological interpretation of those first episodes of the Bible, nor even avoid engaging with a Pauline vision of Paradise (2Cor 12:2–4).

Addenda to Christian representations of the primordial episodes are necessary for further reasons. The Christian theological understanding of the first human disobedience to God and its consequences needed not only a previous disobedience, in fact, but one that was apocryphal. The primordial rebellion and punishment of angelical beings alluded to in the New Testament (2 Peter 2:4; Jude 6; Luke 10:18) were strong reasons for adding information that is not found in a literal exposition of the first two chapters of Genesis. The writings of the Church Fathers demonstrate an effort to reconcile the biblical narrative with the apocryphal tradition of a fallen angel as the originator of evil that disrupts a perfect Creation.¹⁹

In the effort to stay close to the letter, *De Genesi ad Litteram* had to devote twelve chapters to the first three of Genesis; the chancellor of Notre Dame had to dedicate a total of nineteen; Alfonso required only four. The incorporation of extra canonical sources was needed far more by Christian than by Jewish exegesis in the same way that a literal reading of the

of Notre Dame or the *Antiquities of the Jews* in the redaction of this universal history is not constant, but is presented differently in their various books or chapters", Peña-Fernández, "La relatividad de las cosas," 552.

¹⁸ Mark Clark, "Peter Comestor and Peter Lombard: Brothers in Deed," *Traditio* 60 (2005): 139.

¹⁹ Peña-Fernández, "La relatividad de las cosas," 555.

Scriptures was more challenging than an allegorical one.²⁰ A presentation of the creation lacking expansions, theological commentaries and incorporation of pseudo-epigraphic stories, such as the *GE* offers, could be compatible with a Jewish reading but not a Christian one. The ambiguity of biblical chapters such as those that open the Torah were perfectly compatible with rabbinical exegesis and its literal understanding of the Scriptures. The reader of Aggadic Midrash is required many times to suspend rational consideration of the Scriptures²¹, while the reader of Christian exegesis is expected to have the guarantee of rational explanation to ensure understanding of the same chapters.

The aim of the member of the Church of Notre Dame in organizing the chapters of his Bible history, and of Alfonso in following his example, was to do so not according to broad theological divisions but rather following the outline of the scriptural narrative.²² Petrus Comestor in his *Biblia Historiale* could stay as close as possible to the letter for any other chapter of the Bible²³ except the first ones.²⁴ As a Christian theological writer and man of the Church, he needed to proclaim in his narrative a preexistent Christ as a reflection of God's glory, picturing the Son, as the Gospel of John does, as the logos. He also needed to create a very clear parallel between the biblical assertion of the separation of light from darkness and

²⁰ “[...] existía una larga tradición en la hermenéutica bíblica cristiana que reprochaba a los judíos su ceguera espiritual al negar que la Escritura tuviese otros significados escondidos más allá del literal”; “Gregorio López extiende la perniciosa tendencia judía a interpretar literalmente la Biblia a todos los que hacen lo mismo en otros campos; de tal manera que los que mantienen esta actitud se dice que *judaizan*”, Salvador Martínez, *La convivencia en la España del siglo XIII. Perspectivas alfonstes* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2006), 145 n. 8.

²¹ Peña-Fernández, “La relatividad de las cosas,” 563.

²² Clark, “Peter Comestor and Peter Lombard,” 91.

²³ “Although Alfonso shares the same structural logic as Comestor’s narrative in the second part of the Creation and both respond to similar issues as discussed in the sections that follow, their conclusions in many cases diverge”, Peña-Fernández, “La relatividad de las cosas,” 554.

²⁴ Lucy K. Pick acknowledges the importance of a proper Christian reading and interpretation of the first chapters of the Scriptures as well as the difficulties of a literal reading of these episodes in the work of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada: “Rodrigo disagrees with Jewish exegesis of the verse by arguing that the verb “we made” cannot have both God and angels as its subject [...] Rodrigo uses a similar argument in his *Breviarium* to discuss Genesis 1:26”, Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence. Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Iberia* (Ann Arbor MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2007), 84.

the apocryphal story of the angels whose rebellion sunders them from God²⁵ such that they become “cadentes tenebrae”.²⁶ While the French scholar felt that he had to rely on Christological and even allegorical exegetical explanations when needed, the Castilian did not.²⁷

Beyond knowledge of and familiarity with traditions that Christian authors tried to avoid, the originality of the Castilian presentation of human history’s first chapters may offer an even clearer proof of non-Christian, and more likely Jewish, authorship. Moreover, by applying a literal reading of the Scriptures (and, in this case, a word-by-word translation of the Bible) to the beginning of this universal history, the collaborators were relying on the definition that King Alfonso himself had provided for the Jews.²⁸ However, as noted earlier, the consistency between the *GE*’s narration of the first episodes of the Bible and that of rabbinical exegesis does not lie exclusively in its content or lack thereof, but also in the form.²⁹ The imagination of and curiosity about specific aspects of the Scriptures, and even the way that the Alfonsine narrative flows, from my point of view takes the reader closer to midrashic literature than to the *lectio scholastica* of Christian exegetical commentaries of Genesis.

²⁵ Gen. 4:20: “Quidam suspicantur quartum esse celum super empyreum, quia Lucifer, cum esset in empyreo, legitur dixisse: Ascendam incelum et cetera. Et in eo dicunt modo esse Christum hominem super angelos qui sunt in empyreo”.

²⁶ Peña-Fernández, “La relatividad de las cosas,” 556.

²⁷ “From the perspective of Christian orthodoxy, Evil needs to be personified as an apostate whose wickedness was developed after his creation and incurred during an act of rebellion [...] These main exegetical issues are the first substantial example of distance and difference between the postulates and perspectives of the *General Historia* and Peter Comestor as representative of orthodox Christian thought. The *Historia Scholastica* begins his account of the creation of the world, quoting the Greek philosophers Aristotle and Epicurus in their relevant understandings of the primal contact between two opposing entities: matter and form, or lifeless matter and atoms (Liber Genesis I, 23-31). In his objective of further supporting the doctrinal postulate of detaching Creation from Evil, and detaching the presence of Evil as a consequence of an imperfect Creation, the author goes on to state emphatically that God, in exclusivity, is the architect and guarantor of the authorship of the universe” Peña-Fernández, “La relatividad de las cosas,” 555.

²⁸ “En la ley 1, como suele hacer en todas las leyes cuando introduce un nuevo término, se ocupa, en primer lugar, de la definición de *judío*, diciendo que “judío es dicho aquel que cree e tiene la ley de Moysén según suena la letra della [...] Lo primero que llama nuestra atención en esta definición de judío es el componente hermenéutico [...] Alfonso identifica el concepto de judío con el modo en que éste interpreta la Biblia, es decir, en sentido literal”, Martínez, *La convivencia*, 144.

²⁹ Peña-Fernández, “La relatividad de las cosas,” 562.

However, the feature that the Castilian universal history more closely shared with rabbinical literature is the demonstration of “applied exegesis”, or the desire to respond within the writing to issues that are contemporaneous with the composition.

Applied Exegesis

The arrival of Adam’s new offspring is announced in the book of Genesis right after Lamec’s dark poem extols the violence of his ancestors. The similarities between the names of the two genealogies presented in chapters four and five could easily confuse a reader, as Cain’s descendants seem to be treated as those of the youngest son of Adam. Assuming that Cain’s line does not survive the Flood, the first book of the Bible obviously asserts that the people of Israel emerge from the lineage of Abel’s replacement, Seth. This is the same assumption that would come from a literal reading of the Scriptures and which is made in the *GE*, but not in any other Christian retelling of those episodes.

Arriving at chapter XXIII of the *GE* we find the family of Seth diverging from that of Cain. This is also the point when the Castilian universal history makes its first Christological reference after much previous silence. This reference comes in the form of a spurious statement; Alfonso’s history states that it was an angel who announced to the first fathers that they would conceive more children, and also that among these new generations would be born *el hijo de Dios*, the son of God. At this point we can easily assume that Alfonso respects the Bible’s interpretation of the end of the lineage terminated by the first fratricide. While maintaining his loyalty to the biblical reading, the *GE* author feels an obligation to link this statement to a forthcoming chapter, referring to Abraham. The reference seems more etiological in nature than theological, and creates an unusual connection between Genesis 5 and 15. The statement that Abraham is the father of the Jews is brief and somehow isolated, but seems to carry weight and relevance to this work:

And you will see that he also does so referring to the second age. And Master Peter said he did so in order to reach back more easily to Abraham, where the Hebrews come from – they are the Jews and this is their lineage.³⁰

³⁰ *GE*, Libro I, cap. XXVI: “E otrossí veredes que lo faze en la segunda edat, e dit maestre Peidro que lo fazié por llegar más aína a Abraham, onde vienen los ebreos, que son los judíos e es el su linaje.”

Even though the *GE* does not put words in Comestor's mouth, defending the patriarch of Ur as the father of the Jews is a clever way of aligning the name of the Christian authority with this somehow heterodox assertion. A literal reading of the Bible, at Genesis 15:6, leaves no doubt that circumcision is presented here as the sign of the covenant between God as His people. One must keep in mind that for centuries this statement had been a matter of the highest importance in Judaism. The heterodoxy does not come from a close reading of the Scriptures but from the Christian interpretation of this passage, which is certainly different. Pauline doctrine asserts that the sons of Abraham had to be justified by faith (Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6-9), not by circumcision, and that those who believe in Christ represent the patriarch's true heirs. Therefore, the Christians, not the Jews, would be the correct recipients of the divine promise and commitment. It is important to note that Christianity also made use of the term "covenant" to characterize the division between the Old and the New Testament, and to emphasize the divorce between the biblical God and His people. Patristic writings insisted that "the nations" mentioned in this chapter of Genesis were referring to the people of the Gentile Church, not the Jews. The strongest departure of Christian exegesis from a literal reading of Genesis 15:6 would come with the interpretations of Justin Martyr, which affirmed that the circumcision of the Jews, far from symbolizing any covenant, was tantamount to a curse and the mark that God put on Cain. In this context, the *GE* seems to have chosen a specific moment and interpretation by linking together those particular passages which were relevant for Jews but in conflict with any other Christian source.

Certainly, Petrus Comestor did not follow this same path and, far from defending any lineage between Abraham and the Jews, he attributed to the latter the worst patriarch possible, incorporating into his "historical" and literal readings of the Scriptures a typological assertion with its roots in anti-Jewish Christian literature.³¹ The ecclesiastical chancellor explained to his

³¹ "The *Gospel of Matthew* is the first Christian writing that will associate a particular group, the Pharisees, with the figure of Cain. This affiliation (Mt 23: 29), linked to a Christological reading of Psalm 118: 22–23, is used by the narrator to defend God's repeated rejection of Israel's people (Mt 23: 29; Mt 23: 34-36; 1 Jn 3: 12; Jud 1: 11). In the writings of Ambrose of Milan (*De Cain et Abel*) we find all these references along with the allegorical exegetical methods of Philo of Alexandria and the first explicit identification of the Jews as a *cainite* nation. As a representation of evil, Jewish people must be separated from that which aspires to the holiness of Abel, the Christian nation. Following Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo, Eugipio, Maximino Arrian, and Isidore of Seville all insist on this association. Of these, Augustine is obviously the most influential. As well, inside the *Adversus iudaeos* tradition, Isidore of Seville's *De fide catholica* was the most important Christian

readers how the Jews find their erratic fate in the fact of being Cain's heirs.³² Interestingly enough but not surprisingly, all the other main Christian sources quoted by the *GE* make the same choice in their readings of Genesis: Bede,³³ Remigio³⁴ and, more profusely, Isidore of Seville.³⁵ Deeply rooted in anti-Jewish Christian exegetical tradition, the typological connection between Cain and the Jews should surely have sounded as familiar to a theoretical Christian author as to a Jewish writer working with Christian exegetical sources. The reasons for leaving this space blank or even completely changing and contradicting the interpretation would be more logical to a Jewish than to a Christian author or collaborator.

At many times in history, exegesis has been required for strong polemic arguments by those claiming to have the correct reading of the Sacred Books. At others, the interpreters have looked at the Scriptures less with concern for the meaning of the text than with the goal of finding scriptural solutions to non-scriptural problems.

Pedro Sánchez-Prieto finds very clear clues of applied exegesis in the *GE*. He sees specific passages that even seem to be dictated by the king himself, specifically those pertaining to models of governance and also those biblical episodes in which the justification for and limits of royal

anti-Jewish text in the first part of the Middle Age. In his exegesis, Isidore expresses an attitude of constant accusation towards the Jews, giving lengthy testimony of their infidelity, portraying a Church redeemed by the blood they shed in the fratricide of Cain and in the Jewish deicide of Christ", Peña-Fernández, "La relatividad de las cosas," 560.

³² Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, ch. 29, "De Set et ejus generatione": "Sed et Seth natus est filius quem vocavit Enos, quod sonat homo, vel vir, quasi rationalis, et fortis, quia primus caepit invocare nomen Domini. Forte invenit verba deprecatoria ad invocandum Deum. Sed plerique Hebraeorum arbitrantur quod imagines ad honorem Dei excogitaverat, et errant. Vel forte ad excitandam pigrum memoriae Dei effigiavit Dominum, ut modo fit in Ecclesia."

³³ Bede, *Hexameron*, lib. II: "Erat prior populus Judaeorum possessio Dei, sicut ipse ad Mosen, Filius, inquit, meus primogenitus Israel (Exod. IV, 22), secundus est populus gentium, pro cuius maxime vita Dei Filius et nasci in carne et mori dignatus est. Fuit Abel pastor ovium, et Dominus ait: Ego sum pastor bonus (Joan XI, 14)".

³⁴ Remigius. *Super Genesim*, chap. IV, verse 8: "Neque enim adhuc domus vel templum erat ubi Deo sacrificium offerretur. Et consurrexit Cain adversus fratrem suum, et interfecit eum. Retro, ut ferunt, pastorali virga. Allegorice in scelere Cain malitia Judaeorum designatur. Cain occidit minorem fratrem suum Abel, et Judaei Christum caput minoris populi, id est gentilis, sicut ipse per Psalmistam dixerat Patri: Constitues me in caput gentium (Psal. XVII, 44)".

³⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae*, chap. 6: "Cain, frater ejus (Ibid.), eatate major, qui eumdem Abel occidit campo, priorem significat populum qui interfecit Christum in Calvarie loco".

power are debated.³⁶ The king's authorial intervention in this work would have a direct connection to the contemporary tensions experienced by the Castilian monarch in the Kingdom of Castile and Leon, and to the extremely difficult relationship with his son, don Sancho, reflected, in the Spanish scholar's opinion, in the *GE*'s recounting of the *Roman de Troie*.³⁷ In the same way we might easily infer the clear footprint of those of his collaborators willing to respond to contemporary issues that affected their lives and identity.

Though Cain in the *GE* is not seen as a positive character, he does not in any way suffer the terrible fortune reflected in some pseudo-epigraphic and primarily Christian literature. In the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Cain is explicitly named as the firstborn of Satan, and likewise in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs all his actions are influenced by his evil new father. In texts like the Pseudo-Philo or Jubilees, the satanic blood running through his veins transforms him into a monster who drinks the blood of his defenseless and antagonist brother. In Jewish para-biblical literature with Christian interpolations like the Apocalypse of Elijah, the mark of Cain is that which distinguishes the Antichrist, and in the Christian Bible his vile and corrupted nature is reaffirmed in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 23: 29; Mt 34-36), in the First Letter to John (1 Jn 3:12), and in the Book of Jude (Jud 1:11).

In the first chapters of the *GE* the dissociation of the first son of Adam from this demoniac and apocryphal lineage, and the even more relevant dissociation of the Jews from the lineage of Cain, might seem to contradict the mainstream orthodox Christian interpretation of the Scriptures. This was not done with polemic intention, however, but out of a need for Jews in thirteenth-century Castile, in light of their social situation and identity, to be accepted by Christian society. Seeing the Jews as Cain's descendants had been one of the main arguments in anti-Jewish literature for not only defending Christianity as the rightful new Jerusalem but also for alluding indirectly (while clearly) to the most explosive accusation against the Jews, of deicide.³⁸ During the Visigothic era the extreme violence directed at the

³⁶ *GE*, xxxvii.

³⁷ *GE*, "Introducción," li-lv.

³⁸ "These same anti-Jewish ideas that, promoted by the influential bishop of Seville, forced conversions and persecutions in Visigothic Spain can be found echoing in the 13th century writings of the ecclesiastical authors of the *mester de clerecía*, and even in part of the literature written, commissioned, or supervised by the wise king. As David Niremberg remarks in his recent work, since the twelfth century, secular power in Europe has never quite escaped Cain's conjoined signification as both

Judeo-Spanish population did not erupt out of specific social or economic conflicts between the Jewish and the Christian communities, but had instead ideological origins as well as exegetical support, in this case in the writings of Isidore of Seville. The thirteenth century represented an especially sensitive time in the rise of new identities prompting radical changes in legislation against Jews all over the Christian world, and progressive social exclusion or even expulsions, such as took place in England in 1290. As Salvador Martínez argues, although the society governed by Alfonso was more ethnically diverse than its other Christian contemporaries in medieval Iberia, the attitudes of both the Church and the civil authorities started to deteriorate very rapidly.³⁹

Conclusions

Knowledge of Jewish biblical literature from beyond the pale of Christian orthodoxy, and even Jewish exegetical influence upon Christian medieval writers, is not exclusive to the *GE*. The intellectual influence of the rabbinical school of Rashi upon the school of Hugh of St. Victor has already been stressed by various scholars such as Saralyn R. Daly or Louis H. Feldman, in addition to the fact that even Petrus Comestor surely made use of Hebrew traditions and preserved them in his Biblical history.⁴⁰ But the main difference between a potential Christian writer of the *GE* and a potential crypto-Jewish writer does not rest solely upon knowledge.

The hermeneutics that historical Bibles such as Comestor's applied were, on the one hand, very similar to those used in Alfonso's *GE*. They both tried to harmonize and solve difficulties in scriptural passages. They both aimed to supply missing details and did their best to solve contradictions so as to make those chapters intelligible to their readers. On the other hand, the Castilian history distanced itself from any previous Christian models by doing all of the above differently, not dwelling on explanations or clarifications but rather on imagination and invention, and on the narrative retelling of those stories.⁴¹ A second clear distinction between one model and the other – judging by those first chapters – is that while scholastic readings of the Scriptures clearly strive to make the biblical passages cohere and align with Christian beliefs, Alfonso seems more

'founder of the earthly City' and 'a figure of the Jews'", David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), 134.

³⁹ Martínez, *La convivencia*, 159.

⁴⁰ Peña-Fernández, "La relatividad de las cosas," 559; Louis H. Feldman, *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 320.

⁴¹ Peña-Fernández, "La relatividad de las cosas," 559–60.

interested in making them do so with a literal reading of the Bible. The *GE*'s narrative expansions of the Scriptures resemble rabbinical exegesis not only in content – and heterodox deviations – but also in form. The fact of attending to etiological more than theological questions, the way that characters are built and morally judged, and most importantly the way that the *GE* invites readers to suspend their rational consideration of certain biblical chapters, is far more aligned with midrashic literature than with Christian exegesis. The last proof arguing for a crypto-Jewish writer or collaborator in this first chapter of the *GE*, namely its response to issues contemporary with its composition, may be the most obvious or strongest, but is most importantly what finally makes sense of all the other arguments.

Despite the evident and substantial changes that took place from the year 1279 in the relationship between the king and his Jewish collaborators, Alfonso X's pro-Hebraic politics, according to Isabel Montes, inspired most of his reign.⁴² There is no doubt that Alfonso shared the intellectual curiosity of these prominent Jews who surrounded him and whom, without any doubt, he must have admired. But it must be acknowledged that without this collaboration, and given the extremely poor intellectual level of the peninsular clergy, the undertaking of this ambitious cultural project would have been completely impossible. The Hispanic Jews were not only important but essential to the translation of numerous scientific and philosophical texts from Arabic into Latin and Castilian. As Manuel González Jiménez suggests, a favorable attitude toward the Jewish community, clearly observed in the benign interpretation of the decrees promulgated by Innocent III during the Fourth Lateran Council, was characterized by a high degree of pragmatism.⁴³

The historiographical legacy of this collaboration is incalculable, and embodied in a universal history that is as attractive as it is unique. We might speculate how much of the originality and heterodoxy of the *GE* is variously owing to king Alfonso's curiosity, to his defense of a broad and more secular historiographic concept, or more probably to his distance (intentional or otherwise) from the process of reviewing and editing the work.⁴⁴

⁴² Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, "El antijudaísmo o antisemitismo hacia la minoría hebrea," in *Los caminos del exilio. Actas de los Segundos Encuentros Judaicos de Tudela* (Gobierno de Navarra, 1996), 86.

⁴³ González Jiménez, Manuel. "Alfonso X y las minorías confesionales de mudéjares y judíos," in *Alfonso X. Aportaciones de un rey castellano a la construcción de Europa* (Murcia: Comunidad Autónoma de la Región de Murcia 1997), 75–6.

⁴⁴ Sánchez-Prieto Borja, "Introducción," xxxv–xxxvi.

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CHAPTER 9

AMBIGUITY, FRIENDSHIP AND PRAGMATISM: MEDIEVAL FRIARS IN IBERIA AND BEYOND

FRANCISCO GARCÍA-SERRANO

The coming of the mendicant friars to Iberia implied a drastic change in late medieval society for Christians and non-Christians alike. Franciscans and Dominicans were soon accepted and patronized by kings, nobles and merchants and they interacted with the elites in palaces, convents and marketplaces serving as confessors, advisors and ambassadors. In the frontier societies of medieval Iberia, the friars also ventured to the lands of the Muslims as missionaries, diplomats and negotiators. Within Christian society they were able to narrow the gap between the wealthy and the poor, and vis-à-vis Muslims and Jews, they were able to reach out to the “enemies” of the Christian faith by learning their language, their culture and their faith and developed ideals of friendship. During the reigns of Alfonso X of Castile and James I of Aragon, the leadership of the mendicant friars in domestic and international affairs was extraordinary as they were engaged in negotiations, preaching and traveling to non-Christian lands in al-Andalus and North Africa. Due to their great pragmatism, Dominicans and Franciscans were especially suited to serve the needs of nobles, monarchs and popes, thus becoming the best mediators between Christians and non-Christians during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Introduction

A well-known example of Spanish medieval literature is the poem of Mio Cid that tells the story of Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar who was expelled from Castile by his Christian overlord Alfonso VI. El Cid encounters comfort, loyalty and unconditional support in his friendship with Aveganvol, the

approachable Muslim governor of Molina.¹ The author of the *Poema de Mio Cid* could have given an exaggerated interpretation of maurophilia in a time when most Muslims were seen as enemies, but the poem shows clearly that the frontier society of medieval Iberia was a unique space in the Latin West, with multifaceted interpersonal relations, that were all but ordinary. There were several external political frontiers between the Christian kingdoms, between the Muslim *taifa* kingdoms as well as between Christian and Muslim territories, and there were internal frontiers that separated the diverse and multi-confessional societies of Muslims, Jews and Christians.²

It is difficult to assess whether these societies existed side by side as hybrid or integrated communities, but nonetheless we need to contextualize them within the broader notion of coexistence of different ethno-religious identities.³ The question of multiple identities began with the harsh Visigothic legislation against the Jews, and was culminated in the early eighth century when a mixture of Muslims, Jews and Christians invaded the peninsula, which was then inhabited by Catholics, Arians, Jews and pagans.⁴ A conscious understanding of difference existed well into the late middle ages when there were Christian mercenaries serving Muslim rulers in Morocco, Almohad soldiers serving Aragonese rulers or even Castilian

¹ *Poema de Mio Cid*, ed. Jimena Menéndez Pidal (Zaragoza: Ebro, 1977), 101; Colin Smith, *The Making of the Poema de Mio Cid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 178–9.

² José María Delgado Gallego, “Maurofilia y maurofobia ¿dos caras de una misma moneda?” in *Narraciones moriscas*, ed. Ginés Pérez de Hita (Sevilla: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1986), 15–7. See also the work by Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic nation: maurophilia and the construction of early modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2008).

³ For the problem of hybridity and identity in medieval Iberia see the introduction in *Under the influence: questioning the comparative in medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Maya Soifer, “Beyond convivencia: critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1:1 (2009): 19–35; Adeline Rucquoi, “Hybrid Identities: The Case of Medieval Spain,” in *Hybrid identities*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Bern: Peter Lang: 2014), 55–82; Brian A. Catlos, *The victors and the vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 404–8; David Abulafia, “What Happened in al-Andalus: Minorities in al-Andalus and in Christian Spain,” in *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honour of Professor Patricia Crone*, ed. Asad Q. Ahmed, Behnam Sadeghi, Robert G. Hoyland and Adam Silverstein (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 533–50.

⁴ Abulafia, “What Happened in al-Andalus,” 536.

kings enjoying Muslim fashion surrounded by Moorish guards.⁵ It can be argued that the individuals in these societies developed an ambiguous identity, which surely affected their interpersonal relations, dominated by great pragmatism. I will analyze how ambiguity, friendship and pragmatism impacted these very interpersonal relations, paying special attention to the role of the mendicant friars.

It is precisely because medieval interfaith relations influenced the actual character of Spanish identity that an exacerbated scholarly debate – reaching beyond Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz – has been a concern in medieval Spanish historiography for a long time. Whether we talk of *convivencia*, *coexistencia*, *conveniencia* and of hybrid or parallel societies, no term can satisfactorily define the society in question. Despite the difficulties in achieving a scholarly consensus, the available evidence shows that the borders between faiths were fluctuating, sometimes rigid and sometimes porous. Most historians will agree that frequent examples of collaboration as well as of punitive animosity – which affected interpersonal relations – were quite prominent in the daily life of Medieval Iberians, since three cultures, religions and identities coexisted and competed while influencing each other.

The definitive evidence of enmity was provided by the lengthy territorial and religious disputes between Muslims and Christians in the so-called *Reconquista*, when warfare was frequent. The Jews, always a minority, were mostly seen in a negative light by the Christians and yet were somehow better appreciated by the Muslims. However, religion alone did not guarantee acceptance or rejection since sharing the same faith did not imply natural, instantaneous friendship. Christian lords frequently fought each other for domination of northern peninsular enclaves; they also suffered civil wars and feuds between factions. The Muslims experienced their own ethnic divisions and civil wars (*fitnas*) that led to the collapse of the Andalusian Caliphate, the division and development of the *taifa* kingdoms and the instability and persecution brought about by the Almoravids and Almohads. Ultimately, within the internal borders of dominant religions, be

⁵ Simon Barton, “Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c. 1100–1300,” in *Medieval Spain. Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence: Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, ed. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 23–45; Hussein Fancy, “The Last Almohads: Universal Sovereignty between North Africa and the Crown of Aragon,” *Medieval Encounters* 19:1–2 (2013): 102–36; Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, *Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile (1410–1467)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

it Islam or Christianity, hostility in regard to the subaltern groups was frequent in the mixed daily life of interreligious relations.

As a consequence, the social, religious, cultural and political complexities that arose in the Hispanic Middle Ages are certainly conducive to problematization and further discussion by scholars, since coexistence should neither be consistently portrayed as positive, nor competition as destructive. The Iberian Peninsula, especially in the thirteenth century, could have been described simply as a hostile territory in which the crusading spirit, together with the firm Christian advances of the *Reconquista* to the south, jeopardized the well-being of its inhabitants on both sides of the frontier, regardless of religious confession, social status, gender or personal loyalties. But even within the context of general confrontations, personal loyalties and friendships transcended political borders and religious confessions.

Ideals of Friendship

There was an undeniable interfaith coexistence at different levels of society, ranging from the daily life of commoners to exceptional intellectual and administrative collaborations. Although the proximity of cultures did not necessarily lead to coexistence, it did contribute to tolerance or cohabitation, and to a minimal knowledge of the “other” and those who were different.⁶ For this reason, personal relationships often crossed the lines delimiting religious confessions, entering the intimate space of affection in which individuals could share common values and feelings. It was a society afflicted by ambivalence, with fluctuations of acceptance and rejection, cooperation and conflict, tolerance and violence, friendship and animosity, but certainly always dynamic. While the “other” was easily located among the potential enemies of the faith, medieval Iberians of the three cultures were particularly engaged in defining the value of friendship within their own communities, not only to share a sense of belonging, but also to shape their identity vis-a-vis minorities.

Christian writers demonstrated a permanent concern for describing the values and qualities of friendship, which was generally seen as something essential for the fulfillment of the life of good believers. For example, Saint Isidore of Seville in his *Sententiae* did so in the seventh century, Petrus Alfonsi in his *Disciplina Clericalis* in the twelfth and Alfonso X in his *Siete Partidas* in the thirteenth; they all paid great attention to this matter, and

⁶ Roser Salicrú i Lluç, “Crossing boundaries in late medieval Mediterranean Iberia: Historical glimpses of Christian-Islamic intercultural dialogue,” *International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies* 1:1 (2008): 41.

praised the great qualities of amicabilities.⁷ When the translations of Aristotle's works were available, the ideals of friendship became more elaborated as is the case of the IV *Partida* that describes how affection, solidarity and understanding require reciprocity and equality between two individuals, and do not necessarily pay attention to religious identity.⁸

Friendship was also a quality highly valued when honoring the memory of ancestors. Alfonso X ordered a funerary monument in the royal chapel of the cathedral in Seville in memory of his father Ferdinand III. The epitaph, written on his sepulcher in four languages: Latin, Castilian, Arabic and Hebrew, demonstrates how the monarch dealt with both friends and enemies. There is a clear reference to the monarch's common friends and adversaries, but no intentional reference to enemies of the faith, and it is only the Latin version that mentions that he "rescued the pagans and restored the Christian faith." ("Eripuit paganorum et culti restituit christiano").⁹ This leads one to understand that the enemy was not necessarily the infidel. Notions of personal relations, amity and enmity pervaded medieval Castilian literature as well. These worthy ideals were mentioned by Jorge Manrique, who in 1476 wrote the *Coplas por la muerte de su padre*, his eloquent poetry serving as homage and praise of the qualities of his deceased father: the achievement of high moral standards; the ideals of a nobleman striving for earthly fame; celebrating the fact that he was a great friend and lord to his friends and servants, but a formidable adversary for his foes ("Amigo de sus amigos, ¡qué señor para criados e parientes!, ¡Qué enemigo d' enemigos!").¹⁰

In the works of Muslim and Jewish writers, the ideals of friendship and love were also recurrent, embedded in explanations of moral and ethical values. In eleventh-century Cordoba, Ibn Hazm dealt in his *The Dove's Neck Ring* with the ethical values of friendship, love, and justice, and eventually influenced Castilian literature, especially the Franciscan Ramon

⁷ Adeline Rucquoi, *Aimer dans l'Espagne médiévale* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008), 15–6.

⁸ Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in medieval Iberia: historical, legal and literary perspectives* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Marilyn Stone, "El tema de la amistad en la Cuarta Partida de Alfonso el Sabio," *Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Actas X*, ed. Antonio Vilanova (Barcelona: Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, 1989), 338.

⁹ Laura Fernández Fernández, "'Muy noble, et mucho alto et mucho honrado.' La construcción de la imagen de Fernando III," in *Fernando III: tiempo de cruzada*, ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez and Federico Ríos Saloma (Madrid: Silex, 2012), 137–74.

¹⁰ Jorge Manrique, *Poesía*, edición, estudio y notas de Vicenç Beltrán (Madrid: Real Academia Española / Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg-Círculo de Lectores, 2013), copla XXVI.

Llull in his *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*.¹¹ In the eleventh century, again in Cordoba, the Jews Isaac ben Khalfon and Ibn Nagrela emphasized the importance of loyalty and friendship in avoiding treason.¹² In his mid-twelfth century writings, Solomon ibn Gabirol stressed the moral richness of friendship.¹³ Most of these Muslim and Jewish writers were certainly influenced by the classics and in turn inspired later Christian writers.

Friars, Friendship and Society

The Church, of course, was aware of the events in the Iberian Peninsula and the perils of interfaith relations. The popes, in trying to regulate the spiritual wellbeing of Christians on both sides of the border and their relationship with Jews and Muslims, frequently gave instructions and issued bulls. The inconveniences that relations between individuals of the three confessions could cause the Church did not go unnoticed. Amidst decisive Christian advances on the battleground and important social changes in the north of the peninsula, the recently created mendicant orders (especially Franciscans and Dominicans) arrived in Iberia, encountering both great challenges and countless opportunities for accomplishing their missions. The friars, being such an important part of Christian life and of its relationship with minorities, also paid attention to the moral and ethical values of friendship and to the centrality of interpersonal relations.

Among the leaders of the mendicant orders, therefore, there was a general understanding of the value of amiable relationships; the pragmatism that was present in medieval society also transcended religious barriers, even impacting the role of religious leaders. For example John of Spain, one of Saint Dominic's companions, alleged of the latter's personal qualities that he was loved by everyone, including Jews and pagans (Muslims), and that his only enemies were those who attacked the institutional Church. It was a sign that personal affection was able to cross interfaith boundaries.¹⁴ In turn, Francis of Assisi, desiring to embrace a life of poverty, emphasized his love for the imaginary "Lady Poverty", an allegory which portrayed

¹¹ Lois A. Giffen, "Ibn Hazm and the *Tawq al-hamama*," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marín (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 420–42.

¹² Isaac ibn Jalfón de Córdoba, *Poemas*, ed. Carlos del Valle Rodríguez (Madrid: Aben Ezra Ediciones, 1992), nos 3–4, 9, 11, 13–14, 20, 28–33, 36, 38, 43, 46.

¹³ Selomo ibn Gabirol, *Selección de perlas. Mibhar ha-Peninim*, ed. David Gonzalo Maeso (Barcelona: Ameller Editor, 1977), 82–98.

¹⁴ Simon Tugwell, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982), 74–5.

poverty as the queen of virtues.¹⁵ Besides this, Thomas Aquinas thoroughly illuminated Christian theology with an idea that he took from the *Ethics*: namely, his well-known thesis that charity was a kind of friendship, by analogy with Aristotle's conception of friendship. Thus, he explained that friendship is the most perfect form of all types of love, and charity must obviously also be placed in this category; hence one had to recognize the other person's independence and equality, respecting his otherness since one cannot be friends, in the strictest sense, with someone who is considered inferior or a slave.¹⁶

Friendship and interpersonal ties also affected how the friars related to the different social groups. Instead of simply imposing their ideals or instigating violence, they found solutions by masterfully defining the roles of different members of society: believers and non-believers, men and women, rural and urban, rich and poor, powerful and humble. They were tremendously competent at channeling new spiritual currents by monitoring conflict and coexistence, as well as at justifying the role of outsiders in their debates and sermons. Precisely because the friars were newcomers and did not bear the same burdens, nor faced the same difficulties as the traditional secular clergy and the antiquated church, they could better adapt their religious responsibilities to a dynamic society. As such, they quite successfully understood the complex society in which they were expected to preach, and were thus suited to respond to the problems derived from coexistence and conflict. As promoters of poverty and humility, and preaching by example, they were perceived as the best means of tackling the changing society with its vulnerability to economic gain, and molded their organizations to the spiritual and material needs of the people who required moralizing.

Although in thirteenth-century Iberia Jews, pagans, heretics and schismatics were seen as a threat (real or imagined) to the stability of Christian societies, the mendicants did not necessarily follow a policy of provocation and direct confrontation. The presence of the outsider helped them both fulfill and justify their spiritual obligations by instructing and preaching to them. When crossing intellectual borders, and learning from other languages, cultures and religions, the friars also facilitated an understanding of how the "other" saw the Latin West. Instead of projecting a persistently negative picture of the enemy, as a sinister imaginary mirror-

¹⁵ Kenneth B. Wolf, *The Poverty of Riches: St. Francis of Assisi Reconsidered* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 31–2.

¹⁶ Fergus Kerr, OP, "Thomas Aquinas Charity as Friendship," in *Ancient and Medieval Concepts of Friendship*, ed. Gary M. Gurtler and Suzanne Stern-Gillet (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2014), 463, 466–7.

image of the Christians, the friars helped to establish clearer boundaries between religions and to elucidate the relations with Jews and Muslims.¹⁷ Due to their solid training, especially in the case of the Dominicans, the friars were well suited to serve the papacy's need to spread religious beliefs among both enemies and friends of the faith, not only in the Christian territories of the Iberian Peninsula, but also in al-Andalus and North Africa. Thus they became the best mediators between Christians and non-Christians from the thirteenth century until the end of the Middle Ages.

As a consequence, the role of the friars often extended beyond the religious sphere; they were not only preachers and guardians of the faith but also served as personal advisors, confessors and educators of kings and nobles, and were ambassadors, mediators, explorers and spies abroad as well as facilitators of political and economic efforts. The friars were soon accepted and frequented by the urban elites, particularly the merchants, whilst also interacting with kings and nobles. It seems quite plausible that the fulfillment of their apostolic mission ultimately led them to exercise power. Developing personal bonds in their roles as confessors, counselors and emissaries of the royal families, they could influence the kings' decisions more than any other individual, secular or religious. In doing so they became powerful, and in turn they helped the magnates to secure their own status.¹⁸ Within Christian society, more broadly, they were also meant to narrow the gap between the rich and poor, while successfully preaching among women and attracting them to the realm of the Church. But their task was certainly not going to be easy among their co-religionists, from whom they subsequently encountered fierce opposition and rejection.

Hence, beyond their religious identity, the mendicant friars benefited from the dynamism of the society they served while coping with existing cohabitation and competition. In analyzing the significant contribution of the mendicant friars, whose religious Christian identity was supposedly unquestionable, we can certainly learn about the complexities and ambiguities of medieval Iberian societies. They can also help us to gain a better understanding of the medieval notions of hostility and acceptance, in which pragmatism always played a leading role. The mendicant orders in Iberia

¹⁷ Ron Barkai, *El enemigo en el espejo. Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval* (Madrid: Rialp, 2007), 12–4; Giles Constable, “The Historiography of the Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou-Thōmadakē and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 1–22.

¹⁸ Francisco García-Serrano, *Preachers of the City. The Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217–1248)* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1997), 118.

have been studied profusely, but mostly in regional contexts. There are no comprehensive studies of the whole peninsula, among other gaps, due to the lack of historical sources.¹⁹

Friars, Acceptance and Rejection

Throughout the Iberian Peninsula we encounter mendicant friars attached to the different royal families, as they soon became their confessors, counselors, secretaries and personal companions. For example, over twenty-five Franciscans were tasked by the Portuguese royal family with developing their duties at the royal court, where there was also a numerous group of Dominicans and Augustinians.²⁰ In Aragon, the Dominican Miguel Fabra, a personal companion of Saint Dominic, participated in the conquest of Mallorca in 1230 and was later selected by King James I of Aragon to evangelize captured Valencia, founding a convent there only months after its conquest in 1239. Another Dominican friar, Andreu D'Albalat, was appointed the first bishop of Valencia and second chancellor of James I.²¹ According to the traditional accounts, Ferdinand III entered the conquered Seville in 1248 accompanied by two Dominican friars, Pedro González Telmo and Dominic the Young. The *Partidas* of Alfonso X clearly explained the roles of the confessor as mediator between the king and God, but part of his duties were obviously also earthly matters.²² Several Dominicans also became confessors of kings and queens in Castile, such as

¹⁹ For the main mendicant orders in medieval Iberia see Robin Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims, and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Jill Webster, *Els Menores. The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993); James Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); *The Friars and Their Influence in Medieval Spain*, ed. Francisco García-Serrano (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

²⁰ João Francisco Marques, “Franciscanos e dominicanos confessores dos reis portugueses das duas primeiras dinastias: espiritualidade e política,” in *Espiritualidade e corte em Portugal (séculos XVI a XVIII)* (Porto: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1993), 53–60.

²¹ Luis G. Alonso Getino, “Dominicos españoles confesores de reyes,” *Ciencia Tomista* 14 (1916): 374–451, esp. 438.

²² “Otro sí decimos que el rey debe amar, e honrar a su capellán, haciéndolo bien e honra, como a hombre que es su confesor, e medianero entre Dios, e él,” Alfonso X el Sabio, *Las Siete Partidas (El Libro del Fuero de las Leyes)*, ed. José Sánchez-Arcilla (Madrid: Editorial Reus, 2004), *Partida* II, Título IX, ley III, 214.

Fray Domingo de Robledo, the confessor of Kings Sancho IV and Fernando IV, and of Queen Maria de Molina.²³

Additionally, numerous nobles were connected to the mendicant orders; powerful families such as the Mendoza, Haro and Ayala looked for mendicant confessors, and members of their families were often buried in mendicant convents.²⁴ The best example was Don Juan Manuel, the Castilian writer and powerful nobleman with ties to the royal family, who was also closely linked to the Dominicans which included his personal and intellectual friends, Fray Juan Alfonso and Fray Ramón Masquefa. They were entrusted with high-level missions to negotiate marriages or treaties with the kings of Aragon. Fray Masquefa was also sent to the French royal family in 1324 to negotiate the marriage of the infant Pedro, son of Jaime II of Aragon. Several other preachers were entrusted with diplomatic missions by the Aragonese king.²⁵ Furthermore, there is the example of King Saint Louis of France, who dispatched mendicants to northern Africa.

Moreover, the friars traveled with the royal armies and served as chaplains. Pope Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), and his successor Honorius III, had previously laid the basis for this by requiring priests to preach to soldiers, encouraging them to crusade and to behave as Christians. Although the pontiffs at first lacked the necessary personnel, with the subsequent foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican orders the friars were chosen as the best candidates to fulfill these duties amongst soldiers in papal service.²⁶ The practice of itinerant preaching in the rough military campaigns was possible due to the use of portable altars.²⁷

²³ Alonso Getino, "Dominicos españoles confesores de reyes", 380–90; Crescencio Palomo, "Confesores dominicos de los reyes de España," *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España* 1 (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1972), 600; Atanasio López, "Confesores de la familia real de Castilla," *Archivo Ibero Americano* 31 (1929): 5–75; Manuel De Castro y Castro, "Confesores franciscanos de los reyes de España," *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España* Suplemento I, (Madrid: SSIC, 1987), 219–21.

²⁴ Francisco García-Serrano, "Del convento al palacio: Los frailes y las oligarquías castellanas (siglos XIII–XIV)," in *Poder, Piedad y Devoción: Castilla y Su Entorno (Siglos XII–XV)*, ed. Isabel Beceiro Pita (Madrid: Silex, 2014), 77–102.

²⁵ Stéphane Péquignot, *Au nom du roi. Pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291–1327)* (Unprinted doctoral thesis, Université de Paris XII, 2004), 80, 197–9; Vose, *Dominicans*, 83.

²⁶ David S. Bachrach, "The Friars Go to War: Mendicant Military Chaplains, 1216–C. 1300," *The Catholic Historical Review* 90:4 (2004), 621; Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 9–17.

²⁷ Bachrach, "The Friars Go to War," 626–8.

Therefore, it was very common for the friars to accompany Christian troops as military chaplains in their campaigns, as was the case with the Dominican friars in King James I of Aragon's campaigns in Mallorca and Valencia, with the purpose of preaching to the men, hearing their confession and assigning penance.²⁸ Once the victories were achieved and the cities conquered, the friars who traveled with the armies immediately asked the king for permission to establish a convent, as in the cases of Cordoba and Seville.²⁹ It is well known that during the thirteenth century the overwhelming majority of convents established in Andalusia belonged to the mendicants, with only three out of a total of 27 established by other religious orders.³⁰

While able to enjoy the acceptance and friendship of the royal families and the nobles, they were not always welcomed by the Christian society at large and by other members of the Church. Medieval society's ambiguities are thus brought to light as we begin to understand how the friars related to the different groups. They could be rejected by Christians and accepted by Muslims, for example, and much like their other European counterparts, the beginnings of the Iberian friars were not always smooth since they were seen as newcomers and disruptors of a traditional feudal order. They suffered at times violent opposition from the older Benedictine monks and the secular clergy – principally the bishops, who encouraged additional acts of rejection, blatant violence and anti-fraternal strife within Christian society.³¹ The disputes at the University of Paris in the mid-thirteenth century led by William of Saint Amour prompted him to write his *De periculis novissimorum temporum* in which all friars were apocalyptic forerunners of the Antichrist.³²

²⁸ Bachrach, "The Friars Go to War," 619–20, 628–30; Robert I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia, Reconstruction of a Thirteenth-Century Frontier* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1967), vol. 1, 203–4.

²⁹ José María Miura Andrades, "Las fundaciones de la Orden de Predicadores en el Reino de Córdoba (II)," *Archivo Dominicano* 10 (1989): 233.

³⁰ José María Miura Andrades, "La presencia mendicante en la Andalucía de Fernando III," *Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 77 (1994): 509–20; José Sánchez Herrero, "Monjes y frailes. Religiosos y religiosas en Andalucía durante la Baja Edad Media," *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza* (Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 1984), 450–6.

³¹ Yves Dossat, "Opposition des anciens ordres à l'installation des mendiants," in *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle, Cahiers de Fanjeux* 8 (Toulouse: Privat, 1973), 263–306; Guy Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³² Guy Geltner, "William Of St. Amours *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*: A False Start to Medieval Antifraternalism," in *Defenders and critics of Franciscan*

But the intellectual and theological confrontations were not the only ones. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there occurred several cases of hostility and physical violence against friars on the part of Christians: in German cities such as Strasburg and Worms, in Italian cities such as Bologna and Pisa, and also in Languedoc, England and the Iberian Peninsula. In this matter, their relationship with Christian society was not so different from what was developing in other European territories.³³ For example, two Dominicans, Ponce de Planelles and Bernardo de Travesseres, were violently murdered in Urgell in 1242 while performing their duties as inquisitors against the Cathars.³⁴ In 1245–46 in Pamplona there was an assault on the Franciscan convent by clergymen and the canons of the Cathedral, who saw the friars as competitors and accused them of being similar to Jews, Saracens and heretics.³⁵ In Northern Castile they had to withstand the fierce and violent opposition of the secular clergy, as can be construed from various episodes such as those of Cuéllar, Burgos and Orense, to name a few. Violence was widespread; even the Dominican nunnery Santo Domingo el Real of Madrid was attacked in 1285, most likely out of jealousy of its considerable economic success.

In 1247 in Cuéllar, in connection with the diocese of Segovia, the Franciscans provoked the anger of its bishop to the extent that Pope Innocent IV commissioned the archdeacon and sacristan of Osma to investigate complaints against the Franciscan friars. According to the prelates, the friars interfered with parochial activities by building on the territory of their parishes, confessing illegally and acting as the executors of donors' wills.³⁶ In the city of Burgos, a forty-year dispute between the canons of the Cathedral and the Friars Preacher included such episodes as the violent interruption of mass in the Dominican convent in 1260, the theft from Burgos cathedral of the corpse of Juan Tomás, Archdeacon of Valpuesta, in 1261, thus preventing his burial in the friars' cemetery, and stealing property titles and construction materials for the new Dominican convent in 1270.³⁷ Finally, in the northern city of Orense, the Franciscans

life: essays in honor of John V. Fleming, ed. Michael Cusato and Guy Geltner (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 103–18.

³³ Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism*, Appendix 2.

³⁴ Vose, *Dominicans*, 36, 65, 74.

³⁵ Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism*, 55–6.

³⁶ Antonio Linage Conde, “Los franciscanos,” in *Historia de la Iglesia en España* 2:2, *La Iglesia en la España de los siglos VIII–XIV*, ed. Ricardo García Villoslada (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982), 134–5.

³⁷ Peter Linehan, “A tale of two cities: capitular Burgos and Mendicant Burgos in the thirteenth century,” in *Church and City, 1000–1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. David Abulafia, Michael J. Franklin and Miri Rubin

were effectively obliged to renounce burials in their cemetery due to the brutal opposition of the Bishop Pedro Yáñez de Novoa and his supporters as late as 1289, when men were killed and the body of the noble Teresa Yáñez was stolen in order to be buried in the Cathedral churchyard instead. This serious incident reached the papacy and forced Nicholas IV to intervene amid yet other incidents in Palencia and Zamora.³⁸

This anti-fraternal violence and opposition of secular clergy was triggered when in 1246 a papal bull of Innocent IV granted the Dominicans the right to have conventional churches as well as cemeteries in their priories. After that, the friars had the opportunity to complement their itinerant preaching with the celebration of masses in their convents, presenting believers with the option of either regular or secular clergy to fulfill their religious needs. In addition, the cemeteries also helped friars attract more endowments, since more notable people would opt for the priories as their place of burial and therefore their donations increased. While, originally, the Dominicans were required to travel and preach in streets, squares and other public places to gain believers, only complementing the secular clergy, they now had become true competitors. It is clear that throughout Western Europe, the friars' newly acquired competencies were not always well received by the secular clergy; however, it is likely that the conflict between the friars and secular clergy was particularly intense in some Spanish towns, since the bulls of Alexander IV in 1259 and 1260, to cancel secular sanctions against the Dominicans, were aimed especially at the Spanish church.³⁹

Friars and the “Other”

If the ambivalence of acceptance and rejection was experienced within Christian society itself, how could the friars relate to Muslims and Jews? There was a lengthy Christian tradition that depicted the Muslims as barbarians and despicable heretics.⁴⁰ For example the different Castilian

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 81–110; García-Serrano, *Preachers of the City*, 83–90.

³⁸ Linage Conde, “Los franciscanos,” 135.

³⁹ Thomae Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* 1 (Rome: Ex Typografia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1729), 379, 246; Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, *La documentación pontificia de Alejandro IV (1254–1261)* (Rome: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1976), nos 443 and 473.

⁴⁰ Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz, “Popular Attitudes Toward Islam in Medieval Europe,” in *Western views of Islam in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed.

chronicles, such as the eleventh-century *Crónica Silense*, project a clearly anti-Islamic perception.⁴¹ Peter the Venerable traveled in Spain accompanied by translators and *sapientes* (wise men) in his project to study Islam. After his journey to Toledo in the early twelfth century, he encouraged clergymen to study the Arabic language to fight and purge the Muslim heresy.⁴² And in the thirteenth century, there were scholars such as Jacques de Vitry who traveled to the Holy Land, Lucas de Tuy who wrote chronicles and even the Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora who wrote negative descriptions about Islam and depicted it as dangerous to weak and vulnerable Christians.⁴³

However, while the mendicant brothers faced instances of violence from their co-religionists and there were negative attitudes towards Islam, their relationship with outsiders, pagans, heretics and “infidels” was not necessarily hostile, especially since the friars believed that military crusading alone was not effective and that learned men, such as they were, had to preach by persuasion. Friendship with the “other” could also have been an option, since in 1219 Francis of Assisi established an amicably peaceful relationship with Malik al-Kâmil, the Sultan of Egypt, both men expressing admiration and respect for each other.⁴⁴ Ramon Llull, in his writings in Catalan, Latin and Arabic, proposed a gentle approach towards the infidels to gain their conversion. His *Blanquerna* is packed with a rational understanding of the “other”, but nonetheless, his success in converting Muslims was null.

An extreme example of confrontation with Islam was the martyrdom of friars; the Franciscans were more prone to it than the Dominicans. Seeking martyrdom was a more provocative approach than converting non-believers or learning their languages, and was of great concern to the papacy. To be sure, the idea of martyrdom was not new since it was an aspiration already uttered and accomplished by Eulogius and Alvarus, the ninth-century martyrs of Cordoba. Alvarus, in his *Indiculus luminosus*, justified facing

Michael Frassetto and David R. Blanks (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 55–81.

⁴¹Bernard Richard, “L’Islam et les musulmanes chez les chroniqueurs castillans du mi-lieu du Moyen Âge,” *Hesperis. Tamuda* 12 (1971): 107–32.

⁴² James Aloysius Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 34–5; Petrus Venerabilis. *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim sarracenorum*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. *Patrologia Latina* 189 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1854), col. 671.

⁴³ Emilio Mitre Fernández, “Otras religiones ¿Otras herejías? (El mundo mediterráneo ante el ‘choque de civilizaciones en el Medioevo’),” *En la España Medieval* 25 (2002): 34–35.

⁴⁴ John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: the curious history of a Christian-Muslim encounter* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 382.

martyrdom by referring to the claim of Matthew's Gospel that the end will come only when the Gospel has been preached to all nations.⁴⁵ It seems, however, that they were more inclined to achieve their own death at the hands of the Muslims than to fulfill the authentic mission of preaching the Gospel.⁴⁶ The Mozarabs, increasingly uneasy with the growing isolation of their Christian existence from the rest of the Christian world and with the influence of Islam, ultimately sought martyrdom by elaborating a negative and provocative interpretation of Islam and Mohammed. Their search for martyrdom was due to their anxieties and an identity crisis brought about by the fact that, despite living among infidels, they saw that they had become acculturated, comfortable and too familiar with life among Muslims. They thought that such an existence was difficult to accept by true Christians.⁴⁷

In the thirteenth century, across the Strait of Gibraltar, there were episodes of massacres and raw violence against Christians and Jews. The Franciscans, to attain the heights of perfection, sought martyrdom more actively than the Dominicans, and several times were able to achieve it. Six Franciscans were killed in Marrakech in 1220, and another six found martyrdom in Ceuta in 1227, as did the Dominican bishop of Morocco in Marrakech in 1232. There were other episodes of Franciscan martyrdoms in Valencia in 1228, Marrakesh in 1232 and later others in Tripoli and in the Near East.⁴⁸ The martyrdom of Franciscans, while provoking the Muslim rulers, inspired ambivalence among ecclesiastical authorities.

The Dominicans did not seek martyrdom so openly and they preferred to approach the non-Christians in a more moderate and rational way, in writings and public debates, despite instances of humiliation and intimidation of the Jews, as in the Crown of Aragon. The Friars Preacher studied both Jewish and Muslim theology so as to be prepared to debate and undermine them. Great intellectuals such as Ramón Martí and Ramón Llull wrote very competent treatises against the other religions.⁴⁹ Ramon Martí in his *Pugio Fidei* (Dagger of the faith) against the Jews and his *De seta*

⁴⁵ Charles L. Tieszen, *Christian identity amid Islam in medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 85.

⁴⁶ Tieszen, *Christian identity*, 120–1.

⁴⁷ Abulafia, "What Happened in al-Andalus," 538–9.

⁴⁸ Robert I. Burns, "Christian-Islamic confrontation in the West: the thirteenth-century dream of conversion," *The American Historical Review* 76:5 (1971): 1388; John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the medieval European imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 217–8; Vose, *Dominicans*, 206.

⁴⁹ Tolan, *Saracens*, 233–6; Adeline Rucquoi, "Autores mendicantes en la cultura hispánica (siglos XIII–XV)," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 85–86 (2011–12), 621–43.

Machometi (On the sect of Muhammad) against the Muslims, tried to persuade the infidels by reason and not by force, and also to prepare the Christian population for theological debates.⁵⁰

From the early times of the itinerant mendicants, crossing the border with Islam was never a problem. The missionary effort in the Islamic territories of Spain and North Africa was not great in numbers, albeit the Franciscans were more numerous than the Dominicans, but it was certainly significant in scope.⁵¹ Life on the boundaries with Islam also required pragmatic solutions, and in Andalusia the mendicants combined their missions with parish obligations. For this reason, and with the purpose of Christianizing the newly conquered territories, it was in the south that the first mendicant bishops were named, as was the case with the Dominican Domingo de Soria in Baeza in 1232 and the Franciscan Pedro Gallego in Cartagena in 1250.⁵²

During the mid-thirteenth century, the spiritual welfare of the participants in the Christian *Reconquista* was mainly in the hands of the mendicant friars, who had replaced the secular clergy and Benedictine monks in this role. Since the *Reconquista* was conceived as a religious war to reclaim land from the “infidels,” the mainly Franciscan and Dominican friars helped the monarchs in the establishment and strengthening of new frontier societies in the Iberian Peninsula. In addition, the role of the friars on the frontier, preaching amid Christians and converting non-Christians, was also crucial to justifying the conversions because Muslims were usually protected by royal law, and forced conversion was not a legitimate option. The *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X claimed that Christians should “work by good words and suitable preaching to convert the Moors to our faith and to lead them to it not by force or by pressure,” since, it was emphasized, “the Lord is not pleased by the service that men give him through fear.”⁵³

The energetic expansion of the mendicant friars, however, was not limited to the Christian territories or immediate frontier. In 1225, with the bull *Vineae domini custodes*, Honorius III authorized Franciscan and Dominican missions inside the *Regnum Miramolinum*, the Almohad caliphate. The main objective was to convert the infidels, but also to return

⁵⁰ Vose, *Dominicans*, 157–8; Mitre Fernández, “Otras religiones,” 9–45.

⁵¹ Vose, *Dominicans*, 193–4.

⁵² Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Listas episcopales medievales* 1 (Zaragoza: Anubar, 1989), 228–9.

⁵³ *Partidas* (VII, 25, 2), trans. Joseph O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1975), 463.

weak and sinful Christians to the Church.⁵⁴ To that end and to go unnoticed in Muslim lands, the friars were allowed to abandon their habits, let their hair and beard grow and to even accept money for their subsistence. It was undoubtedly a great act of pragmatism. In 1226, Honorius III also ordered Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo to send Franciscans to Morocco to convert Muslims in Africa. Among these missionaries were Dominican and Franciscan bishops like Domingo “Bishop of Morocco”, Bishop Agnello and Bishop Lope Fernández de Aín.⁵⁵ They were the first clerics of that rank to preach among Muslims.

In addition, the friars who had their base in North Africa served the interests of Christian kings and merchants as mediators, diplomats and even spies, and met the pastoral needs of mercenaries residing on Islamic lands fighting for Muslim lords, not forgetting to mention the redeeming role of Trinitarians and Mercedarians for slaves and captives.⁵⁶ Later, proclaiming the African crusade that would reach its zenith in the second half of the century, the papacy urged the friars to travel to Morocco and Tunisia with the intention of evangelizing the Muslims. In this way, the friars actively participated in the propagation of the crusade in churches and other public spaces by encouraging the cooperation of all Christians. These had to cross the Strait of Gibraltar to spread their faith in the lands of Islam and receive in return the absolution of their sins.⁵⁷

Thus, crossing to North Africa was never an impediment for the friars, and they obtained the early support of the papacy, concerned for the welfare of the Christians residing in Morocco and Tunis and also intent on converting the Muslims. For Dominicans, Franciscans and other mendicants, not only Iberia but also North Africa became a single territory with great opportunities for their apostolate, and they proposed different methods to reach the Islamic people ranging from peaceful conversion and diplomacy to fanatic confrontation and military conquest.⁵⁸ In the same way that the Strait of Gibraltar was never a hindrance to the expansion of Islam under

⁵⁴ *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)*, ed. Demetrio Mansilla (Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1965), 416–7, 435.

⁵⁵ Joseph O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 118–9; *La documentación*, ed. Mansilla, nos 579 and 588.

⁵⁶ Vose, *Dominicans*, chapters 6 and 7. See also Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain*; Jarbel Rodriguez, *Captives and Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

⁵⁷ Joseph O’Callaghan, *The Gibraltar Crusade: Castile and the battle for the Strait* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 1–33, 249; Burns, *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* 1, 33.

⁵⁸ Burns, “Christian-Islamic confrontation,” 1395.

the Almoravids and Almohads, the Church and mendicants did not consider the Strait a geographical obstacle to their apostolic missions, and often crossed it.⁵⁹ The friars benefitted by emulating Muslim preachers or by learning Arabic and studying the Qur'an, or Hebrew to study the Talmud and the Torah. This allowed them to better categorize the outsiders, making them much more prepared to achieve their missionary goals, the latent desires for martyrdom, and the dream of conversion.⁶⁰

Mediterranean Pragmatism

Undoubtedly, throughout the Medieval Mediterranean an awareness of common interests and convenience habitually prevailed over harsh religious divisions. In the commercial world, for instance, religious affiliation did not hinder economic relations, as is seen in the case of the Jews in the Cairo Geniza during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, where “in the context of their business worlds the difference between Jewish and non-Jewish associates was sometimes barely discernible.”⁶¹ It is also noticeable how Jewish merchants wanted their rhetoric to be one of friendship and brotherhood, one that could develop among non-coreligionist business partners to give a sense of professional equality. Terms such as *ṣadīq* (friend) and *sharīk* (partner) were often used, an important measure in creating new ties at all levels of commercial life.⁶²

Interfaith commercial activity was also common in Christian lands where Muslim merchants arrived by sea, especially in the former Muslim cities of Aragon, such as Valencia and Mallorca; this was also the case for the Christian merchants in the ports of North Africa.⁶³ Even in the territories

⁵⁹ Fancy, “The Last Almohads,” 102–36.

⁶⁰ Linda G. Jones, “The Preaching of the Almohads: Loyalty and Resistance across the Strait of Gibraltar,” *Medieval Encounters* 19:1–2 (2013), 71; Fancy, “The Last Almohads,” 102.

⁶¹ Roxani Eleni Margariti, “Aṣḥābunā l-tujjār—Our Associates, the Merchants: Non-Jewish Business Partners of the Cairo Geniza’s India Traders,” in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen*, ed. Arnold E. Franklin, Roxani Eleni Margariti, Marina Rustow and Uriel Simonsohn (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 40–58, esp. 57.

⁶² Jessica L. Goldberg “Friendship and Hierarchy: Rhetorical Stances in Geniza Mercantile Letters,” in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen*, ed. Arnold E. Franklin, Roxani Eleni Margariti, Marina Rustow and Uriel Simonsohn (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 272, 283.

⁶³ Dominique Valérian, “Les marchands latins dans les ports musulmans méditerranéens: une minorité confinée dans des espaces communautaires?,” *Revue des mondes*

far from the Muslim Iberian frontier there were frequent retail and property transactions, as well as money-lending activities among Christians, Jews and Muslims. In predominantly Christian cities such as Burgos and Avila, the Christians bought houses from Jews and engaged in legal commercial activities, also Jews were often granted the rights for tax-farming by Christian authorities. While the documents clearly stated the religious identity of the minorities, there was a fluid movement across religious lines amid a prevailing pragmatism.⁶⁴ For their part, the mendicants also showed a great affinity with Christian merchants since they provided them with the necessary pastoral care at home and abroad. Such affinity is denoted in the adaptation of the mendicants' preaching vocabulary, when they speak of the *Sacrum commercium* that was for them the "business of poverty".⁶⁵

Moreover, practicing great pragmatism, the Dominicans did not hesitate to admit into their order new converts from Islam who could help them understand and teach Arabic in order to familiarize themselves with the whole body of Islamic knowledge and doctrine. For example, Michael of Bennazar, who was converted from Islam by Miguel Fabra, became a Dominican around 1232 and founded the first school of language and philosophy soon after the conquest of Mallorca.⁶⁶ In 1275, the Mallorcan mozarab Peter Bennazar also entered the order.⁶⁷ And in 1281 the friars Dominic Sancho and Savior, both converts from Islam, were sent to the *studium arabicum* of Valencia most probably thanks to their language skills.⁶⁸ On certain occasions, according to the papacy, contact with the "other" was dangerous for the friars since there were cases of friars converting to Islam. The best-known example was of the renegade convertee and former Franciscan Anselm Turmeda, who changed his name to Abd-Allah al-Tarjuman al Amayuqiand and became a significant figure

musulmans et de la Méditerranée 107–10 (2005): 437–58; also Dominique Valérian, "Les marchands musulmans dans les ports chrétiens au Moyen Âge," in *Religious Cohabitation in European Towns (10th–15th centuries)*, ed. John Tolan and Stéphane Boissellier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 109–20.

⁶⁴ Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Trading with the 'Other': Economic Exchanges between Muslims, Jews, and Christians in Late Medieval Northern Castile," in *Medieval Spain. Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, ed. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 63–78.

⁶⁵ Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1978), 200.

⁶⁶ José María Coll, "Escuela de lenguas orientales," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 17 (1944): 115–38; Burns, "Christian-Islamic confrontation", 1402.

⁶⁷ Vose, *Dominicans*, 198 n 16.

⁶⁸ Burns, "Christian-Islamic confrontation," 1404.

in koranic studies in Tunis in the early fifteenth century.⁶⁹ He was eventually a great intermediary between the kings of Aragon and the emirs of Tunis, knowing both territories quite well.

In conclusion, medieval Iberians, much like inhabitants of other Mediterranean societies, experienced great religious and social ambiguities. While ethno-religious identities prevailed, fostered especially by political and religious leaders, there was a general sense of pragmatism in society at large. The relations of mendicant friars with Christians and non-Christians alike are a clear demonstration that crossing interfaith frontiers was rarely problematic and that new scenarios for understating the “other” were possible after the thirteenth century.

⁶⁹ Mikel de Epalza, *Fray Anselm de Turmeda y su polémica islamo-cristiana* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1994²); Roger Boase, “Autobiography of a Muslim convert Anselm Turmeda (c. 1353–c. 1430),” *Al Masaq* 9 (1996): 45–98.

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CHAPTER 10

MIXED MARRIAGES, MOORISH VICES AND MILITARY BETRAYALS: CHRISTIAN-ISLAMIC CONFLUENCE IN *COUNT PEDRO'S BOOK OF LINEAGES*

TIAGO JOÃO QUEIMADA E SILVA

This article deals with representations of Christian-Islamic confluence in the medieval Portuguese genealogical compilation known as Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro (Count Pedro's Book of Lineages), assembled in the mid-fourteenth century by Count Pedro of Barcelos. Several narratives dealing with the non-military interaction of Christians and Muslims are analysed in this article, which discusses their role in the aristocratic discourses of political legitimization. The article's main argument is that, when evoking ancestors who reinforced the family's prestige, medieval Portuguese aristocratic families considered ethnic and cultural origin as secondary to their ancestors' social status.

Introduction

In aristocratic medieval Portuguese genealogical literature, the foundation for a discourse of political legitimization was the depiction of the warrior aristocracy as a social sector vitally necessary to the prosperity of the realm. It was the warrior aristocracy that had seized the Kingdom of Portugal from the Muslims, and thus this social sector was nothing less than chiefly responsible for medieval Portugal's existence. However, even though military interaction between Christians and Muslims is emphasized in these sources, there are also narratives depicting other forms of intercultural relations, which suggests a degree of confluence between the two. In this article I analyse the phenomenon of Christian-Islamic cultural confluence

in medieval Portugal's main genealogical compilation: the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* (*Count Pedro's Book of Lineages*).¹

This confluence co-exists with almost permanent warfare, which was the normal state of affairs between Christians and Muslims; and, judging from chronicles and genealogical texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Portugal, presented as the *raison d'être* of both royalty and aristocracy, even when Islam was not a tangible menace. Paraphrasing Ferreira, war was a viable mode of ethno-religious coexistence in the Iberian Peninsula.² During the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, however, neither aristocracy nor royalty viewed it as a radical religious confrontation. In the period's genealogies and chronicles, war between Iberian Christians and Muslims was generally characterised as being political-territorial, thus differing from texts of other provenance (for example, clerical) in which the religious element was much more decisive.³

Following an introduction to medieval genealogical literature in its Western European and Iberian contexts, I present my source and investigate three examples of Christian-Islamic confluence: first, accounts of marriages between Christian and Muslim aristocrats; second, descriptions of Christian participation in practices understood in the source as rooted in Islamic culture; third, narratives of Christian-Islamic military association, as well as of Christian aristocrats seeking refuge in Muslim lands in the wake of internal political conflicts in Christian kingdoms. I construe these narratives to be parts of a wider discourse of aristocratic ideological legitimization in which Muslims usually appear as enemies but which also evoke, sporadically, cultural confluence, either to legitimize or delegitimize a given lineage.

Medieval Genealogical Literature

In medieval Europe from the seventh century onwards, first in regions of Celtic or Germanic culture and thereafter throughout Latin Christendom, there emerged a literary genre cultivated by royal, princely and aristocratic

¹ José Mattoso, ed., *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Nova Série 2: Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1980).

² Maria do Rosário Ferreira, "Entre linhagens e imagens: a escrita do Conde de Barcelos," in *Estudios sobre la Edad Media, el Renacimiento y la temprana modernidad*, ed. Francisco Bautista Pérez and Jimena Gamba Corradine (San Millán de la Cogolla: SEMYR/Cilengua, 2010).

³ Tiago João Queimada e Silva, *As metamorfoses de um guerreiro: Afonso Henriques na cronística medieval* (Unprinted masteral thesis, University of Coimbra, 2011), 61–5, 85–6.

families which was devoted to the enumeration of family members and exposition of their kinship. The common feature of these texts is the organization of the historical narrative by genealogical succession, with generational change providing its main structural divisions. The passing of time is expressed by that of generations, in contrast to annalistic texts or chronologies based on calendar time. These genealogies, of which Count Pedro's book is a prime example, aim to present the lineage of one particular family, group of families or a single individual. They differ from chronicles in the sense that their main purpose is not to convey elaborate narratives. When they do encompass narrative segments, these are quite brief or fragmentary. However, there are obvious reciprocal influences among these genres since some genealogical texts include intricate narrative sections, especially in the late Middle Ages.

The first medieval genealogical texts appeared in Ireland and in the courts of Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian and Carolingian monarchs, during the seventh and eighth centuries. These texts seemingly derived from oral tradition. After the eleventh century it was not just royal families who commissioned genealogical works but also princely families.⁴ Later on, during the twelfth century, aristocratic families with sufficient political autonomy started to compose their own. In France, the genre thrived greatly after 1150, particularly in the western and northern regions between Gascony and Flanders. Until 1160, documents of this kind in the French Kingdom were mostly connected to the families of the counts of Flanders and Anjou, but thereafter the genre spread to other centres.⁵ By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, even aristocratic families of lesser importance commissioned the compilation of their own genealogical records. At the same time, compilations devoted to the aristocracies of whole regions, as in the Portuguese case, began to appear. While the older texts mostly consisted of simple lists, genealogical narrative gradually developed and became more detailed. In the twelfth century, the conflation of genealogical writing with epic themes was already verifiable.⁶ By the fourteenth, cross-contamination between chronicles and genealogies was prevalent, as can also be seen in the Portuguese sources.⁷

⁴ The genealogy of Arnould the Great, Count of Flanders, which was already composed in the tenth century (between 951 and 959), is a noteworthy case of a princely genealogy written before the eleventh century. See Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 150.

⁵ Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 135, 150–1.

⁶ Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 152, 154, 156.

⁷ Besides the works of Georges Duby already mentioned, this introductory synthesis on medieval European genealogical literature is based on Léopold Genicot, *Les*

Thus we see that genealogy, despite the royal provenance of the earliest texts (devoted to Frankish and Anglo-Saxon royal dynasties), developed chiefly as “literature of the nobility”. It had its origin at the very top of feudal society, subsequently filtering through the aristocracy’s lower ranks.⁸ Genealogy asserted itself as a model of historical narrative at a time when western European aristocracy was attempting to reconfigure familial structures as vertical organizations based on agnatic ancestry – in other words, as *lineages* modelled after those of royal families. This development was linked to the weakening of central monarchic authority, the gradual expansion of aristocratic political autonomy and the consolidation of a clearly defined heredity attached to feudal property, a phenomenon verifiable from the ninth until the eleventh century.⁹ As Duby summarized it, “in its deepest sense the genealogy traces the transmission of a title and a patrimony”.¹⁰

Genealogical texts reflected this evolving perception of the family from a horizontal web-like structure towards a vertical organization topped by a patrilinear chief. Simultaneously, genealogical lists passed down within the family imposed this notion upon the members of its lineage. As laudatory texts dedicated to a given family, genealogies represented, constructed and affirmed the lineage’s self-consciousness and reinforced its position in political terms, as opposed to rival families and centres of power.¹¹ Genealogy provides privileged insights not only into the consciousness of a particular family but of the aristocratic class as a whole, particularly in the Portuguese case where the compilations purported to list the entire Portuguese and Iberian aristocracy. As Mattoso asserted, they are expressions of class ideology, compiled at a time when the warrior aristocracy was being politically challenged by the royal power.¹²

Généalogies, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975).

⁸ Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 151.

⁹ Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 146–8, 153–4.

¹⁰ Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 156–7. We must note that Duby’s model of patrilinear lineage has often been challenged. See Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “Le débat sur la “mutation féodale”: état de la question,” in *Europe around the year 1000*, ed. Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2001), 11–40.

¹¹ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore/London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 99–110; Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 59–80, 100–3, 135, 139–40, 146–8.

¹² José Mattoso, “Os livros de linhagens portuguesas e a literatura genealógica europeia da Idade Média,” in José Mattoso, *Obras Completas* 7 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2001), 39.

Genealogical literature flourished in the medieval Iberian Peninsula: first, with the tenth-century *Roda Codex*, which contains numerous genealogies;¹³ then, with several renditions of the *Liber Regum*, composed around 1200 in Navarra.¹⁴ Originally written in Aragonese, this work was translated into a number of languages and was one of the most important sources for medieval Iberian historiographers, widely used in Galicia and Portugal. There are additionally a few Catalanian genealogical works, both in Latin and Catalan.

Before the thirteenth century in Portugal, the only genealogical information was contained in lists of serfs, used as juridical documents to settle disputes. Thus one of the antecedents of Portuguese genealogy is found in documents pertaining to the lowest sectors of society. Although not genealogies per se, these lists do reflect an interest in kinship structures even if merely for property-related administrative purposes. There are vestiges of a thirteenth-century royal genealogy, as well as genealogical records of some Portuguese families such as the Ribadouros and, already in the fourteenth century, the family of the lords of Gouviães. These antecedents and the influence of the *Liber Regum* in Portugal spurred the genre's profuse growth during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are at least three genealogical compilations from these centuries, one of them – Count Pedro's book – providing the basis for at least two revised versions.¹⁵

As in other European regions, such as Wales or Belgium, medieval Portuguese genealogical compilations were not restricted to the royalty of a given polity but enumerated its whole aristocracy. In fact, they are the only known instances in which an entire realm's aristocratic families are listed; the scope of the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* is even pan-Iberian, as we shall see. Like other European late-medieval genealogical compilations, its Portuguese representatives have an exhaustive character, identifying nearly all family members including bastards, concubines, younger sons, daughters, secondary family branches, and so on. Despite the emphasis on patrilineal family inheritance, this seems to show that the perception of

¹³ José María Lacarra, "Textos navarros del Códice de Roda," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 1 (1945): 194–283; José María Lacarra, "Las Genealogías del Códice de Roda," *Medievalia* 10 (1992): 213–6.

¹⁴ Francisco Bautista, "Original, versiones e influencia del *Liber regum*: estudio textual y propuesta de stemma", *e-Spania* 9 (June 2010).

¹⁵ There is yet a fourth genealogical compilation; however, it is only known from the indirect testimony of Damião de Góis, a sixteenth-century royal chronicler. See *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptores* 1:2, ed. Alexandre Herculano (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1860), 136–8; José Mattoso, "Os livros de linhagens portuguesas," 36.

family structures within the aristocracy was at the same time fluid, complex and plural.¹⁶ Furthermore, medieval Portuguese genealogy was clearly influenced by other historiographical genres such as chronicles, annals and epic narratives. This is particularly evident in the somewhat lengthy narrative segments on which my analysis is based.

One idiosyncrasy of medieval Portuguese genealogical literature is that it was written while the genre was decaying in the rest of Europe, under the sway of humanism. Moreover, it emerged from an area of Latin heritage, unlike most European genealogies which hailed from regions of Germanic or Celtic cultural background. The medieval Portuguese books of lineages projected their influence into the modern era, with two compilations of the same type being composed in Portugal in the sixteenth century.¹⁷

For a long time the books of lineages were not particularly appealing sources for Portuguese historians, mainly due to the dryness of the texts, comprised mostly of lists of names and respective familial relations. Furthermore, the texts were transmitted in editions practically unusable by the historian. It was only in the 1980s that a proper critical edition of the books was produced, and only since then have studies on the medieval aristocracy been a dominating theme in Portuguese historiography. Even though these sources have been used mostly for studies in social history, they also provide cultural historians with a precious insight into the ideological mindset and cultural ambience surrounding Portuguese aristocracy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Only within the past three decades have scholars consistently examined the narrative contents of the books of lineages. They are now acknowledged by Portuguese historians to be sources of inestimable value for the study of medieval societies, from several perspectives (such as those of social, political and cultural history, the study of kinship structures in the Middle Ages, and so on). However, medieval Portuguese genealogical literature has been largely ignored by most historians outside of Portugal.¹⁸

¹⁶ Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 14–16.

¹⁷ Damião de Góis, *Livro de Linhagens de Portugal*, ed. António Maria Falcão Pestana de Vasconcelos (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Heráldica, 2014); *Livro de Linhagens do século XVI*, ed. Antonio Machado Faria (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1957).

¹⁸ This summary of the development of medieval Iberian and Portuguese genealogical literature is based on Mattoso, “Os livros de linhagens portuguesas”, 27–41.

Count Pedro's Book of Lineages

When researching medieval French genealogy, Georges Duby noted that “the making of these genealogies often seems to have been prompted by the necessity of legitimizing some power or authority”.¹⁹ This is also true for Portuguese genealogical literature. Its books of lineages were composed in times of tension between the aristocracy and royal power, a regional expression of a phenomenon of monarchical centralization that was taking place throughout Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁰ There were recurrent tensions between the aristocracy and the impinging royal power which undertook a process of political centralization, especially during the reigns of Afonso III (1248–1279) and Dinis (1279–1325). These tensions escalated into a civil war between 1319 and 1324, pitting a broad faction of the aristocracy, led by Infante Afonso (who would succeed to the throne as King Afonso IV), against his father King Dinis. Thus the commemoration of (sometimes fictional) prestigious ancestors and awe-inspiring stories contributed to the prestige of the families subscribing to the genealogies. Discourses of legitimization were not only prevalent at the level of kinship relations but also implicit in the narrative segments.

As in the rest of Western Europe, the compilation of genealogical literature in Portugal was conditioned by political factors, in this case as a response to the aggressive royalist stance. Conflicting narratives about the Iberian and Portuguese past were produced in aristocratic and royal cultural centres. During the late thirteenth and fourteenth century in Portugal, the aristocracy was much more active than royalty in historiographical production, with three books of lineages and one chronicle being compiled in aristocratic cultural centres as opposed to only one royal chronicle.²¹

¹⁹ Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 152.

²⁰ José Mattoso, “Livros de Linhagens,” in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, ed. Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani (Lisbon: Caminho, 1993), 419–21.

²¹ The *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*, written around 1270 probably in a literate centre close to Afonso III's court, is a short narrative focused on the foundation of the Portuguese kingdom and the exaltation of its founder Afonso Henriques, Afonso III's great-grandfather. The legitimization discourse in this rather crude and sketchy narrative revolves around conflicts between Afonso Henriques and his Christian opponents at several levels: his internal opponents within the emerging kingdom, namely his mother Teresa and her allies; his opponents from other Iberian kingdoms, namely his cousin Alfonso VII of Castile-León; and his opponents in the papacy. Interaction with Muslims is almost absent from this chronicle. Afonso Henriques' military activity in general is mentioned as justification for the Portuguese kingdom's autonomy in face of encroaching enemies, but conquests to the Muslims

While the royal court preferred administrative, fiscal and bureaucratic means to affirm its power, the aristocracy saw historiography as an appropriate instrument for political legitimization.²² The books of lineages are excellent examples of aristocratic perspectives on the past, and illustrate how history was depicted according to aristocratic political interests during confrontation with the monarchy. In these sources, war against the Muslims provided the aristocracy with political legitimacy, giving it a *raison d'être* and social usefulness.

Even though the landed aristocracy participated in the expansionist war against the Muslims from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, it would be a mistake to attribute the main drive for conquest to the high-ranking Portuguese aristocrats. During the Portuguese Kingdom's foundational period, the principal actors in the frontier war were, firstly, middle- or low-level aristocrats from the border regions, and urban cavalry from the frontier towns; and secondly, the armies of the first two Portuguese Kings, Afonso Henriques and Sancho I, together with certain marginal frontier gangs and

are not particularly highlighted. Military conquest is the basis of the legitimation discourse, encompassing conquests to both Christian and Muslim enemies, with victories over the latter not being particularly highlighted in the narrative. See Filipe Alves Moreira, *Afonso Henriques e a Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* (Porto: Estratégias Criativas, 2008); José Mattoso, "A primeira Crónica Portuguesa," *Medievalista* 6 (July 2009); José Carlos Miranda, "Na génese da Primeira Crónica Portuguesa," *Medievalista* 6 (July 2009); Silva, *Metamorfozes*, 61–65. When it comes to aristocratic historiography, we have two books of lineages older than Count Pedro's: the *Livro Velho de Linhagens* and the *Livro de Linhagens do Deão*, both critically edited by Joseph Piel and José Mattoso, in *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Nova Série 1: Livro Velhos de Linhagens* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1980). Count Pedro also composed a chronicle, the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*; see Diego Catalán and Maria Soledad de Andres, ed., *Crónica General de España de 1344* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1970); Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, ed., *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1951); Ingrid Vindel Pérez, ed., *Crónica de 1344: Edición crítica y estudio* (Unprinted doctoral thesis, Autonomous University of Barcelona, 2015). See also Mattoso, "Livros de Linhagens" and Luís Krus, "Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344," in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, ed. Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani (Lisbon: Caminho, 1993), 189–90.

²² Silva, *Metamorfozes*, 64–5; Leontina Ventura, *D. Afonso III* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2006), 95–137; Mattoso, "Primeira Crónica," 15–17; José Mattoso, "Dois séculos de vicissitudes políticas," in *História de Portugal 2: A Monarquia Feudal*, ed. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1997), 116–24; José Mattoso, "O triunfo da monarquia portuguesa," *Análise Social* 157 (2001): 899–935.

the religious military orders. Ultimately, during the thirteenth century, it was to the latter orders that the leading role mostly fell.²³

In this article, I use the most influential text of the genre in Portugal: the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, compiled in the 1340's by Count Pedro of Barcelos.²⁴ The book begins with a prologue, followed by a universal genealogy from Adam and Eve until the most powerful Iberian families of Count Pedro's time. It also has a little over fifty short narrative segments, which will be the basis of this study.²⁵ Through this structural arrangement, Count Pedro grafts Iberian aristocracy into the Christian myth of the origin of humankind, which provides a model of patrilineal succession and justifies the patriarchal social order.²⁶ However, as already mentioned Count Pedro's text is not restricted to primogenitary male succession since it purports to enumerate the families' complete membership. The extensive character of the work is explained by Pedro's ambitious objectives. In the prologue, the count particularly stresses his purpose of strengthening the bonds of solidarity among the members of the

²³ José Mattoso, "A nobreza medieval portuguesa (séculos X a XIV)," in José Mattoso, *Naquele Tempo. Ensaios de História Medieval* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores/Temas e Debates, 2011), 293.

²⁴ Until recently, it was thought this book was written between 1340 and 1344. However, recent studies by Rosário Ferreira demonstrated that the text was gradually compiled until as late as 1348. See Maria do Rosário Ferreira, "'Amor e amizade entre os fidalgos da Espanha'. Apontamentos sobre o prólogo do *Livro de Linhagens* do Conde D. Pedro," *Cahiers d'Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 35 (2012): 93–122; Maria do Rosário Ferreira, "O *Liber regum* e a representação aristocrática da Espanha na obra do Conde D. Pedro de Barcelos," *e-Spania* 9 (June 2010); Maria do Rosário Ferreira, "D. Pedro de Barcelos e a representação do passado ibérico," in *O Contexto hispânico da Historiografia Portuguesa nos Séculos XIII e XIV (homenagem a Diego Catalán)*, ed. Maria do Rosário Ferreira (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2010), 81–106; Maria do Rosário Ferreira, "A estratégia genealógica de D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos, e as refunções do *Livro de Linhagens*," *e-Spania* 11 (June 2011).

²⁵ These narrative segments were edited separately by José Mattoso, ed., *Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983).

²⁶ Spiegel, "Genealogy," 109.

aristocratic class in Spain²⁷ according to ancestral tradition²⁸, to end the permanent squabbling among rival aristocratic lineages.²⁹ Paraphrasing Aristotle, Count Pedro considers that the materialization of this ideal of class solidarity would render monarchic judicial institutions superfluous and obsolete.³⁰ Confident that the blood relations established between the aristocratic families are the best instrument to cement this class-consciousness, the Count assigns himself the task of exposing them.³¹

Pedro of Barcelos is a pivotal figure in fourteenth-century Portuguese political and cultural history: a royal bastard, one of the most powerful Portuguese aristocrats of his time; chronicler, genealogist, troubadour and an active participant in the struggles between factions of the aristocracy and the monarchy at the beginning of the fourteenth century.³² His sensitivity to the aristocracy's political interests is clearly visible in his literary work. Like most medieval Iberian Christian historiographers, Count Pedro typically stressed the military aspects of the encounter with Islam. In some instances, however, he presented narrative traditions which conveyed examples of non-military interaction with Muslims. Sometimes these traditions were disseminated with the objective of defaming a rival monarch or lineage

²⁷ LL, Prologue 2³: “por meter amor e amizade entre os nobres fidalgos da Espanha”. Spain in this context means ancient *Hispania*, the entire Iberian Peninsula, not the modern Spanish state which appropriated the designation. On the concept of Spain during the Middle Ages, see Maria do Rosário Ferreira, “‘Terra de Espanha’: A Medieval Iberian Utopia,” *Portuguese Studies* 25:2 (2009): 182–98. The system of references to the primary sources used in this article is based upon the internal division of the texts in the critical editions referenced in footnotes 1 and 21: the initials LV (*Livro Velho de Linhagens*), LD (*Livro de Linhagens do Deão*), and LL (Count Pedro's Book) indicate the genealogical compilation. In this article, I only use Count Pedro's Book. This is followed by the chapter number (each chapter lists the descent of an individual), capital letter indicating a subdivision of the chapter (where each separate branch of that descent is listed), another number for each successive generation and sentence number in superscript. See Piel and Mattoso, *Portugaliae 1: Livros Velhos*, 18–9. All translations from Galician-Portuguese are my own.

²⁸ LL, Prologue 3¹: “segundo seu ordinamento antigo”.

²⁹ LL, Prologue 3²: “dando-se fe pera se nom fazerem mal ãus aos outros”.

³⁰ LL, Prologue 4¹⁻⁴: “Esto diz Aristotiles: que se homens houvessem entre si amizade verdadeira, nom haveriam mester reis nem justiças”. On the appropriation of Aristotelian postulates by Count Pedro, see Ferreira, “Amor e amizade.”

³¹ For a detailed analysis of D. Pedro's prologue, see Ferreira, “Amor e amizade.”

³² António Resende de Oliveira, “O genealogista e as suas linhagens: D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos,” *e-Spania* 11 (June 2011); Manuel Simões, “Pedro de Portugal, conde de Barcelos”, in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, ed. Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani (Lisbon: Caminho, 1993), 521–3.

through the exposition of their collaboration with Muslim enemies. At other times, cultural confluence with Muslims was viewed as a source of prestige for the promoters of historiographical production. This illustrates how non-military intercultural coexistence also played its role in the discourses of political legitimization. In the Count's work, Christian-Islamic confluence appears in the form of tales of powerful lineages founded by cross-cultural marriages, Christian aristocrats partaking in Muslim cultural practices and/or actively collaborating with Muslim armies and Christian political exiles living in Muslim territory.

The Narratives

Mixed Marriages

Social background appears to be more important than cultural origin in *Count Pedro's Book of Lineages*. Although this source has been subject to numerous studies, these narratives have not been analysed from this perspective. Only recently have these matters drawn scholarly attention, with António Rei's studies on the Arab ancestry of medieval Portuguese aristocracy which are based on an examination of the Arabic onomastics in one of the narratives approached here.³³ Rei has noted signs of Christian-Islamic intercultural confluence in the foundation narratives of the major houses of medieval Portuguese aristocracy. He labelled this phenomenon as the "Arabization" of the social reality contemporary with the foundational era of medieval Iberian aristocracy.³⁴ This reality is highlighted rather than shunned in the familial traditions. Two powerful Iberian lineages were founded through Christian-Muslim relationships: the Castilian family of Lara and the Portuguese Maia family. The latter case is particularly important for this study since all the main Portuguese aristocratic lineages were related to the ancient Maia family through matrimonial alliances established over the years.³⁵

³³ António Rei, "Da Ascendência Árabe dos Senhores da Maia (Séculos X–XIII). Novos Dados," *Raízes & Memórias* 30 (2013): 21–36; António Rei, "Ascendências árabes e islâmicas en la sociedad portuguesa (siglos X a XVI)," in *Actas del Congreso Internacional "Los Descendientes Andalusíes «Moriscos» en Marruecos, España y Portugal*, ed. Tahiri Ahmed Tahiri and Aitoutouhen Temsamani Fatima-Zahra (Tanger: Fundación Al-Idrisí Hispano-Marroquí/Cámara Municipal de Tanger, 2014), 153–63.

³⁴ Rei, "Da Ascendência," 2.

³⁵ Rei, "Da Ascendência," 5.

One of the Lara family's forefathers was Mudarra Gonçalves, son of Gonçalo Gosteuz de Lara and of a female cousin of Almanzor, the *de facto* ruler of the Caliphate of Córdoba in the late tenth to early eleventh century. The story recounts how, after being betrayed by his brother-in-law, Gonçalo Gosteuz is imprisoned and sent to Almanzor, while his seven sons are murdered. While in captivity, Gonçalo Gosteuz fathers a son with the aforementioned cousin of Almanzor. This son, Mudarra Gonçalves, is aided by Almanzor and later returns to Castile to avenge the deaths of his seven half-brothers. Almanzor is depicted as a merciful ruler who refuses to kill Gonçalo Gosteuz and takes pity on his sorrow when informed of his sons' murder. The inclusion in the Lara genealogy of Almanzor, the great military leader who scourged the Christian polities of Iberia at the end of the tenth century, increased the lineage's prestige. The fact that the founder of one of the leading Iberian aristocratic families was "half-Moor" does not seem to be a stigma for his descendants, who proudly transmitted that information in the family traditions.³⁶

Count Pedro also tells a narrative relating to the foundation of the Maia family, one which had already appeared in an older book of lineages, the *Livro Velho de Linhagens*, compiled in the late thirteenth century.³⁷ The narrative adapts a tale of Eastern origin developed from biblical sources and originally based on the character of King Salomon.³⁸ Set in the tenth century, it begins with the interest of the Leonese King Ramiro II in Artiga, a female descendant of one of Iberia's eighth-century Muslim conquerors and sister of Alboazar Alboçadam, Muslim lord of a significant part of what is present-day Portugal. Ramiro is attracted by the Muslim lady's virtues of "beauty, kindness" and "high blood".³⁹ However, Ramiro was already married and had a son, Ordonho, heir to the Leonese crown. The King's interest in Artiga would trigger a series of kidnappings and betrayals, ultimately culminating in the marriage of Ramiro and Artiga, and the birth of the founder of the Maia family, their son Aboazar Ramires.

³⁶ LL10A1. On the *Legend of the Infantes of Lara*, see Maria do Rosário Ferreira, *A Lenda dos Sete Infantes: Arqueologia de um destino épico medieval* (Unprinted doctoral thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 2005).

³⁷ Piel and Mattoso, ed., *Portugaliae 1: Livros Velhos*, 23–60. The narrative of the Maia family's foundation is in section LV2A1.

³⁸ José Carlos Miranda, "A Lenda de Gaia dos Livros de Linhagens: uma questão de literatura?" *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Línguas e Literaturas*, II série, 5:2 (1988): 483–516.

³⁹ LL21A1⁶: "Rei Ramiro, o segundo, ouviu falar da fermosura e bondades de ãa moura e em como era d'alto sangue e irmãa d'Alboazar Alboçadam (...)".

The plot generally develops as follows: first, Ramiro travels to Gaia to visit Alboazar and ask for his sister's hand in marriage. The Muslim lord refuses the King's offer, accusing him of bigamy and reminding him that he is a Christian. Ramiro then kidnaps the Muslim princess, who is baptized. Alboazar subsequently takes revenge by kidnapping Ramiro's own wife, Queen Aldora. In retaliation, Ramiro and his son Ordonho attack and kill Alboazar, raze the castle of Gaia to the ground, slaughter everyone in the bailey and take Queen Aldora with them. Aldora, however, had already revealed her treacherous character during her captivity by betraying her husband and siding with her kidnapper. Before sailing back to Ramiro's court, Aldora once again displays affection towards Alboazar, which prompts the King to finally decide to drown her at sea.

The question of Artiga's social provenance is of the utmost significance in this tale. While in the *Livro Velho* Ramiro married a Muslim servant who aided him in the "rescue" of his wife, Count Pedro replaced the servant with a Muslim princess. The deciding factor for the foundational prestige of the Maia family is the high birth of their ancestors, and the fact that one of them was originally Muslim does not seem to bother their descendants. Social standing is more relevant here than religious or cultural filiation. Even if Artiga's ethnic or religious background could have been an issue, the author solves the problem by introducing into the plot the character of Ramiro's astrologist, Amam. Making use of his gift of foresight, Amam declares that Artiga will certainly be a most virtuous and Christian lady who would give rise to an illustrious lineage. Amam's prescience is then confirmed by a series of facts proclaimed by the author, such as the foundation, on Artiga's own initiative, of monasteries and hospitals.⁴⁰

Yet, there are also marks of religious antagonism. For example, in a passage where Ramiro tries to fool Alboazar into thinking that he truly regrets having abducted his sister, the king points out that she is not from "his law", a sin for which he had repented.⁴¹ The fact that she is from another "law" (i.e., Muslim) seems to aggravate Ramiro's misdeeds. It is not completely clear whether "law" here strictly refers to a legal system different from that applied to Christians, or rather encompasses a wider concept of community, with its own legal, political, cultural and religious elements. During the Middle Ages, law is often synonymous with religion; for example, Islam often appears as *lex sarracenorum*. This also seems the case here. Regardless, what is important is that the expression reflects an

⁴⁰ Miranda, "A Lenda de Gaia," 510–1.

⁴¹ LL21A1⁷²⁻³: "Alboazer Alboçadam (...) Mostrando-te amizade, levei da ta casa ta irmã, que nom era da minha lei. Eu me confessei este pecado a meu abade (...)".

obvious idea of otherness as embodied in the character of Artiga. This tale also gives a somewhat negative account of Ramiro as a dishonest man who tries to trick Alboazar. This portrayal sharply contrasts with that of Alboazar, who is characterized as just, reasonable and well-intentioned.

The destruction of the castle of Gaia and the ensuing slaughter signal what is a radicalized war. There are no explicit ideological justifications for the massacre, but it seems that the conflict's radicalization arises from a question of honour rather than religious or cultural antagonism. The same applies to Aldora's execution. Although the notion of religious opposition is certainly present, it is effaced by honour-related ideas. The only instance in which religion (again, designated as "law") is mentioned as a cause of irreconcilable opposition is when Queen Aldora, while still captive, urges Alboazar to kill Ramiro, thus revealing her love for her Muslim captor. In fact, Aldora states that Alboazar should kill Ramiro precisely because he is from an opposing religion, notwithstanding that Aldora herself is Christian. Therefore, the only instance when the adversary's religion is invoked as basic, rightful grounds for enmity and violence is that of the words of Aldora, the petty, mean and adulterous "villain" of this clearly misogynistic tale. Also noteworthy is Aldora's statement that by killing a man contrary to his "law" Alboazar would save his own soul, a vestige of a kind of "crusading" ideology although applied in this story to a Muslim character.⁴²

Upon returning to his court, Ramiro announces that he is marrying Artiga, "who was of high lineage".⁴³ Once again, the determining factor in the king's decision is Artiga's high birth. Her Muslim origin is not an impediment as long as she is baptized and a "good Christian".⁴⁴ The earnestness of Artiga's conversion is confirmed by Amam, who (as we have already seen) declares that Artiga will yet perform many pious deeds and give birth to a prestigious progeny.⁴⁵ This rhetoric serves to reinforce the prestige of Artiga's descent. Since the male ancestor of the Maia family (Ramiro) is painted in ambiguous colours, the determinant of the lineage's prestige is not its royal ancestry but Artiga, who belonged to the highest Muslim aristocracy. In consequence, at least part of the prestige of all the

⁴² LL21A1⁹²⁻³: "Nom és pera viver nem pera nada se te nom vingas. E se o tu fazes por tua alma, por aqui a salvas, pois é homem doutra lei e é em contrario da tua."

⁴³ LL21A1¹²⁶: "Rei Ramiro (...) fez sas cortes mui ricas, e falou com os seus de sa terra, e mostrou-lhes as maldades da rainha Alda sa molher, e que ele havia por bem de casar com dona Artiga, que era d'alto linhagem."

⁴⁴ LL21A1¹²⁸: "boa cristãa".

⁴⁵ LL21A1¹²⁷⁻³¹.

main lineages of medieval Portuguese aristocracy derives from female ancestry of Muslim origin.⁴⁶

After marrying, Ramiro and Artiga have a son, Aboazar Ramires, the founder of the Maia family. The virtues of Ramiro's sons are mostly related to their acts of war against the Muslims. Such warfare was constantly maintained, it being precisely this that defined a good king (Ordonho, who succeeded his father on the throne) and a good knight (Aboazar). But the incompatibility between Christians and Muslims is not absolute. There are no consistent signs of religion or culture causing radical antagonism, and what there is of the latter stems from questions of honour and chivalric ethics. There is a degree of confluence between the two social formations, and the lineages of Maia and Lara represent an idealized image of Iberia: Muslim, Christian, but above all, aristocratic. Although realized in the Battle of Rio Salado in 1340, this ideal of dualism and aristocratic social predominance in the Iberian Peninsula was in crisis when Count Pedro compiled his book, as the south was almost entirely in Christian hands and royalty was enforcing its power with increasing efficiency.⁴⁷

Besides these two families, there is yet another Portuguese lineage with a Muslim convert at its root: the family of Portocarreiro. Fernando Afonso de Córdoba, a Muslim originally from Córdoba, converted to Christianity through the initiative of the Castilian-Leonese King Alfonso VI (1065–1109). Also at the King's request, Fernando Afonso married a daughter of the lord of Marnel. Their son in turn married the eldest daughter of the lord of Portocarreiro, thus guaranteeing this lineage's continuation.⁴⁸ Like the previous stories, this one reflects a certain confluence between Christian and Muslim social formations, and gives a clear example of the political pragmatism of the Christian aristocracy and royalty when it came to establishing alliances. The Portocarreiro family, whose members occupied privileged positions in the Castilian royal court during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had no qualms about preserving the memory of a Muslim convert who in their traditions provided the family with continuity

⁴⁶ We must remember that by the time the Count's book was being composed, all the main Portuguese aristocratic families were somehow related to the ancient Maia family. See footnote 35.

⁴⁷ Ferreira, "Entre linhagens e imagens."

⁴⁸ LL43B3; Luis Krus, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica do Espaço Ibérico (1280–1380)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1994), 218–9.

through the male line.⁴⁹ Naturally, religious antagonism is also visible in Alfonso VI's insistence that Fernando Afonso be baptised. Nevertheless, while Fernando Afonso's ethnic and religious provenance does not provoke any specific comment from the genealogist, his high birth, prestige and military prowess are emphasised in the text. As we saw before, social status was more important than ethnic origin for the families who guarded these traditions.

Moorish Vices

Depictions of intercultural confluence were also used to defame a rival lineage. Previous research suggests that many of the narratives concerning the Castilian family of Castro came from a text produced by their main rivals, the Lara family. The derogatory nature of some stories concerning the Castros is derived from such texts.⁵⁰ Mattoso argues that Count Pedro may have used a genealogical compilation endorsed by the Lara family around 1312–1325, but it is also possible that the narratives borrowed by Count Pedro originated in scattered accounts created by adversaries of the Castros, like the Laras.⁵¹

First, there is the curious story of the Castilian aristocrat Pêro Fernandes de Castro. When dealing with Pêro Fernandes, the author highlights his participation alongside the Almohads against the Castilian King Alfonso VIII in the Battle of Alarcos in 1195. The text recounts how Alfonso VIII criticized Pêro Fernandes' alliances with the Muslims and denounced his participation in "Moorish vices" like bathing.⁵² Pêro Fernandes, who was still with the Almohads at that time, rebuked the King's criticism and defied

⁴⁹ Henrique David and José Pizarro, "Nobres portugueses em Leão e Castela (século XIII)," *Revista de História* 7 (1987): 140; Mattoso, "A nobreza medieval portuguesa no contexto peninsular," 323.

⁵⁰ José Mattoso, *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa. A Família e o Poder* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1994), 68–71; Mattoso, *Narrativas*, 46; Krus, *A Conceção*, 221–2 n 530.

⁵¹ Mattoso, *Narrativas*, 27, 46, 97–8.

⁵² LL11C8³: "Este dom Pero Fernandez (...) disse el rei dom Afonso de Castela que se comporia bem com os Mouros em seus banhos e em seus viços." On public baths and the social practice of bathing in the Iberian Islamic world see Julio Navarro Palazón and Pedro Jiménez Castillo, "Arqueología del baño andalusí: notas para su comprensión y estudio," in *Actas de los XIX cursos monográficos sobre el Patrimonio Histórico* 13, ed. Jose Manuel Iglesias Gil (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 2009), 71–113; Luísa Trindade, "Corpo e água: os banhos públicos em Portugal na Idade Média," *digitAR – Revista Digital de Arqueologia, Arquitectura e Artes* 2 (April 2015): 208–9.

his being forbidden to bathe in his own seignorial dominions, which he did without the King's interference.⁵³ This narrative segment implies that military complicity with Muslims was seen as treason, especially when fighting against your own coreligionists. However, the author seems to express a degree of empathy for the way in which Pêro Fernandes defied royal power. No matter how "immoral" his habits may be, the aristocrat insists on defending his feudal autonomy. Two discourses intersect in this tale: that of antagonism to the Muslims, nourished by notions of Christian identity; and of antagonism to royal power, nourished by those of aristocratic identity. The way in which these two vectors collide complexifies the discourse and creates a certain ambiguity.

The surprisingly rigorous moral stance on bathing in this story is enigmatic, especially if we assume that the narrative's creator was a layperson. Despite the medieval Church's general concern about the relation between ecclesiastical morals and the practice of public bathing, it never spoke in a united voice on the matter; regardless of occasional ecclesiastical opposition and strict norms, bathing was a widespread social and therapeutic activity in medieval Iberia until its decay and eradication during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵⁴ Until then the Church and regular monastic congregations had also benefitted from the lucrative business of public baths, since after a city's conquest Christian kings often retained them as crown property, or donated them to private individuals or religious institutions.⁵⁵ The idea that Iberian Christians extinguished the practice of bathing after conquering Muslim cities has long been discarded as a myth. It is true that in many instances the baths were abandoned after Christian conquest, but this was probably due to the rupture of customary urban life and population shifts resulting from military conquest.⁵⁶ Bathing was indeed much more common in the Iberian Islamic world, due not only to religious precepts (the mandatory five daily ablutions) but also to social practice. However, Christians continued to use numerous existing bathhouses and constructed new ones, although architecturally much more discreet and less

⁵³ LL11C8⁴⁻¹²: "(...) Pero Fernandez (...) enviou dizer a el rei que iria a fazer algũs banhos em sa terra (...) e que enviasse i quantos enviar quisesse, que nom leixaria de fazer os banhos e de se banhar em eles, (...) e feze-os e banhou-se em eles (...), e nom veo i nem ùu que o leixasse de fazer."

⁵⁴ See José Mattoso, "A sexualidade na Idade Média portuguesa," 15–38, for the plurality of discourses on sexuality in medieval Portugal, which naturally influenced views on public bathing. See also António Resende de Oliveira, "A sexualidade," in *História da Vida Privada em Portugal: A Idade Média*, ed. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores/Temas & Debates, 2010), 324–47.

⁵⁵ Navarro Palazón and Jiménez Castillo, "Arqueología del baño andalusí," 77.

⁵⁶ Navarro Palazón and Jiménez Castillo, "Arqueología del baño andalusí," 77.

sophisticated.⁵⁷ The condemnation of bathing extant in this tale may give us a clue as to the narrative's authorship. We could venture that the composer of the original story incorporated by Count Pedro was a member of the clergy, perhaps in the service of the Lara family.

On the other hand, we also know that participation in public bathing was sometimes regarded as an activity prone to weakening the virility and military prowess demanded of the warrior aristocracy. For example in Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*, written around 1274 and continued by his son Sancho IV in 1289, is an episode in which King Alfonso VI of Castile-Leon, in the aftermath of his defeat by the Almoravids at Uclés (1108), questions his "wise men" about the causes of his warriors' military ineptitude.⁵⁸ They answered that it was due to the "vices" of his knights, who habitually enjoyed bathing.⁵⁹ This criticism of bathing as an effeminate practice that could compromise the Christian knighthood's martial ability is later echoed in texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁰ It is very probable that this was the rationale behind the criticism of Pêro Fernandes de Castro's "vices".

Military and Political Collaboration

The account of the reign of the Castilian King Pedro I also implies that military complicity with Muslims was seen as something dishonourable. When contending for the throne against his half-brother Enrique de Trastámara, Pedro I used Muslim forces.⁶¹ Given that in this narrative Pedro I serves to exemplify tyrannical royal governance, it appears as if the monarch's use of Muslim forces not only symbolizes his political isolation within the kingdom but adds another element to the construction of his negative image. The use of Muslim forces for internal Castilian struggles is paralleled in his tyrannical policies. Contrary to the aristocracy, who are defined by their valour in war against the Muslims, royalty does not hesitate to engage Muslim allies to impose its power.

⁵⁷ Navarro Palazón and Jiménez Castillo, "Arqueología del baño andalusí," 77.; Trindade, "Corpo e água."

⁵⁸ *Primera Crónica General* 1, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere e Hijos, 1906), 555: "(...) el rey don Alfonso (...) pregunto un dia a sus sabios que era aquello por que sus caualleros non podien soffrir la lazeria de las armas".

⁵⁹ *Primera Crónica General* 1, ed. Menéndez Pidal, 555: "(...) porque entrauan mucho a menudo en los bannos et se dauan mucho a los uicios"; Navarro Palazón and Jiménez Castillo, "Arqueología del baño andalusí," 78–9.

⁶⁰ Navarro Palazón and Jiménez Castillo, "Arqueología del baño andalusí," 78–9.

⁶¹ LL21A15.

The Count's book also has an interesting reference to the political exile in Islamic Granada of a group of Castilian aristocrats led by Nuno Gonçalves de Lara, who had quarrelled with King Alfonso X of Castile.⁶² This passage reflects the complexity (and often ambiguity) of Christian-Islamic relations in medieval Iberia. When confronting the royal power, a group comprised of representatives of Castile's most powerful families (the Laras, the Haros and the Castros), together with an Infante (a legitimate younger brother of Alfonso X), do not hesitate to seek refuge at the court of Granada's Muslim rulers. This is one more demonstration of relative confluence between the two social groups and of how social conflicts internal to the Christian realms often overrode antagonism towards Islam. However, the genealogist immediately distances the Castilian exiles from any military complicity with the Muslims: first by making it explicit that they were materially sustained by Nuno Gonçalves de Lara (in other words, they were not mercenaries), and then by extolling the heroic death of the Castilian aristocrat defending Iberian Christendom against an invasion of the Marinid sultan, *Abençafe* (Abu Yusuf Yaqub, the Marinid Sultan during 1259–1286), who crossed the Gibraltar Strait and besieged Écija in 1275.⁶³

Two observations arise from this story: first, military collaboration with Muslim armies was condemned in Count Pedro's book; second, when the aristocracy faced overbearing royalist policies, political agreements with Muslims were absolutely justified.

Conclusions

The narratives analysed above point towards a relative intercultural confluence between Muslim and Christian social formations. Muslim ancestors decisively contributed to the prestige of Christian aristocratic families. The lineages of Maia and Lara represented an idealized dualistic image of *Hispania*. The social status of these lineages' founders was a more relevant argument for political legitimization than their cultural, ethnic or religious background. Marriages between Christians and Muslims were accepted as long as the latter were of high birth and baptized. Involvement in cultural practices perceived to be of Islamic nature were to some extent criticised, but did not annul aristocratic rights to political autonomy.

⁶² LL10E11.

⁶³ Krus, *A Concepção*, 214–6. Count Pedro omits the intervention of the Castilian royal armies led by Infante D. Sancho (future King Sancho IV) in the expulsion of the Marinid armies from the Iberian Peninsula. The honour of the victory is thus reserved for the Castilian aristocracy, while royalty is excluded from the picture (Krus, *A Concepção*, 216 n 514).

Political cooperation with Muslims was tolerable when the aristocracy was a victim of royalty's domineering attitude. The only form of intercultural interaction overtly condemned in the Count's book is that of military collaboration with Muslims.

An omnipresent opposition towards Islam is hinted at by the necessary conversion to Christianity of the Maia and Portocarreiro founders. This is further illustrated by the way in which military complicity with Muslim armies is condemned and used as grounds to besmirch a rival family's or monarch's name. In these tales one can glimpse a perennial state of warfare between the Christian and Muslim entities, but where there is evidence of radicalized hostility between Christians and Muslims, it usually stems from the resolution of issues related to honour and chivalric ethics, not religious antagonism.

The intersection of antagonism towards Islam and antagonism towards royal power creates some interpretative difficulties. While the aristocracy criticized royalty for siding with the Muslims, it did not recognise any royal right to limit its seigniorial autonomy even when partaking in "Moorish vices". Besides, when facing the monarchy's centralizing tendencies it was acceptable to seek refuge in Muslim lands, provided that the Christians' material self-sufficiency was safeguarded. Count Pedro had to find a way to combine two discursive vectors: opposition to Islam and opposition to the centralizing monarchy. Small ambiguities were unavoidable in a text purporting to describe a reality that in itself was ambiguous and highly complex. The count set out to demonstrate that the Iberian aristocrats should be respected by royalty, asserting that the warrior aristocracy were the ones who had conquered the Iberian Christian territories from Islam, while simultaneously advancing a number of historical examples of Iberian aristocrats defending their feudal prerogatives against royalty, even if they had to seek refuge in Muslim lands.

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CHAPTER 11

THE RELIQUARY-ALTAR PIECE OF THE MONASTERY OF PIEDRA IN ZARAGOZA: AT THE CROSSROADS OF CHRISTIAN, JEWISH AND MUSLIM AESTHETICS AROUND 1390

HERBERT GONZÁLEZ ZYMLA

The reliquary-altar piece of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Piedra, whose inscription dates it to 1390, in the times of Abbot Martín Ponce Pérez, is among the foremost examples of the hybridization of Christian, Islamic and Jewish styles in late-medieval Spanish art. It was built to exhibit the most valuable relics of the Cistercian monastery, including a bleeding loaf whose transubstantiation occurred during a Mass in 1380, and since 1851 it has been preserved in the Royal Academy of History, Madrid. This article presents the scientific community with the identity of the hands that created it at the end of the fourteenth century: the first master of Piedra, the second master of Piedra, the Jewish painters Juan and Guillén de Levi and the carpenters.

Saint Mary of Piedra

The Royal Cistercian Monastery of Saint Mary of Piedra was founded in 1195 by King Alphonso II of Aragón. It is located in the province of Zaragoza, near the cities of Calatayud and Daroca.¹ This territory belonged to the Kingdom of Aragón in the Middle Ages, occupying the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula and neighbouring the medieval Kingdom of Castile.²

¹ Vicente de la Fuente, *España Sagrada. Las Santas Iglesias de Tarazona y Tudela* 50 (Madrid: Imprenta de José Rodríguez, 1866), 246–7.

² Luis Barbastro Gil, *El Monasterio de Piedra 1194–1836* (Alicante: Limencon, 2000).

The Monastery of Piedra was built in an isolated area by the river Piedra from which it took its name. The river enjoys a quantity of picturesque cascades which make the surroundings of the abbey a green, fertile and beautiful environment: the Monastery's integration with that landscape helped the monks to follow the advice given by their holy founder, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: *forests teach more than books, trees and rocks provide a knowledge not available anywhere else*.³

The Monastery of Piedra was a daughter-house of the Royal Monastery of Saint Mary of Poblet located in the province of Tarragona, and itself in the sixth generation of the daughter-houses of Clairvaux Abbey.⁴ Its first abbot was Gaufredo of Rocaberti, former monk at the Poblet monastery.⁵ The Piedra Monastery church was consecrated in 1218 under Abbot Jimeno Martin, and the construction of the various monastic dependencies took place in phases from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.⁶ Austerity and functionality are outstanding characteristics of the Cistercian architecture, and they both become evident in the first phases of the Monastery's construction, dated to the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries.⁷

The classical influence found in the architecture of the Monastery of Piedra is due to the proximity of the remains of the Roman city of Bilbilis, which was a monumental Roman settlement during the Julio-Claudian dynasty. It is documented that the Bilbilis Chryptoportico located inside its forum served as a church during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and its powerful vaulting structures, barrel and groin vaults provided a model for the local stone masons.⁸

The remains of the nearby village of Mundóbriga, a Roman-Celtiberic settlement abandoned by the third century, were a source of material for the construction of the church and monastery dependencies, and in the medieval

³ Jean François Leroux-Dhuys, *Las abadías Cistercienses. Historia y arquitectura* (Colonia/Barcelona: Könemann, 1999).

⁴ Wolfgang Braunfels, *La arquitectura monacal en occidente* (Barcelona: Barral, 1975).

⁵ Herbert González Zymla, "Sobre los posibles orígenes del Real Monasterio de Santa María de Piedra: precisiones acerca de su primera ubicación y sentido de su advocación mariana," *Anales de Historia del Arte de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* 13 (2003), 27–82.

⁶ Herbert González Zymla, *El Monasterio de Piedra. Fuentes y Monumentos* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia/Institución Fernando el Católico, 2014), 322–49.

⁷ Carlos Sarthou Carreres, "El Monasterio de Piedra," *Museum* 5:10 (1916): 345–76.

⁸ Manuel Martín Bueno, *Bilbilis histórico-arqueológico* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1975).

records its location is identified as the *Zaragocilla Quarry*.⁹ Among other Roman decorative elements that have been found, a Roman sarcophagus has been converted into a basin. The columns of the cloister in the Monastery of Piedra have Attic-like bases, with plain shafts and capitals decorated with leaves, a simplified version of classical architectural orders.¹⁰

With difficulties, Piedra survived the crisis linked to the Black Death of 1348. One of the consequences of the crisis and associated decrease in available funds was its loss of control over the ornamentation inside the Monastery dependencies. In the second part of the fourteenth century, once income started recovering, the rulers of the Monastery of Piedra began commissioning artistic ornamental pieces to correct the previous austerity.¹¹

The Miracle of the Bleeding Host

The medieval sources record a miracle, which took place on September 12, 1380 in the church of the little village of Cimballa, only nine kilometers from the monastery of Piedra. According to those sources, the bread used in the consecration ceremony of the Catholic Mass celebrated by the priest Thomas that day started to bleed. The miracle was interpreted as a means of stemming the doubts expressed by that priest concerning the actual presence of the real body and blood of Christ in the Mass. Reports of the miracle spread within the kingdom of Aragón and reached the court. The King's son, Prince Martín I of Aragón,¹² a devout and religious man, requested the relic which consisted of the bloody loaf of bread upon a piece of white cloth (see picture 11.1.) and moved it to the royal palace in Zaragoza, the Aljafería, where it got a privileged location in its chapel.¹³

In 1390, Prince Martín decided to donate the relic of the bloody loaf, named the *Sacro Dubio de Cimballa* to the Monastery of Piedra.¹⁴ Relics were the most sought-after treasures of the Middle Ages and this donation

⁹ Herbert González Zymła, "La granja de Zaragocilla y su relación con el Monasterio de Piedra," *Anales de Historia del Arte. Nuevas investigaciones en Historia del Arte*, Volumen extraordinario (2010): 111–21.

¹⁰ Ignacio Martínez Buenaga, *Arquitectura cisterciense en Aragón 1150-1350* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1998), 271–335.

¹¹ Bernard Peugniez and Henri Gaud, *Miradas sobre el mundo cisterciense* (Moisenay: Editions Gaud, 2002).

¹² José Antonio Peña Martínez, *Martín I el Humano, un rey sin heredero* (Poblet: Abadía de Poblet, 2010).

¹³ González Zymła, *El Monasterio de Piedra*, 19–76.

¹⁴ Valentín Carderera y Solano, *Sobre el Retablo de Piedra*. Discurso trienal leído al concluir su dirección (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1859), 39–42.

from the King was highly appreciated by the Piedra monks. Desiring the most impressive receptacle for the relic, the Abbot of the Monastery, Martín Ponce Pérez, commissioned a reliquary-altar piece, which has fortunately survived to the present day. The miracle of Cimballa is very similar to that of Daroca¹⁵ and other Eucharistic miracles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁶

The reliquary-altar piece is a triptych, which looks like an ordinary altar piece with the doors closed, and a reliquary when opened (see pictures 11.2. and 11.3.). Its wooden structure is influenced by the *Aragonese mudéjar* style, which emerged in medieval Spain from the fusion of classical, Roman, Byzantine and Gothic influences on one side, and oriental Islamic ones on the other.¹⁷ The altarpiece title reads:

This tabernacle shall be called the Palace of Good because the Lord is truly in this place. It was moreover built for the honor and reverence of the Most Holy Body of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his Passion. and also for the honor and reverence of his Blessed Mother and of the entire heavenly court and of the Saints [...] It was [...] painted in the year MCCCXC. May the soul of the one who ordered it rests in the bosom of the Savior. Amen.¹⁸

The structure was made in marquetry with geometrical patterns consisting of interlacing eight-pointed stars, some inlays gilded and some others painted in various colors.¹⁹ Its upper end consists of a cornice decorated

¹⁵ Ángel Canellas López, *Historia documentada de los corporales de Daroca* (Zaragoza: Comisión Regional del Patrimonio Cultural de la Iglesia en Aragón, 2005); Fabián Mañás Ballestín, *Capilla de los corporales. Iglesia colegial de Santa María (Daroca)* (Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Darocenses, 2006).

¹⁶ Miri Rubin, *The Eucharist in late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Robert Sokolowski, *Christian faith and human understanding: studies on the eucharist, Trinity and the human person* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006); Herbert González Zyma, *El altar relicario del Monasterio de Piedra* (Zaragoza/Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia/Istitución Fernando el Católico, 2013), 79–110.

¹⁷ Emile Bertaux, *La peinture en Espagne au XIVeme et au XVeme. Siècles Histoire de l'Art* (Paris: Revue de l'Art, 1908), 892–906.

¹⁸ “Tabernaculum hoc vocabitur aula Dei quia vere dominus est in loco isto. Fuit autem constructum ad honorem et reverentiam sacratissimi corporis domini nostri JHU. XPI. et passionis ejusdem, nec non ad honorem [II parte baja]: et reverentiam sanctissime genitricis ejusdem, et totius celestis curie et sanctorum [...] at [...] fuit [...] depictum anno MCCCXC anima ordinatoris requiescat in sinu salvatoris. Amen.”

¹⁹ Genevieve Barbe-Coquelin de Lisle, “Abolengo ismámico y tradición cristiana en el arte mudéjar aragonés: la techumbre de la capilla del castillo de Mesones de

with wooden stalactites, the *mocárabes*, under which is displayed a series of painted coats of arms of the Monastery's various patrons and supporters. The overall ornamental aesthetic of this reliquary-altar piece would likely have offered a striking contrast to the austere architecture of the church at that time, introducing into the Cistercian monastery the oriental Arabesque taste for bright colours and *horror vacui* geometrical patterns.²⁰ This is yet another example of the perfect hybrid that Christian and Islamic cultures achieved in the medieval kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula.²¹

The reliquary-altar piece of the Monastery of Piedra is one of the best examples of the *mudéjar* style, alongside the wooden ceiling of the Castle of Mesones de Isuela and of the church Seo de San Salvador in Zaragoza.²² The direct influence of masterpieces of *andalusí* architecture, such as the Alcázar of Seville and Alhambra of Granada, become evident as well.

When the *mudéjar* reliquary-altar piece was placed in the main altar of the Monastery church, additional changes were made to the gothic windows at the head of the main chapel. Plaster jalousies made of interlacing eight-pointed stars were added to the windows creating a completely new aesthetic atmosphere in the main chapel: a shift from the pure austere Gothic style of the thirteenth century to the more sophisticated oriental one preferred in the fourteenth.

The Paintings

The paintings of the reliquary-altar piece should be grouped into three iconographical cycles.²³ When the doors are closed, twelve tempera-on-wood paintings can be seen. Three belong to the iconography of the Virgin Mary's infancy, namely Joachim meeting Anna at the Golden Gate, the

Isuela," in *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte. España entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico 2* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1976), 40–8.

²⁰ Jorge Eiroa Rodríguez, *Real Academia de la Historia. Catálogo del Gabinete de Antigüedades. Antigüedades Medievales* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006), 165.

²¹ José Manuel Pita Andrade, "Tríptico relicario del Monasterio de Piedra," in *Tesoros de la Real Academia de la Historia*, ed. Martín Almagro Gorbea (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2001), 78–88.

²² Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, "El palacio mudéjar de los Arzobispos de Zaragoza," in *Estudios en homenaje al Sr. Antonio Beltrán Martínez* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1986), 1007–14.

²³ José Amador de los Ríos y Padilla, "Gran Tríptico-relicario del Monasterio de Piedra en Aragón," in *Museo de Antigüedades 6* (Madrid: José Gil Dorregaray, 1875), 307–51.

Nativity of Mary and her Presentation at the Temple. Another three belong to the iconography of the infancy of Christ, namely the Annunciation, Visitation and Nativity. The remaining six paintings belong to the Passion cycle: Christ praying in Gethsemane, Christ before Pilate, the Ascent to Calvary, Christ nailed to the cross, the Crucifixion, and the Descent from the cross.²⁴

The paintings belong to the *Aragonese Gothic* style which directly referenced the Byzantine aesthetic, which reached the Iberian Peninsula via the Mediterranean Sea.²⁵ The Kingdom of Aragon pursued a Mediterranean oriented foreign policy, establishing important harbors on the Iberian Peninsula's eastern coast; through these entrances passed Byzantine influences, mostly via the exceptional Sienese School.

The careful analysis of the paintings allows us to identify two artists referred to as the First and Second Masters of Piedra.²⁶ The First Master created the three paintings of the Virgin Mary infancy cycle and the three of the Christ infancy cycle. This painter has a style close to that of miniature painting; he is narrative and lyric, and his compositions never include more than six figures. The vestments of the depicted persons include epigraphy in Arabic and Hebraic, and the overall composition enjoys a certain basic perspective. Whilst his name is unknown, his style allows us to establish a link with the important painter Jaume Serra who was active in Zaragoza, in the convent of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁷

The Second Master authored the six paintings of the Passion cycle.²⁸ He displayed a completely different style, depicting his figures with dramatic expressions and a good sense of movement and dynamics. These features allow us to link this anonymous painter to the International Gothic Style, which had developed in France and central Europe by the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.²⁹ The composition of the paintings by this Second Master of Piedra is crowded, with many figures depicted in expressive and nervous positions. No Arabic or Hebraic epigraphy is displayed and there is only one letter written in the table of the Crucifixion,

²⁴ González Zymła, *El altar relicario del Monasterio de Piedra*, 219–78.

²⁵ José Camón Aznar, *Pintura Medieval Española* 22 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1966), 294–5.

²⁶ Fabián Mañas Ballestín, “El retablo relicario del Monasterio de Piedra,” in *Segundo encuentro de estudios Bilbilitanos* (Calatayud: Centro de Estudios Bilbilitanos, 1989), 323–34.

²⁷ María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Arte Gótico en el Museo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Dirección General de Acción Cultural, 2003), 18–31.

²⁸ Chandler Pathfor Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* 3 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 164–8.

²⁹ Fabián Mañas Ballestín, *Pintura gótica aragonesa* (Zaragoza: Guara, 1979), 81–7.

an M with a crown on top. This was the emblem of Martin, Duke of Montblanc, the King's son. The shields of Aragon are also present in various parts of the altarpiece.³⁰

Despite the coexistence of two different styles, the twelve paintings maintain a harmony inviting one to consider that both painters worked under a single direction.³¹ When the reliquary-altar piece opens its doors, the central part attracts our attention, specially designed to hold and expose the important relic of the *Sacro Dubio* probably accompanied by others of less importance. The medieval documentation identifies Saint Bartholomew's belt and Saint Vicente Ferrer's cap as the most relevant relics after the *Sacro Dubio* and, therefore, they should also have been located in the reliquary-altar piece. The structure of this central part displays a perfect equilibrium between the Gothic and Islamic styles. The multi-lobed arches of Islamic origin are surmounted by Gothic gables and accompanied by slim columns and pinnacles. The *Sacro Dubio* was exposed under the central arch. Manuel Trens argues that the earlier shrine would have reflected the typology of a monstrance, particularly that known in Spain as "de urgencia y necesidad" (of urgency and need)³² rather like the monstrance now preserved in the Hermitage Museum, which was manufactured in Barcelona workshop.³³ The present shrine dates from the year 1594 and is kept in Cimballa.³⁴

The inner parts of the doors display eight angels playing musical instruments. The finely depicted instruments in these paintings have become of exceptional importance to the study of the evolution of medieval musical instruments. The angels are all dressed in rich liturgical vestments, namely the alb and dalmatic, which contain two interesting epigraphic details. First, the angel in the blue dalmatic playing the portable organ (see picture 11.4.) displays an embroidered "A" surmounted by a royal crown, which is linked with king Alphonso II, the founder of the monastery of Piedra.³⁵

Secondly, the angel with the red dalmatic, located next to the later, displays in the lower part of its alba the encrypted signature of the brother painters Juan and Guillén Leví (see picture 11.5.). These two brothers were

³⁰ Guillermo Fatás Cabeza, "El escudo de Aragón," in *Aragón Reino y Corona*, ed. Dimas Fernández Galiano (Madrid: Gobierno de Aragón e Ibercaia, 2000), 167–74; Juan Ángel Paz Peralta, *Los escudos de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Mira, 2011).

³¹ José Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura Gótica*. *Ars Hispaniae* 9 (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1955), 157–62.

³² Manuel Trens, *La Eucaristía en el Arte Español* (Barcelona: Avma, 1952).

³³ José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "Platería," in *Historia de las artes aplicadas e industriales en España*, ed. Antonio Bonet Correa (Madrid: Cátedra, 1982), 66.

³⁴ Francisco Abbad Ríos, *Catálogo monumental de España* (Zaragoza/Madrid: CSIC Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1957), 243.

³⁵ González Zymła, *El altar relicario del Monasterio de Piedra*, 279–96.

Jews or *conversos*, and the authors of the magnificent altar-piece of Saints Lorenz, Prudence and Catherine in the Cathedral of Tarazona, 130 kilometers from the monastery of Piedra.³⁶ They may also have been involved in the paintings of the wooden ceiling of the castle of Mesones de Isuela (province of Zaragoza) whose wooden layout links it with the marquetry of the reliquary-altar of Piedra.³⁷

The upper cornice of the reliquary-altar piece depicts the twelve Apostles and a Trinity and was added as a kind of protection in 1430–1440 when the realistic Flemish style reached the Iberian Peninsula. The reliquary-altar piece of the monastery of Piedra shares its functionality with other medieval examples such as the one made by Hugolino di Vieri, holding the miraculous communion wafers of the Bolsena Mass, which is preserved today in the Cathedral of Orvieto, Italy,³⁸ or altar-piece of Bad Doveran dated 1300.³⁹

Conclusions

As to exactly where the reliquary-altar would have been located in the church of the Monastery of Piedra, a reasonable hypothesis is in the position of an iconostasis, splitting the main apsidal space into two. Existing churches near Piedra, such as the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Calatayud and the church of Burbaguena still retain a space behind the main altar-piece to accommodate the choir seats. The Byzantine iconostasis was in this way recreated by these arrangements, allowing for a hierarchical management of the spaces within the church building.

Piedra's magnificent reliquary-altar-piece suffered several years of neglect when the monastery was among those confiscated by the Spanish State in 1835, as it transferred the Catholic Church's enormous property holdings into private hands. The Monastery and its surroundings were bought in 1843 by the rich Muntadas family, which later converted it into a

³⁶ José María Sanz Artibucilla, "Un retablo gótico en Tarazona (Aragón)," *Archivo Español de Arte* 58 (1943): 223–38; María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Juan de Leví, pintor al servicio de los Pérez Calvillo en su capilla de la Seo de Tarazona (1403-1408)," in *Retablo de Juan de Leví y su restauración* (Zaragoza: Departamento de Cultura y Educación, 1990), 29–45.

³⁷ María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "La capilla de la Virgen del Castillo o de Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles en el Castillo de Mesones de Isuela (Zaragoza)," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 88 (2002): 89–101.

³⁸ Enzo Carlie, *Il reliquiario del corporale di Orvieto* (Milano: Martello, 1964).

³⁹ Wolfgang Erdmann, *Zistezienser abtei Doberan. Kult und Kunst* (Königstein: im Taunus, 1995).

high-end hotel. The reliquary-altar piece was donated in 1851 to the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History) in Madrid, and remains well maintained in its chapel.⁴⁰ Today it is considered one of the more important historical witnesses of medieval Spanish culture, in which classical, Byzantine, oriental Islamic, Jewish and Christian aesthetics and concepts converged in the creation of a unique piece within the European artistic panorama.

⁴⁰ Carderera y Solano, *Sobre el Retablo de Piedra*, 39–42.

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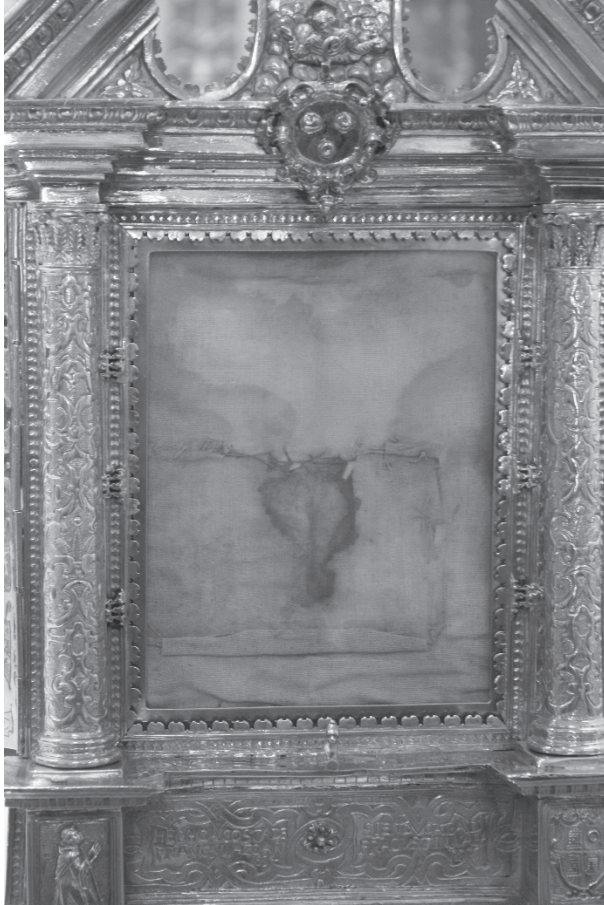
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Illustrations

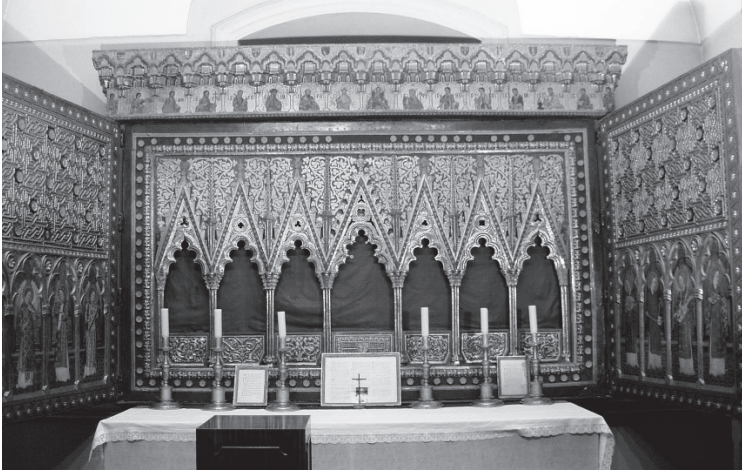
Picture 11.1: Reliquary of the Holy Dubio of Cimballa. Miracle, 1380, Reliquary, 1594. Church of Saint Mary in Cimballa. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.



Picture 11.2: Reliquary-altar-piece of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra in Saragossa, closed, 1390, Royal Academy of History Madrid. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.



Picture 11.3: Reliquary-altar-piece of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra in Saragossa, opened, 1390, Royal Academy of History Madrid. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.



Picture 11.4: Musician-angel with the signature of the Levi brothers, Reliquary-altar-piece of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra in Saragossa, 1390, Royal Academy of History Madrid. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.



Picture 11.5: Pictorial signature of Levi Guillen present in the table of musician angel playing the viola in Reliquary-altar-piece of the Cistercian Monastery of Piedra in Saragossa, opened, 1390, Royal Academy of History Madrid. Photo: Herbert González Zymła.



CHAPTER 12

JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
IN TERUEL, ARAGON:
1391 AND ITS AFTERMATH

SUSAN L. AGUILAR

Local records from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Teruel, Aragon, reveal complex and evolving inter-communal relationships between Jews and Christians. In contrast to the general assumption that the anti-Jewish riots of 1391 initiated in an inexorable decline in Jewish status, in Teruel the preaching of Vincent Ferrer in 1412 and 1413 had a far greater impact.

Introduction

In the summer of 1391, anti-Jewish violence erupted in multiple locations in the Iberian Peninsula, leaving a wake of property destruction, conversions to Christianity and death. Traditional historiography has tended to reify these events as the beginning of the demise of Jewish life in the Iberian Peninsula, posing a teleological arc that views the Expulsion of Iberian Jewry in 1492 as an inevitable result of the anti-Jewish violence in 1391. In this construct, Iberian Jewish life post-1391 was an inexorable downward spiral, reflecting what Salo W. Baron famously termed the “lachrymose conception” of Jewish history.¹ It is true that the once-flourishing Jewish communities of major cities in the Crown of Aragon such as Valencia,

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¹ Salo W. Baron, “Ghetto and Emancipation: Shall We Revise the Traditional View?,” *Menorah Journal* 14 (1928), 515–26.

Barcelona and Lleida never recovered from the events of 1391. This was not, however, the uniform experience.² Throughout the Crown of Aragon there was significant variance as to whether anti-Jewish violence occurred and, if so, how municipal authorities responded to threatened violence. Teruel, a mid-sized town in southern Aragon, provides an important example of the complexities of Jewish-Christian relations before, during, and after 1391.

Teruel is situated in the southernmost part of Aragon, near the borders with Castile and Valencia. At the time of its conquest by Alfonso II during the years 1120–1122, it was not an established town or village, but a loosely-organized settlement. As a part of the process of consolidating control over newly-conquered territory, Christian and Jewish settlers were encouraged to move to Teruel to establish political, social and mercantile infrastructures, joining the pre-existing, predominantly Muslim, population. The *Fuero de Teruel*, promulgated in 1177 by Alfonso II, reflects a conscious effort to construct an early statutory framework for a rapidly growing inter-religious frontier community.³ This *fuero* contains the first attestation in Aragon of the principle that the Jews were *servi regis*, variously defined as “servants of the king” or “belonging to the king’s treasury”, although connoting what developed into a mutually dependent, but asymmetrical, relationship between Jews and their monarchs.⁴ The King was bound to protect the Jews and permitted some aspects of internal communal autonomy; they, in turn, owed the king loyalty and served as a significant source of revenue to successive monarchs. Often overlooked, however, is the lack of any requirement in the *Fuero de Teruel* that Jews of the town live in any spatially

² See, for example, Mark D. Meyerson’s study of the Jewish community in Morvedre, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004) and Miguel Angel Motis Dolader, “The Disappearance of the Jewish Community of Daroca in the Beginning of the 15th Century,” *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies*. Division B. Volume II (1989): 143–50.

³ *El Fuero Latino de Teruel*, edited by Jaime Caruana Gomez de Barreda (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1974).

⁴ There is a large body of scholarship on the meaning and import of the phrase *servi regis*, without consensus among scholars. See the overview and analyses provided by David Abulafia, “‘Nam iudei servi regis sunt, et semper fisco regio deputati’, the Jews in the Municipal Fuero of Teruel (1176-7),” in *Jews, Muslims and Christians in and Around the Crown of Aragon*, ed. Harvey J. Hames. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004); Ilan Shoval, “‘Servi regis’ Re-examined. On the Significance of the Earliest Appearance of the Term in Aragon, 1176,” *Hispania Judaica Bulletin* 4 (1994): 22–69.

demarcated area.⁵ From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, Jewish homes and businesses were interspersed in the majority Christian community.⁶ Teruel's population in 1387, according to that year's *censo de maravedi* (a listing of households for tax purposes), included 876 Christian and 54 Muslim households (approximately 3,500–4,000 Christians and 250 Muslims).⁷ Since the Jewish population was exempt from paying the *maravedi* by virtue of a royal privilege, the Jews were not included in this *censo*, but it has been estimated that there were approximately 200–300 Jews in Teruel at that time.⁸ Teruel's Jewish community was one of the larger ones in the Crown of Aragon. It was the principal town in a cluster of *aldeas* – smaller towns and villages – that formed the *Comunidad de Teruel*. Because of its geographic proximity to Valencia, Teruel had served as a supply center during the conquest of Valencia and, thereafter, the two towns maintained close social and economic ties, particularly regarding trade in wool and wine.⁹ To this day, travel between the city of Valencia and Teruel is reasonably direct and easy, while Teruel still lacks direct train service

⁵ In contrast, after the conquest of Valencia in 1238, King Jaime I designated an area within the walled town as the *judería*; see, Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, *Repartimientos de Mallorca, Valencia y Cerdena* (Barcelona: José Eusebio Monfort, 1856), 290.

⁶ Asunción Blasco Martínez, “Nuevos datos sobre la judería de Teruel con especial estudio de sus sinagogas,” *Studium* 3 (1997): 13–44, citing Domingo J. Buesa Conde, *Teruel en la Edad Media*. Colección Básica Aragonesa (Zaragoza: Guarel, 1980), 90 and José Luis Lacave, *Juderías y Sinagogas Españoles* (Madrid: Editora Mapfre, 1992), 137. See, also, Antonio C. Floriano, “San Vicente Ferrer y los aljamas Turolenses,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 84 (1924): 551–80. Further evidence of the integration of Jewish homes and businesses within the Christian community is found in the denunciations by Vicente Ferrer of the practice when he visited Teruel in 1412–1414.

⁷ Archivo de la Corona de Aragon (ACA), Real Patrimonio, sig. reg. fiscales, fol. 2399, published in Maria Luisa Ledesma Rubio, *Morabedi de Teruel y sus Aldeas, 1384–1387* (Zaragoza: Anubar Ediciones, 1982).

⁸ According to a *cedula* inserted in the folios, the *aljama* was exempt from paying this *maravedi* by royal privilege, *ibid.*, fol. Iiv.

⁹ Concepción Villanueva Morte, “Entre Aragón y Valencia: Teruel y el Alto Palancia en los intercambios mercantiles de la Plena y Baja Media,” in *Crecimiento económico y formación de los mercados en Aragón en la Edad Media (1200–1350)*, ed. José Angel Sesma Muñoz and Carlos Laliena Corbera (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2009); Germain Navarro Espinach and Joaquín Aparici Martí, “La producción textil en Teruel medieval,” *Teruel* 88–89 (2000–2): 73–100; Maria de los Desamperados Calmanes Pecourt, “La inmigración Turolense en la Valencia del siglo XIV según los ‘Libres de Aveynements’,” *Studium* 3 (1997): 45–73; Pedro Pruneda. *Crónica de la Provincia de Teruel* (Madrid: Ronchi y Compañía, 1866), 76.

with Madrid, the nation's capital. Given this proximity and important mercantile interests, it might be assumed that the anti-Jewish violence that wrecked the Valencian *judería* in the summer of 1391 would be replicated in Teruel. Instead, a comparison of the two locales highlights the differences in the nature of the threatened violence and the municipal responses to it.¹⁰

Anti-Jewish Attacks in Valencia

Valencia was the first locale in the composite Crown of Aragon to experience anti-Jewish attacks in 1391, as the violence that started in Seville on June 6 spread northward. In order to understand the events that unfolded in Valencia that summer, we must look to the long-standing animus of the city's municipal authorities and merchant class against the city's Jews. As early as 1369, the *Consell* of Valencia had begun petitioning the king and the *Cortes de Valencia* to require its growing and prosperous Jewish community to move their homes and businesses from Christian neighborhoods and to be restricted to the original boundaries of the *judería*, which was no longer adequate for the Jewish community.¹¹ In 1389, facing potential invasions of his kingdom by Castile in the south and the Duke of Ampurias in the north, and in desperate need of money for defense, King Juan I approved limiting the spatial boundaries of the Valencian *judería* after a substantial monetary contribution from the city.¹² The new boundaries, however, were the result of a negotiated compromise that was not likely to satisfy any of the parties; the Jews of Valencia were required to relocate their homes and businesses to a designated area, but one which was nearly double in size from the original *judería*. Further, instead of being located at the city's perimeter, the newly defined *judería* extended into the center of the city, near the foremost

¹⁰ Benjamin R. Gampel has provided important recent studies about the anti-Jewish violence in 1391–1392. His “‘Unless the Lord Watches over the City...’: Joan of Aragon and his Jews, June–October 1391,” in *New Perspectives on Jewish-Christian Relations*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach and Jacob J. Shacter (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), focuses attention on the failure of the king to respond effectively to violence in Valencia. More recently, his book *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and the Royal Response 1391–1392* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), examines multiple locales, including Teruel, to illustrate the often-contradictory responses of the King and Queen to violence against their Jewish subjects. Both of these works focus on royal action and inaction, rather than on local municipal actors.

¹¹ *Furs e ordinations fetes per las gloriosos reys de Aragó als regnicols del regne de Valencia* (Valencia: Lamberto Palmart, 1482), rubrics XV and XVI. The term for the Jewish district in Valencia was “*jueria*”, but for the sake of simplicity, I have used the term “*judería*”, regardless of locale.

¹² *Ibid.*

symbols of Christian political and religious power, the palace and the cathedral.¹³ The size and location of the new *judería* ensured that Valencia's Jews remained a large and visible presence in the city. In February 1390, the *Consell* decided to wall off the new *judería* and by March 8, 1390, the *Consell* authorized Lluís de Menargés, *notario*, to begin tearing down homes to facilitate the construction of a new wall for the *judería*.¹⁴ Work proceeded quickly thereafter. By March 1391, the final stages of enclosing the *judería* were undertaken.¹⁵

On June 27 of that year, municipal authorities were aware of “*el rumor*” that, in Castile, *juderías* had been attacked and Jews forced to convert to Christianity.¹⁶ In addition to these “rumors”, that same day Juan I sent letters to the royal officials and municipal authorities of Valencia (and other towns in the Crown), warning that Jewish communities under royal protection were being threatened by “insubordinate” individuals.¹⁷ The *Consell*, however, prevented public announcement of the royal orders for the protection of Valencia's Jews.¹⁸ They also failed to take action on a petition from the Jewish community seeking protection.¹⁹ During the summer of

¹³ Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, “El trienio negro: Valencia, 1389–1391. Turbulencias coetáneas al asalto de la judería,” *En la España Medieval* 35 (2012): 177–210; Isidore Loeb, “Plan de la juiverie de Valence en 1391,” *Revue des Etudes Juives* 14 (1887): 264–8.

¹⁴ The *Consell* considered the proposal to close the *judería* on February 19, 1390, Archivo Municipal de Valencia (AMV), *Manual de consells*, A-19, fol. 107v. Authorization for the tearing down of the walls is recorded in the *Libre de Sotsobreria de murs i valls* (SMV), d³-3, fol. 12r.

¹⁵ AMV, SMV, d³-3, fol. 71v.

¹⁶ AMV, SMV, d³-3, fol. 80r.

¹⁷ ACA, Canc., reg. 1878, fols. 49r–50r and fol. 50r–v.

¹⁸ Roque Chabás, “El robo de la Judería en 9 de julio de 1391,” *El Archivo* 5 (1891): 37–46; Francisco Danvila y Collado, “El robo de la Judería de Valencia,” *El Archivo* 5 (1891): 235–40.

¹⁹ See, Narbona Vizcaíno, “El trienio negro,” 206, stating that records of the *Consell* for July 10, 1391 make reference to a prior request for protection made by the town's Jews but that there is no evidence such request was acted upon. In contrast, see Maria Milagros Cárcel Ortí and José Trenchs Odena, “El consell de Valencia: disposiciones urbanísticas (siglo XIV),” *En la España Medieval* 7 (1985): 1481–545, doc. 248, dated June 27, 1391, in which the *Consell* heard a complaint by the Jewish community that the houses of two Christians were too close to the walls of the *judería*, provoking fears that people could jump from the terraces over the wall into the *judería*. The *Consell* ordered the terraces to be torn down.

1391, Valencia had a mounted militia of one hundred available men, but they were not utilized to protect the *judería*.²⁰

After anti-Jewish riots flared on July 9, 1391, the Valencian authorities reported varying accounts of the events to the King, blaming first outsiders and people of ill-repute, then the Jews, themselves, for the violence and deaths that resulted.²¹ In fact, although there were some outsiders present during the attack, it was initiated by a group of Valencian youths who tried to frighten Jews with chants demanding baptism or death, and those youths were then joined by a large group of Valencians, including members of the merchant class and clergy.²² Precise numbers are not known, but it has been estimated that approximately 200 Jews were killed; approximately 200 later fled; and that most, if not all, the remaining Valencian Jews converted to Christianity.²³ That day the municipal authorities reported to the King that the numerous conversions were a miracle, a “*disposicio divinal*,” thereby attempting to absolve themselves from any responsibility for the terror-induced conversions.²⁴ They had good reason to try to refocus the King’s attention on the so-called miraculous conversions, since new Christians were no longer subject to the Jewish *aljama*’s tax assessments that provided a major source of revenue to the royal coffers. By framing the forced conversions as divine miracles, the *Consell* could hope to place the King in the position of having to accept the loss of revenue they represented. There is little to no evidence that the Valencian municipal authorities intervened to protect the Jews of their city. There is even some evidence that the Infante Martín (later to be King Martín I), duke of Montblanc and Girona and brother to the King, who was present in Valencia at the time did little to curb the anti-Jewish violence and that members of his cortège participated in the attacks.²⁵ Further evidence supporting this claim is found in an order from the King to Martín to travel to Montblanc by way of Teruel, to check on the welfare of the town, in which the King specifically cautioned him to ensure that none of the men with him harmed the Jews of Teruel.²⁶ Five

²⁰ The militia was constituted in May of 1391. AMV, *Manuels de consells*, A-19, fols 218r–219v. See, also, Narbona Vizcaino, “El trienio negro,” 201–7.

²¹ AMV, *Manuels de consells*, A-19, fols 241r, 242r–245v (placing blame on Castilians); AMV, *Lletres misives*, g³-5, fols 23r–24r (blaming the Jews).

²² AMV, *Lletres misives*, g³-5, fols 19r–20r.

²³ Danvila y Collado, “El robo de la Judería de Valencia,” 236–7.

²⁴ The reference to “*disposicio divinal*” appears in the July 9, 1391 letter from the Valencian authorities to the king, AMV, *Lletres misives*, g³-5, fol. 19v.

²⁵ AMV, *Lletres misives*, g³-5, fol. 51r, letter from the Valencian municipal authorities to the Bishop of Valencia, September 2, 1391.

²⁶ ACA, Canc., reg. 1878, fols 151r–v. As it turned out, Martín did not travel through Teruel at that point in time.

days after the attack on the *judería*, the principal synagogue of Valencia was converted to a church in a clear assertion of Christian triumphalism.²⁷ Thereafter, the Valencian *Consell* sought, and obtained, a royal privilege in 1397 from the now-King Martín I, prohibiting the rebuilding of the *judería* and banning Jews from residing in the city in perpetuity.²⁸

Teruel

On July 3, the King sent letters to officials throughout Aragon, similar to that sent to Valencia a week earlier, giving notice and warnings of threats to the Jews of the Crown. A letter was sent to authorities in Teruel that day.²⁹ Their response was very different from that of the Valencian officials: they notified the smaller towns constituting the *aldeas* of the *Comunidad de Teruel*, transmitted correspondence from the king and queen and, also, informed them of efforts to protect the Jews, and hired men from other towns to assist in protecting the Jews of Teruel. On July 19, the town's *jueces* authorized payment of 60 *sueldos* to Juan Garcés de Marcilla, *vecino* of the town of La Puebla, payable to him and his *escudero* (squire), for the ten days they had spent in Teruel protecting the town's Jews.³⁰ On August 12, the *procurador* of Teruel authorized a salary of 6 *sueldos* per day for messengers to take letters from the King and the Queen to each of the *aldeas* of the *Comunidad*, concerning the defense and safety of the Jews of the area.³¹ And, again, on August 21, the *procurador* authorized payment to Domingo Uñant for ten days service in presenting letters from the King ordering that the town's Jews not be harmed.³² The King and Queen each communicated their thanks and approval to Teruel's municipal officials for their efforts on behalf of the town's Jews on August 24,³³ but that same day,

²⁷ AMV, *Lletres misives*, tomo V, without folio numbers, dated July 14, 1391, published in Chabás, "El robo de la Judería," 184–8.

²⁸ ACA, Canc., reg. 2209, fols 149r–150r.

²⁹ ACA, Canc., reg. 1849, fol. 105r–v (letter to royal officials); ACA, Canc., reg. 1849, fols 104v–105r (letter to city officials).

³⁰ Archivo Historico Provincial de Teruel (AHPTE), microfilm 409/313-315 (microfilm held at the archives in Teruel, the original held at Archivo de la Comunidad de Teruel in Mosqueruela. Unless otherwise noted, all originals of microfilm records cited hereafter are held at Mosqueruela). The reference to his town of residence is probably La Puebla de Valverde, located approximately 24 km south-east of Teruel.

³¹ AHPTE, microfilm 426/307-309.

³² AHPTE, microfilm 409/319-321.

³³ The king's communication is found at ACA, Canc., reg. 1878, fols 137v–138r; the queen's at ACA, Canc., reg. 2054, fol. 104v.

the Queen warned the inhabitants of the *aldeas* against ignoring their duty to protect local Jews.³⁴ Royal communications in the summer and autumn of 1391 and early 1392 included statements of concern that in Teruel, the risk to the town's Jews arose not only from outsiders, i.e., non-Aragonese, but from the *aldeas* themselves, where villagers near Teruel were prepared to rob and kill Jews.³⁵ Teruel authorities' payments to messengers travelling to the surrounding *aldeas* not only served royal interests, but also the interests of the inhabitants of Teruel itself. As opposed to Valencia, where the Jews were segregated and violence might more easily be limited to the Jewish quarter, Jewish homes and businesses in Teruel were located throughout the town. Violence, once begun, would be impossible to limit to Jewish victims only.

In early 1392, the Jews of Teruel complained to the King that residents in surrounding villages were again harassing and mistreating them. In response, on January 10, the King replied by letter that the Jews were under his special protection, noting that they were "thesauris et regalie nostri".³⁶ At some point that month, two Jews from Teruel were robbed and killed while travelling through the *aldeas* of Villel and Vilestar.³⁷ On January 17, the King sent another letter in which he stated that inhabitants of the *aldeas* had not only harassed the Jews of the town but had also murdered several, "as if the said Jews do not have a lord to defend them."³⁸ The Queen, also, wrote to the municipal authorities describing killings and plundering of Jewish property.³⁹ On February 7, the King wrote to Teruel's municipal officials congratulating them for their protection of the town's *juderia*, while criticizing the negligence of the officials in the *aldeas*.⁴⁰ The same day, the King wrote to officials in Albarracín, a part of the *aldeas*, registering his anger about the deaths of Jews in their town.⁴¹ The risks to Jews in the *aldeas* were a continuing problem during 1392, and Teruel's

³⁴ ACA, Canc., reg. 2054, fol. 105r.

³⁵ According to Antonio Floriano, tensions between the *aldeas* and the town of Teruel were a persistent problem, requiring frequent repairs to the walls of Teruel. Antonio Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas Turolenses," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* 84 (1924): 552–80.

³⁶ ACA, Canc., reg. 1850, fols 117v–118r.

³⁷ We know of their deaths because the father of one of the victims lodged a complaint with royal authorities and the king responded with orders to the officials in Teruel to provide a judicial remedy for him. ACA, Canc., reg. 1850, fols 117v–118r, cited in Gampel, *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon*, 180.

³⁸ ACA, Canc., reg. 1900, fols 175v–176r, referring to "*aldeani civitatis*."

³⁹ ACA, Canc., reg. 2029, fol. 195r.

⁴⁰ ACA, Canc., reg. 1879, fols 145r–147v.

⁴¹ ACA, Canc., reg. 1963, fol. 30r.

procurador was paid for eight days of travel during this period for transmitting the King's letter warning the *aldeas* of their obligation to protect Teruel's Jews.⁴²

Although some authors have claimed that Teruel's entire Jewish population converted at the end of the fourteenth century⁴³ or that "during the persecutions of 1391 many of them were killed, while others accepted Christianity to save their lives,"⁴⁴ there does not appear to be evidence to support these claims. As can be seen from the chronology above, careful distinctions must be made between events in the town of Teruel itself, and those events that took place in the surrounding countryside. The *Libro de los Jueces de Teruel*, a chronicle of events in the town of Teruel, has the following description of the events of 1391: "There was destruction of the Jews of Castile, the realm of Valencia, of Cataluña..." but makes no mention of violence in Teruel.⁴⁵ Another manuscript concerning the same

⁴² AHPTE, microfilm, 409/409-410 (11 April 1392).

⁴³ See, for example, Mary Halavais, *Like Wheat to the Miller: Community, Convivencia and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth Century Aragon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 3 citing Antonio Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas Turolenses." In my reading of Floriano's article, I was unable to find this claim.

⁴⁴ Isidore Singer and Meyer Kayserling, "Teruel," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1906. This entry includes general references citing both Joseph Jacobs, *Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain* (London: David Nutt, 1894); and José Amador de los Rios, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos en España y Portugal*, 3 vols (Madrid: Fortanet, 1876). Jacobs does not make any such claim. Amador de los Rios includes Teruel in a list of towns in which the Jews were attacked, but without any source citations. A much more recent article, Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader, "Diputación feyta por los judios devant nuestro senyor Papa Benedito: la conferencia de Tortosa y las aljamas judías del reino de Aragón (1413–1415)," *Iberia Judaica* 5 (2013): 15 lists "Albarracín y Teruel" as among the principal locales of property damage and death for Jews during the 1391 violence. As I argue here, there does not appear to be evidence to support this claim for the town of Teruel.

⁴⁵ *Libro de los Jueces de Teruel (Crónicas de Teruel)*, fol. 31r, reprinted in Fernando López Rajadel. *Crónicas de los jueces de Teruel (1176–1532)* (Teruel: Instituto Estudios Turolenses, 1994). See, also, Floriano, "Las efemérides turolenses," 7-59. There are multiple copies of the *Libro de los Jueces de Teruel*, with a range of variations in their accounts of events. The Archivo Municipal de Teruel holds two of these manuscripts, one titled "Alcorán o Libro Verde" and the other known as "Crónicas de Teruel" or "Libro de los Jueces". The Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Teruel holds another manuscript, Consejo, serie Varia, caja 27. Other copies include "Jueces antiguos de la villa de Teruel" Ms. 1.135, Biblioteca de Cataluña,

events states, “the Jews of the realm of Valencia and of Cataluña turned Christian [converted] and the greater part of the kingdom of Castile...”⁴⁶ Again, there is no mention of destruction or conversions in Teruel.

These two chronicles’ lack of any mention of anti-Jewish violence or numerous conversions in Teruel in 1391 is corroborated by the documentary evidence contained in the municipal and regional archives. In the decade after 1391, numerous municipal records attest to the Jewish population in Teruel. In 1397, there was still a thriving *sinagoga mayor*, as well as at least four smaller synagogues: the *sinagoga menor* and three in private homes.⁴⁷ We know of the status of the *sinagoga mayor*, because in 1397 Queen Violante, herself, intervened in a dispute as to who should hold the position of *chazzan*, the prayer and song leader of the congregation.⁴⁸ Both the municipal archives and those for the *Comunidad de Teruel* hold records showing that in 1391 and thereafter, Jewish members of the community made significant loans of money to the town. The Najari family, the wealthiest and most powerful Jewish family in Teruel during the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, serves as a good example. Between January of 1391 and March of 1399, one or more members of the Najari clan lent various sums totalling more than 41,000 *sueldos* to the town *procurador*.⁴⁹ Although the Najari family figures prominently in the finances of the town, they were not the only Jews in Teruel to be involved in the town’s economic or political affairs. In 1374, Teruel and its *aldeas* were assessed the cost for 26 of the 500 *lanzas* that the towns of Aragon were obligated to present before the Infante Martín in the “manera francesa”. The weapons were paid for out of the proceeds of a loan of 20,000 *sueldos* financed by the Jews of Teruel.⁵⁰ In October 1395, a *carta de obligación* was recorded confirming that the *procurador* was obligated to

Barcelona; Ms. 802, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; and Ms. 1.170, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid.

⁴⁶ *Del Códice de los Fueros Romanceados de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Ms. 802, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) published in Floriano, “Las efemérides turolenses”.

⁴⁷ ACA., Canc., reg. 198, fol. 211r (Samuel Najari); ACA, Canc., Reg. 1687, fol. 56r–v (Yento and Saçon Najari) and Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza, Registro de Actas Comunes de 1387, fol. 145r–v (authorization by the Archbishop of Zaragoza for Çahadias Cabelmal); ACA, Canc., reg. 1894, fol. 56r–v (subsequent authorization by king for Çahadias Cabelmal).

⁴⁸ ACA, Canc., reg. 2222, fol. 47r–v.

⁴⁹ AHPTE, pergamino 833 (9 Jan. 1391); perg. 834 (23 March 1391); perg. 854 (23 Feb. 1395); perg. 855 (13 Dec. 1396); AHPTE, Consejo, 13/1098 (25 Jan. 1399); AHPTE, perg. 875 and 876 (both 4 March 1399).

⁵⁰ AHPTE, microfilm 426/153-154.

repay Tadroz Abendahuet, Jew, 1,800 *sueldos* that he had loaned the town for “necessidades de la Comunidad”.⁵¹ The Jewish community of Teruel played a significant role in financing the needs of the community both before, and after, 1391.⁵²

Vincent Ferrer

We know that Jewish homes and businesses in Teruel were not segregated from the rest of the town in 1391, or the years immediately following, from notarial records of property sales and rentals, and the records concerning two visits from Vincent Ferrer and a band of his followers. Ferrer was a Dominican friar who travelled extensively through the Iberian Peninsula and was famous for his fiery sermonizing and the frightening processions of his followers who whipped and beat themselves as a form of penance.⁵³ Ferrer first visited Teruel in April of 1412, staying for approximately three weeks. During that time, he gave several public sermons, and he and his followers made multiple night-time processions through the town, complete with flagellants. A principal theme of Ferrer’s proselytizing was the grave danger to Christians posed by close contact with Jews. Ferrer advocated the complete segregation of Jews from Christians and repeatedly castigated the community in Teruel for its laxity in permitting free contact between them. During this first stay, the town subsidized his activities by paying for food, drink, candles for illuminating his nocturnal processions, and medicine for his followers.⁵⁴

It is not clear that the municipal authorities took any action to alter the status quo during or immediately after Ferrer’s first visit. During his second

⁵¹ AHPTE, perg 1023.

⁵² See, Floriano, “San Vicente Ferrer” and his discussion of the reliance on Jewish financial assistance.

⁵³ The actual texts of many of Ferrer’s sermons, particularly for Valencia and Castile, are preserved in numerous collections. A recent article by Katherine Lindeman, “Fighting Words: Vengeance, Jews, and Saint Vincent Ferrer in Late Medieval Valencia,” *Speculum* 91:3 (2016): 690–723, provides a detailed analysis of the symbolic content of Ferrer’s sermons, designed to draw on well-established customs of male honour. See, also, Pedro M. Cátedra, “La predicación castellana de San Vicente Ferrer,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 39 (1983–84): 235–309. A much earlier series of articles by Roque Chabás, “Estudio sobre los sermones valencianos de S. Vicente Ferrer que se conservan en manuscritos en la biblioteca de la Basílica Metropolitana de Valencia,” *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 6–9 (1902–03), analyzes Ferrer’s use of exaggerated speech patterns and shouting in his sermons.

⁵⁴ AHPTE, Consejo, caja 8, doc. 23 documents these expenditures.

visit in November of that same year, we can discern a change in the tenor of the records. The municipal authorities again helped to subsidize Ferrer's visit. An end-of-year accounting of money spent by the town in 1412 for Ferrer's visits shows expenditures of over 1,200 *sueldos*.⁵⁵ On November 19, 1412, the *regidores* of Teruel met to consider sending envoys to Pope Benedict XIII and the King to discuss implementing Ferrer's demands to segregate the town's Jews. The records stress that the matter required "secreto y celeridad" (secrecy and swiftness) and authorized the payment of 30 florins of gold to the envoys.⁵⁶ Ironically, two days earlier, a loan from Asach Najari to the royal treasurer on the occasion of the proclamation of the new King, Fernando I, is recorded in the same set of documents that record the payments to Ferrer.⁵⁷ In February of 1413, the *regidores* authorized Johan Munyoz to travel to Barcelona to inform the King of the need to segregate the Jews and Muslims as per the admonitions of Ferrer "in order to avoid much inconvenience and other bad things and individuals."⁵⁸ The actual bad acts or people about which the *regidores* were concerned are never specified, but twice in the same document they make reference to the admonitions of Ferrer. They also request a "carta de alarga" to delay payment of royal assessments. Finally, they close by noting "otras cosas que requieran secreto". It is impossible for us to determine the extent to which the municipal authorities desired to segregate the town's Jews, or whether they were primarily motivated by pressure from Ferrer.⁵⁹ Certainly, the records show them frequently invoking the "vigor de las amonestaciones" Ferrer had repeatedly issued to the town.⁶⁰ They did not act in response to Ferrer's demands until his second visit in the autumn of 1412 and then only met for discussions. Actual activity to segregate the Jews of Teruel into a designated district did not take place for almost a year after Ferrer's first visit. The result, however, was that the Jewish population was moved to an area in the eastern part of the town, requiring new streets, walls and portals

⁵⁵ The records of expenditures are found in AHPTE, Consejo, caja 8, doc. 23. The year-end accounting is found at fol. 32r, dated December 24, 1412.

⁵⁶ Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer," apendice XX.

⁵⁷ AHPTE, Consejo, caja 8, doc. 23, fol. 24r-v.

⁵⁸ Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer," apendice XXVIII.

⁵⁹ Philip Daileader suggests that the *regidores* demanded secrecy because they did not want the townspeople to know about their reluctance to follow Ferrer's demands for segregation, but does not provide any analysis for this suggestion. Philip Daileader, *Saint Vincent Ferrer, His World and Life: Religion and Society in the Late Middle Ages*. The New Middle Ages (Hampshire, England and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 121.

⁶⁰ Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer," apendice XXVIII.

to be constructed.⁶¹ Notwithstanding the town officials' actions, Teruel was still seen as a safe refuge for Jews. When the Jews of Montalbán, a town north of Teruel, were attacked in 1414–1416, many of them fled to the safety of Teruel.⁶²

Multireligious Practices

In 1413, Benedict XIII presided over the Disputation of Tortosa, which he compelled rabbinic representatives from throughout Aragon to attend. They were held against their will for twenty months. The result was the conversion to Christianity by many of the rabbis in attendance and many of the Jews in Teruel. Between July 1414 and July 1415, twenty Jewish men from Teruel converted to Christianity, including three members of the Najari family.⁶³ Most of these twenty men were heads of households, with the result that the total number of converts was greater than twenty. More conversions followed. Between 1420 and 1422, records refer to thirty heads of households as newly converted, “nuevament venidas a la fe católica”.⁶⁴ As in other Iberian communities, the population of *conversos*, “New Christians”, created new social tensions. Soon after his conversion in 1414, Samuel Najari (now Gil Ruiz Najari) requested that the location of the new portal between the *judería* and the town be moved so that he would not be required to pass by, or communicate with, Jews when coming and going to his own house. His request was granted.⁶⁵ That same year, the town officials ordered penalties of whipping and confinement for one day in the pillory for insulting one who “by divine inspiration has come to the holy Catholic faith.”⁶⁶ Samuel Najari's petition and the action of the town officials suggest that *conversos* were the targets of insults from both the Jewish and Christian populace. In only a few years, specifically from 1412 to 1415, the physical and social topography of Teruel had been substantially altered, reconfiguring relationships within the Jewish community as well as between Jews, Christians and *conversos*.

⁶¹ See, Francisca Vendrell, “Consesion de nobleza a un converso,” *Sefarad* 8:2 (1948): 397–401.

⁶² Ram Ben-Shalom, “Conflict between Jews and Converts in Aragon Following the Persecution of 1391: New Testimonies from the Formulary of Yom Tov Ben Hannah of Montalbán,” *Sefarad* 73:1 (2013): 97–131.

⁶³ Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader, “Diputación feyta por los judios,” 29.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁶⁵ ACA, Canc., reg. 2391, fol. 102r–v, published in Vendrell, “Concesión de nobleza a un converso,” 399–400.

⁶⁶ AHPTE, Concejo, doc. 28/73.

Still, more than forty years later, in 1458, upon the death of King Alfonso V in Naples, Jews and Christians in Teruel pursued cooperative strategies in formulating rituals to mourn the king's death. The *Libro de los Jueces* provides us with a detailed description: on August 6 of that year, the clerics, judges, Jews and Muslims of Teruel gathered at a *representatio* (a representation of a funeral bier) constructed in the Plaza Mayor, performing rogation and each group reciting their own prayers, in the presence of municipal officials. The following day, the Jews gathered before the *representatio* and “cantaron las lamentaciones de Jeremias”. An hour later came the Franciscans, and an hour after them “todo el clero en procesión”, all the clerics, with the crosses of each of eight parishes and candles from the various guilds. The clerics led a procession in the following order: laymen, then women, then Jews and, lastly, the Muslims, who all accompanied the bier through various streets of the town. The route of the procession included the streets surrounding the sites of both quotidian life (the street of the fish mongers; the street of the harness makers) and sites of religious or political significance. At the conclusion of the procession, the Jews and Muslims returned to their neighborhoods, and the Christians entered the church where the funeral bier was placed in the nave along with vigil candles.⁶⁷ Again, in February of 1468, upon the death of Queen Juana (wife of Juan II), the entire town, including Jews and Muslims, participated in memorial ceremonies in the town's main plaza. The description of the ceremony for Juana is much shorter and less detailed than that for Alfonso V. We are told that officials, *gentilishombres y otros*, were present at the plaza, seeming to indicate that townspeople of various status and position were there. Teruel's Jews and Muslims were present “los judíos a la mano derecho y los moros a la mano izquierda en la plaça”.

These memorial rituals employed physical space in highly symbolic ways. The town plaza formed the social and political center of civic identity. It was where commerce took place, important public announcements were made and communal celebrations (or, as in these two instances, mourning rituals) were held. The *judería* had its own, smaller plaza that could have been utilized by the Jews for their funeral rites. Instead, in 1458, Teruel's Jews held specifically Jewish commemorative rites in the public plaza and then participated as members of the larger community in the town's procession. Similarly, Teruel's Jews were a visible, participatory presence

⁶⁷ Jaime Caruana Gómez de Barreda, “Una relación inedita de jueces de Teruel,” *Cuadernos Histórico Jerónimo Zurita* 14 (1963): 227–80, Alfonso V at 259, Juana at 262. See, also, Carlos Laliena Corbera and Maria Teresa Iranza Muñoz, “Las exequias de Alfonso V en las ciudades Aragonesas. Ideología real y rituales publicos,” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 9 (1991): 55–76.

at the ceremony for Queen Juana ten years later at the public plaza. In contrast to the physical and symbolic separation of Jews from Christians created by the walled *judería*, public ceremonies such as these created a temporary, but significant, re-integration of Jews into the civic body.

Conclusions

This partial chronology of events in Teruel in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reveals a complex picture of the relations between Jews and Christians of the town. For Teruel, the significant turning point in Jewish-Christian relations came not in 1391, but in 1412–1415 with the aggregated effects of the Compromise of Caspe, the fervent missionizing of Vincent Ferrer and the Disputation of Tortosa. Yet even then, Teruel became a safe haven for Jews fleeing violence in other towns and remained a viable Jewish community until the Expulsion of 1492. Why did the Jews in Teruel fare so much better than in other towns in the region such as Montalbán? And why did Valencia and Teruel have such starkly different responses to threats of violence?

Valencia's municipal leaders sought to make the city the economic powerhouse of the Crown of Aragon and feared and resented the economic competition of the city's Jews. The economic interests of the city's leaders merged with the teachings of two prominent Christian friars, the Dominican Vincent Ferrer and the Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis, both of whom had close ties to Valencia in the late fourteenth century. Ferrer, as discussed above, advocated tirelessly for the complete separation of Jews from Christians. Eiximenis, who envisioned the possibility of Valencia as the ideal city of God, was a paid advisor to the Valencian *Consell*, receiving over twenty payments from the *Consell* between 1383 and 1391.⁶⁸ His treatise on good governance, *Regiment a la cosa publica*, described an urban ideal that equated beauty with morality and was displayed in the offices of the *Consell* so that the public could read it.⁶⁹ Eiximenis deplored the appearance of the older sections of Valencia, claiming that the city was “quasi morisco”, a politically-charged term in a city that prided itself on the defeat and subjugation of the Muslim population.⁷⁰ This critique of the

⁶⁸ Andrés Ivars, *El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximénez en Valencia (1383–1408). Recopilación de los escritos publicados por el padre Andrés Ivars en la revista Archivo Ibero Americano sobre Francesc Eiximenis y su obra escrita en Valencia*, ed. Pedro Santonja (Benissa, Spain: Ajuntament de Benissa, 1989).

⁶⁹ AMV, Claveria, I.14.

⁷⁰ Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa publica*, ed. Daniel de Molins de Rei (Barcelona: Varias, 1927), 19.

topography of the old town, in which the *judería* was located, served as a metonymy for all that prevented Valencia from becoming an ideal Christian cosmos. The close relationship between Eiximenis and the municipal leaders of Valencia reflected a symbiosis between religion and politics that could be employed to justify the economic goals of the city leaders: a prosperous, redesigned city that would reflect the favored status of Christians. The presence of a sizeable, prosperous Jewish population in the city challenged and problematized this vision. The municipal authorities of Valencia were not a direct cause of the anti-Jewish violence in their city, but they exploited it to achieve their pre-existing goals of redesigning the city.

In Teruel, long traditions of the integration of Jews and Muslims had existed as a matter of law and custom since the twelfth century *Fuero de Teruel*. Unlike Valencia, there was no walled *judería* in Teruel prior to the fifteenth century. There was no significant attack on the Jewish community of the town of Teruel in 1391, in large part because of the efforts of the town officials who worked proactively to protect the Jews of Teruel from both foreigners (i.e. Castilians) and local villagers from the surrounding *aldeas*. Those actions stand in sharp contrast to the actions of municipal authorities in Valencia. The intense pressure from Vincent Ferrer during two different visits, coupled with the demoralizing effects of the Tortosa Disputation which occurred almost simultaneously, led to the segregation of Jews within a walled *judería* and the conversions of several of the most prominent Jewish families. Nevertheless, the public ceremonies in 1458 and 1468 provide examples of continued inter-religious cooperative strategies. Teruel provides an important contribution to furthering our understanding of the complex and often contradictory nature of the late-medieval Iberian Jewish experience.

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CHAPTER 13

DISCIPLINE AND PEACE VERSUS CONFLICT
IN A MEDIEVAL INSTITUTION:
THE CATHEDRAL CLERGY IN BURGOS
DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY*

SUSANA GUIJARRO

Physical and verbal violence was often present in everyday life of the Cathedral chapter of Burgos in late medieval Castile. Besides the disciplinary and legal practices employed by the Cathedral chapter in order to regulate good relations among its members and to shape the behaviour of the clergy and the faithful, the institution also established reconciliation mechanisms and ritual such as the “Mass of peace”. My argument is that the effectiveness of these strategies was limited not only by the relationships of patronage and the kinship typical to late medieval society but also by tolerance to clerical misbehavior when it did not attract a public scandal that would harm the reputation of the Church.

Introduction

Chapters of cathedral clergy reflected some of the main characteristics of medieval sociability in the late Middle Ages. By the thirteenth century, Innocent III's (1198–1216) decrees established the legal examination procedure or *inquisitio*, initiated by the judge without any previous legal denouncement. It was enough for public opinion to question the reputation of a person. Ecclesiastical justice, together with the compulsory annual confession decreed in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), laid the foundations

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for the moral and penitential doctrine that governed clerical conduct in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹ As a consequence, the notions of sin, repentance, punishment and reparation for the harm caused became the pillars of what synodal constitutions summarised in the expression “ecclesiastical discipline”.² Late medieval church reform, carried out by bishops and cathedral clergy, was guided by a concept of clerical behaviour inspired by the monastic ideal of harmony, which is to say of the control of

¹ Recent studies undertaken by scholars of Northern Europe show a new interest in the institutional history of the Papacy. These especially focus on the most important offices and tribunals of the Roman curia: the Apostolic Chancery, the Apostolic Chamber, the Apostolic *Dataria*, the Apostolic Penitentiary, the Sacra Romana Rota and the *Audientia litterarum contradictarum*. See the studies devoted to papal administration in *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, edited by Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016) and Kirsi Salonen, *Papal Justice in the Late Middle Ages. The Sacra Rota Romana* (London: Routledge, 2016). Among the studies on the notion of sin and confession one should consider the contributions of José María Soto Rábanos, “Visión y tratamiento del pecado en los manuales de confesión de la Baja Edad Media,” *Hispania Sacra* 58, 118 (2006): 414. Eleventh- and twelfth-century theologians and jurists had already confronted the problem of differentiating between sin and crime; see Edward M. Peters, “The Reordering of Law and the Illicit in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Europe,” in *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe*, ed. Ruth Mazo Carras et al. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 1–14; Ana I. Carrasco Manchado, “Sentido del pecado y clasificación de los vicios,” in *Los caminos de la exclusión en la sociedad medieval: pecado, delito y represión*, ed. Esther López Ojeda (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2012), 51–108; Sergio Rábade Romero, “Reflexiones sobre el pecado en la Edad Media,” in *Pecar en la Edad Media*, ed. Ana I. Carrasco Manchado, María Pilar Rábade Obradó (Madrid: Sílex, 2008), 18–24.

² Peter D. Clarke, “The Medieval Clergy and Violence: An Historiographical Introduction in Violence and the Medieval Clergy,” in *Violence in the Medieval Clergy*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Ana Marinkovic (Krems: Central European University, 2011), 3–16. The development of the study of law and theology in cathedral schools and universities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries made penance a topic for theological discourse. In the school of Laon, the masters Anselm and William of Champeaux thought about the ontological status of sin. Was it part of creation or a mere negation of something created? These thinkers were more concerned with the process by which an initial temptation was finally put into action (or not) than about the different stages of sin. They grew ever more interested in the inner aspect of sin. However, for the masters teaching in Laón, questions of sin and guilt were only peripheral to their teachings. By contrast, Peter Abelard, the great master in Paris, was one of the first teachers who discussed questions of sin, guilt and penance deeply. See Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2014), 199.

body and soul.³ For secular clerics living outside the cloisters, ecclesiastical discipline resulted in rules that were hard to comply with, as both cathedral and parish clergy belonged to the characteristic kinship, patronage and clientelism networks of late medieval societies. Cathedral chapters were communities in which horizontal sociability, derived from spiritual ties, was superimposed on a sociability based on hierarchy, kinship and patronage.⁴ The peace that ecclesiastical discipline sought as an example to laymen was often shattered, and sin affecting the inner conscience or spiritual life became a crime when the clergy's misdemeanours were tried by episcopal courts. When verbal and physical violence went beyond church walls, it was the cause of scandal, which was considered the main enemy of the ideal of harmony that inspired ecclesiastical discipline and its mirror image in the lay world, namely, social order.

In the late Middle Ages, the city of Burgos was the political capital of the Kingdom of Castile and a major centre of foreign trade between Castile and Atlantic Europe (France, England and Flanders). Its cathedral chapter was one of the most important in the Kingdom because of its possessions and the size of its diocese (six archdeacons and their corresponding archpriests in the fifteenth century). This diocese was exempt from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Toledo and dealt directly with the Holy See in Rome from the eleventh century onwards.⁵ Unfortunately, most stages in the legal process were carried out orally and the proceedings of the episcopal courts are not extant. However, it is possible to find occasional evidence of deeds that were punished by the cathedral chapter and the episcopal court. In the case of Burgos, 282 cases of misdemeanours and crimes have been documented. These affected cathedral clergy (140), clerics at churches in the diocese (110) and laymen (145) during the fifteenth century. A large part of these cases comes from reports on the behaviour of parish clerics drafted after pastoral visits by the bishop or his officials. The others are brief notes on deeds or behaviour that were reported

³ Dilwyn Knox, "Disciplina: le origine monastiche e clericali del buon comportamento nell'Europa cattolica del Cinquecento e del primo Seicento," in *Disciplina dell'anima disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Paolo Prodi. Annali dell'Instituto storico italo-germanico 40 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994), 63–100.

⁴ For this subject with regards to England, France and Germany, see Julia Barrow's brilliant study: *The Clergy in the Medieval World. Secular Clerics, Their families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800–c.1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁵ *Historia de las diócesis españolas 20: Iglesias de Burgos, Osma-Soria y Santander*, ed. Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2004), 31–73.

and sometimes punished by the bishop and the Burgos cathedral chapter (only 68% of the sentences are known). In principle, the cathedral chapter enjoyed the legal autonomy to correct its members and clerics in the city churches and the diocese under its control. However, frequent conflicts occurred between bishop and chapter regarding legal jurisdiction over the clergy. The two spheres were hard to separate in practice as the bishop's officers of justice (general vicar, archdeacons and archpriests) belonged to the cathedral chapters. Among the judicial officers of Bishops Alfonso de Cartagena (1435–1456) and Luis de Acuña (1456–1495) we can also find men with whom they had patronage ties and artificial kinship (as servants, dependents and “comensales”).⁶ However, certain crimes and misdemeanours were the exclusive jurisdiction of the bishop of Burgos. These were cases that seriously affected the honour of the person (murder, offences against a priest, administering communion to excommunicated individuals, illicit relations with a woman, abortion and homosexuality) or the property and functions of the Church (sacrilege involving holy objects or places, simony, perjury, falsification of documents and burning churches).⁷ Apart from those cases exclusive to the bishop, the chapter judges were responsible for “correcting the clergy's customs”.⁸ This ambiguous expression embraced numerous facets of the public and private life of the ministers of the Church. The control exercised through the obligatory confession of clerics (three times a year) and laymen (once a year), as established by Bishop Cabeza de Vaca in his synod of 1412, was not sufficient.⁹ Correcting implied first investigating and denouncing deviations from the customs and then trying them. Archdeacons, archpriests and abbots had to visit and record the “grave excesses” committed by clergymen and laymen in churches, monasteries, hermitages, hospitals and fraternities. In practice, the judges must have committed irregularities since, as the constitutions of Bishop Cabeza de

⁶ These servants often belonged to the lineages of the urban oligarchy. A clear example of this phenomenon is seen in the members of the Alonso de Burgos-Maluenda lineage who benefitted from the protection of Bishop Alfonso de Cartagena. Cathedral Archive of Burgos (henceforward, CAB), 21/06/1431, RR. 9, fols 74r–75r. Hilario Casado Alonso, “Una familia de la oligarquía burgalesa del siglo XV: los Alonso de Burgos-Maluenda,” in *La ciudad de Burgos. Actas del congreso de Historia de Burgos* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1985), 143–62.

⁷ II Synod of Bishop Juan Cabeza de Vaca, 1412, *Synodicon hispanum* VII (henceforth: *SH*), ed. Antonio García y García *et al.* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1997), 188.2.

⁸ Synod of Bishop Gonzalo de Mena (1382–1394), *SH* VII, 19[33] 6.

⁹ II Synod of Bishop Juan Cabeza de Vaca, 1412, *SH* VII, 19 [192] 4.1, [194] 3.

Vaca noted in 1411, ordinary judges sometimes reported false misdemeanours of clerics and laymen in order to collect the corresponding fines.¹⁰

In two earlier articles, I have studied the types of misdemeanours and crimes and the punishments they received.¹¹ In this article, I will concentrate on the mechanisms and strategies applied by the bishop and cathedral chapter in Burgos to restore harmony amongst the clergy, and between them and lay people. These mechanisms and strategies, based on the doctrine of ecclesiastical discipline, played a significant role in the creation of social rules and the development of discourses on urban peace and the culture of pacts in the political sphere.

The Establishment of Rules of Behaviour in Statutes and Constitutions as a Means of Disseminating Ecclesiastical Discipline and Social Control

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century bishops granted several constitutions to the church in Burgos, and these were published in the diocese synods. The constant warnings about certain forms of clerical and lay behaviour indicate not only the limited practical effect of these constitutions but also that they should be understood as a way of disseminating clerical discipline. The sacrament of penitence was especially prominent in these synodal constitutions. The combination of guilt, punishment and pardon contributed to creating a model of social conduct that favoured living together in peace, or at least made that ideal a moral obligation. The constitutions of Bishop Juan de Villacreces (c. 1394–1406) summed up the basic pillars of the discourse of penitence: seven virtues against seven deadly sins, and charity or Christian love, expressed in works of clemency that compelled all believers to pardon those who wronged and repented but also to punish them.¹² As legal practice, later synodal constitutions stressed the need to

¹⁰ I Synod of Bishop Juan Cabeza de Vaca, 1411, *SH VII*, 19 [74] 2.

¹¹ Susana Guijaro, “Disciplina clerical y control social en la Castilla medieval: el estatuto de corrección y punición del cabildo catedralicio de Burgos (1452),” in *Mundos medievales. Espacios, Sociedades y Poder. Homenaje al Profesor José Ángel García de Cortázar 2*, ed. Beatriz Arízaga Bolumburu, Dolores Mariño Veiras, Carmen Díez Herrera *et al.* (Santander: PubliCan, 2012), 1453–66; Susana Guijaro, “The Monastic Ideal of Discipline and the Making of Clerical Rules,” *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies 2* (2013): 131–47.

¹² Synod of Bishop Juan de Villacreces, 1394–1406?, *SH VII*, 19 [28]: “humbleness against pride, generosity against greed, chastity against lust, mercy against wrath, temperance against verbosity, charity against envy, diligence against sloth”. Also

repair the harm done in order for the accused to return to the community and to re-establish social order. Bishop Juan de Villacreces had categorised five of the Ten Commandments as the love for the obligations that all men should feel for their neighbour. It should be highlighted that these obligations affected bonds of blood kinship (parents), of spiritual kinship (godparents) and of kinship by affinity (marriage-adultery), because of their influence in conflicts and the means of solving them. However, they were also related to possession of property and rights (theft, false testimony) as they were a common cause of acts of violence.¹³ The same synod also describes the collective pardon ceremony held at the “fountain of piety” in Burgos, where the faithful of the whole diocese gathered on the feast day of St Mary in August.¹⁴

Friendship, kinship and patronage systems are noted in the synods as causes of violence and conflicts. In its negative aspect, it is clear that violence disturbed social peace. Yet in its positive facet, a violent act was the ultimate guarantee of honour and social status, and thus it was recognised as a necessary means of political and social action.¹⁵ In the constitutions of Bishop Luis de Acuña (1474), the members of the cathedral clergy were forbidden to lend military help to laymen on pain of losing their ecclesiastic benefits.¹⁶ In a similar way, Bishop Fray Pascual de Ampudia (1498) forbade them to form part of any secular association or to act as lawyers in the municipal government, unless they were granted a special licence by the Bishop. Behind these episcopal licences lay the patronage networks of the dignitaries, canons and bishops themselves. In 1503, the Bishop forbade clergy ordained *in sacris* to take part in hostilities between rival lineages in the city.¹⁷

[21]: “works of spiritual clemency: the fourth is to pardon those who wronged him”, “the seventh is to punish those who sinned”.

¹³ Synod of Bishop Juan de Villacreces, 1394–1406?, *SH VII*, 19 [16].

¹⁴ Synod of Bishop Juan de Villacreces, 1394–1406?, *SH VII*, [37] 10: “From all parts of our bishopric come men and women in pilgrimage to our Cathedral Church of St Mary in Burgos during the feast of the Assumption in mid-August. In this way they obtain great pardons that were granted by the popes. This pilgrimage called Piety Well should mean great and general absolution. Clergy in the parishes should chide their faithful to come and gain the pardons”.

¹⁵ Óscar López Gómez, “La paz en las ciudades de Castilla (siglos XIV–XV),” *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 11 (2010): 127.

¹⁶ Synod of Bishop Luis de Acuña, 1474, *SH VII*, Burgos, 19 [308] 2.

¹⁷ I Synod of Bishop Fray Pascual de Ampudia, 1498, *SH VII*, Burgos, 19 [339] VI. II Synod of Bishop Fray Pascual de Ampudia, 1503, *SH VII*, Burgos, 19 [361] 8: “clergy and laymen are forbidden to take part in partialities and feuds against the

A further problem requiring the attention of episcopal legislation was that of conflicts caused by the Burgos diocese's peculiar parish system. The inhabitants were allowed to choose any of the parishes in the different districts of the city, which led to denunciations because of some inhabitants' frequent changes of parish, and thereby to difficulties in obtaining tithes or controlling the fulfilment of the sacraments of confession and marriage. The clerics who served those parishes had to receive the sacred orders in a way that was exclusive to each parish, and were chosen among the latter's parishioners and faithful or their descendants. As Bishop Pascual de Ampudia protested in his fifteenth-century constitutions, the ideal parishioner was not always chosen because of age or education, given that criteria of friendship and kinship prevailed in the election.¹⁸ Physical and verbal violence deriving from conflicts in the parish sphere, as in other fields that will be described, show the close relationship of peace with kinship or extended family in medieval towns. Extended family members were forced to be at peace with and to help one another.¹⁹ Alongside kinship, bonds of friendship with their emotional and spiritual components created social networks that might lead either to disputes or to alliances.²⁰

Another concern of synodal legislation was the control of areas of sociability inside and outside churches which were susceptible to conflict. Cathedral and church naves in the diocese were used incorrectly, as described in the constitutions of Bishop Juan Cabeza de Vaca (1411). In them, there took place business deals and guild dinners ("cenas de

lineages of Gil and Negrete under the penalty of losing the right to an ecclesiastic burial".

¹⁸ III Synod of Bishop Fray Pascual de Ampudia, 1511, *SH VII*, Burgos, 20 [21] VII: "from now on, to avoid these irregularities, it is established that when a place for prebendary should become vacant, it will be given to the first half prebendary residing in the parish church; and if it is a vacancy for a half prebendary, it will be given to a lesser beneficiary ("quartillero") who is a resident and son of a parishioner. It will only be given to an absent clergyman and parishioner who fulfils these characteristics if he can prove he is studying at a university".

¹⁹ Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval Europe*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2004), 59.

²⁰ Lars Hermanson, "Holy Unbreakable Bonds: Oaths and Friendship in Nordic and Western European Societies, c. 900–1200," in *Friendship and Social Networks in Scandinavia, c. 1000–1800*, ed. Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Thomas Småberg (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 15–18.

hermandad”), and council officials held trials.²¹ In Burgos cathedral, the choir and chapterhouse were the places where tensions came to the surface, in the form of insults and physical aggression, particularly in the choir as this is where all sectors of the cathedral clergy met. Hierarchical conflicts were combined with others caused by an obvious reality, that many lower-ranking clerics were servants of dignitaries and canons. The Cathedral Registers also recorded cases of disputes among laymen, or between clergy and laymen both of whom can be identified as officers or servants of cathedral chapter members: relatives or servants of Bishop Pablo de Santamaría; servants (“criados”) of the alderman (“regidor”) of the city of Burgos; a brother of Bishop Alfonso de Cartagena, Pedro de Cartagena; members of the powerful lineage of the Maluenda; royal officers; and a possible member of the Burgos oligarchy.²²

Discipline in the choir was the subject of regulations and penalties dealing with silence in 1452 and 1471 (“Estatuto del silencio en el coro”).²³ Outside the cathedral walls, control focused on processions, especially that of Corpus Christi when the whole city took part and disturbances were

²¹ CAB, 15/12/1498, Registry Book (henceforth: RR.) 32, fols 174v–175r. I Synod of Bishop Cabeza de Vaca, 1411, *SH VII*, Burgos, 19 [152] XVII: a fine of 100 *maravedis* was established for anyone taking part in those acts.

²² CAB, 09/03/1418, RR. 4, fol. 121v: the plaintiff is Alonso de Toledo, man of the alderman of Burgos, Pedro de Cartagena; CAB, 15/03/1418, RR. 4, fol. 122v: Martín de Torquemada and Juan de Sandoval were relatives of Bishop Pablo de Santamaría; CAB, 08/04/1418, RR. 4, fol. 124r: Juan de Cuenca, relative of the Bishop; CAB, 21/07/1418, RR. 4, fol. 139r: Diego de Sahagún, squire of the Bishop; CAB, 03/01/1423, RR. 6, fol. 92v: Alonso de Castro, a possible member of the Burgos oligarchy brought a lawsuit against the merchant Alonso Fernández. CAB; 01/07/1432, RR. 6, fol. 114v: Juan de Balmaseda, man of Juan González de Maluenda; CAB, 02/05/1427, RR. 5, fol. 190r: García, official of Bishop Pablo de Santamaría; CAB, 04/10/1451, RR. 14, fol. 13r: Juan de Lerma, son of the Mayor.

²³ CAB, 08/07/1450, RR. 13, fol. 36v; CAB, 05/07/1452, R., 13r, fol. 69; CAB, 26/04/1454, RR. 14, fols 120r–126v: Canon Gil Gómez and the treasurer Gonzalo de Aranda exchanged offensive words in the choir after a dispute over the value of each other’s vote; CAB, 05/06/1453, RR. 19, fol. 38v; CAB, 01/07/1450, RR. 13, fol. 131r; CAB, 16/02/1461, RR. 16, fols 227r–229r; CAB, 16/11/1463, RR. 16, fol. 349r: Chaplain Juan Alonso offended the canon director of the choir with dishonest words and gestures, when the chanter and other lesser beneficiaries were present. They were all scandalised by the lack of obedience and reverence shown by the chaplain; CAB, 08/10/1462, RR. 17, fol. 51r: The chaplain and choir boy, Nicolás Villegas, disobeyed the choir-master and grabbed him by the neck when he admonished him for falling asleep; CAB, 25/04/1471, RR. 18, fol. 366r; CAB, 15/12/1498, RR. 32, fols 113v–114r; CAB, 18/12/1452 and 22/12/1452, RR. 13, fols 81v–82r: “Statute of Corrections and Punishment”.

caused by gambling and drinking.²⁴ However, the synodal constitutions were targeted at taverns where it was not unusual for clergy to gamble.²⁵ Indeed, gambling was not only a pastime but a way of supplementing the modest ecclesiastical benefices.²⁶ The catechism published by Archdeacon Pedro de Cuéllar in 1325 classed gambling as a sin and enemy of public order.²⁷ Thanks to the 1469 and 1472 cathedral statutes, however, we know that gambling was to a certain extent tolerated. The former statute allowed card games, dice and betting in kind (with wine or fruit) but not with money. The second limited betting with money to 100 *maravedís* and expressed concern about some clerics' habit of gambling at home while liturgical acts were taking place in the cathedral.²⁸ All in all, it was thought that the busiest parts of the city tested the honesty necessary to clerical discipline. In 1485, chapter members were asked to send servants in their place to markets, butchers' shops and to have their mules shod.²⁹

At the same time, the Burgos cathedral chapter gave legal form to the regulations for internal institutional discipline by drafting the "Statute of Correction and Punishment" in 1452. According to this statute, verbal insults ("excessive words") between chapter members (both higher and lower clergy), in the choir, in Mass or other places inside and outside the cathedral, would be punished with a fine of 1,000 *maravedís*. This would be increased to 3,000 *maravedís* if the verbal insult was accompanied by physical aggression ("irate hands") and to 6,000 *maravedís* if weapons were involved. A possible later reconciliation did not excuse the punishment. However, it was possible to negotiate a reduction in the fine "according to the quality of the person", which is to say, his position in the cathedral

²⁴ CAB, 08/06/1463, RR. 17, fols 100v–102r: there were discussions about which streets the *Corpus Christi* procession should go through, as it was the cause of disturbances. The council and cathedral chapter agreed that in order to seek a peaceful route they should choose it together each year; CAB, 18/06/1484, RR. 23, fols 201v–202r: disturbances in the *Corpus Christi* procession were caused by gambling that took place as it went through the city streets.

²⁵ I Synod of Bishop Juan Cabeza de Vaca, 1411, *SH VII*, Burgos, 19 [86] 3: "the clergy *in sacris* in our bishopric must not enter public taverns or other dishonest places with the lay brothers or without them, except when walking on the way".

²⁶ CAB, 27/09/1486, RR. 28, fols 92r–93r.

²⁷ José L. Martín and Antonio Linage Conde, *Religión y sociedad medieval: El catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar, 1325* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1987), 157: dice and table games were forbidden. Gambling was considered the cause of thefts, scandals, lies, blasphemy, death and deceit. However, the clergy were allowed to play chess because it was deemed a game of the intellect and an art.

²⁸ CAB, 00/11/1469, RR. 18, fol. 260v; CAB, 16/11/1472, RR. 18, fol. 459v.

²⁹ CAB, 04/03/1485, RR. 22, fol. 212r.

hierarchy.³⁰ This paradox attests to the weight of vertical relationships in the ecclesiastical realm. In royal legislation, in the *Siete Partidas* (Seven-Part Code) promulgated by King Alfonso X (1252–1284) and compiled approximately between 1256 and 1265, it was considered that punishment imposed by a superior in hierarchical rank was not an insult to the accused.³¹ In any case, in 1461, the cathedral chapter complained that the 1452 statute was not being enforced, which had led to “scandals and harm”. The four judges named by the chapter each year from amongst its higher-ranking members (dignitaries and canons) did not always correctly fulfil their task of prosecuting and punishing the clergy’s misdemeanours. However, it is very likely that the scandals occurring in 1461 were related to the situation of political instability suffered by the kingdom of Castile and its capital, Burgos.³² At that time, Castile had fallen into a war between those who supported that Prince Alfonso (brother of King Henry V, 1425–1474) should be the heir to the throne and those who supported that, Joanna, daughter of the King, should succeed him. The city government (*regimiento*) acted on behalf of Prince Alfonso and opposed Henry IV’s supporters. Indeed, in 1462 an agreement was reached in the cathedral chapter to seek peace and to calm the hostilities between the city fractions that had formed around those two royal figures. The chapter members were warned that they should collaborate with the *regimiento* in the pacification of the city, solely maintaining their habit and profession.³³ This demand would be difficult to fulfil owing to the kinship and patronage ties between chapter members and some *regimiento* officials.

Correction of Behaviour: Legal Practice and Symbolic Reconciliation Ceremonies

One of the greatest challenges for the late medieval Church was to make the model of behaviour defined by clerical discipline a reality in the daily life of clergy and lay people as a whole. If issuing regulations and disseminating ecclesiastical discipline were important to attain this ideal, legal practice was even more so. However, the theoretical and practical role played by enactments of pardon and reconciliation should also be considered. The classification of the 282 cases of clerical and lay misdemeanours and crimes

³⁰ CAB, 22/12/1452, RR.13, fols 81v–82r; CAB, 19/09/1452, RR. 14, fol. 27r.

³¹ Antonio Pérez Martín, “La protección del honor y la fama en el derecho histórico español,” *Anales de Derecho* 11 (1991): 128.

³² CAB, 16/02/1461, RR. 16, fol. 228v.

³³ CAB, 27/03/1462, RR. 17, fol. 17r.

in the diocese of Burgos (Table 13.1.) in a previous study³⁴ revealed the ambiguity with which the three most common types (sacrilege, offence and excess) were used in the sources.

Table 13.1: Types of misdemeanours and crimes (1418–1499).

Misdemeanours and Crimes	Cases	Specification Others (*)	Cases
Offence	45	Physical or verbal aggression	28
Sacrilege	48	Quarrelling/Fighting	32
Excess	35	Murder	4
Defamation	7	Blasphemy	1
Simony	1	Forgery	1
Theft	6	Debt	12
Not indicated	9	Breach of discipline	9
Others (*)	131	Insults	15
TOTAL	282	Gambling	7
		Sexuality/marriage	19
		Clothing	3
		TOTAL	131

Source: Guijarro, “The Monastic Ideal of Discipline,” 136–8.

The 128 cases classed as sacrilege, offence and excess do not always describe what occurred, but their common denominator is the disproportionate use of language (excessive words) which was sometimes accompanied by physical violence (irate hands). The term “offence” usually refers to verbal violence and certain gestures in churches and religious ceremonies, except in five cases where weapons were involved. There are also fifteen cases of insults which were not termed offence, although were probably the same thing. Insults upon the person’s honour (fool, miser and villain) and, more precisely, their sexual morals (cuckold and whore³⁵) were a particular concern because of their effect on reputation and family. Reputation was a symbolic possession that persons enjoyed through their conduct but which

³⁴ Guijarro, “The Monastic Ideal of Discipline,” 136–8.

³⁵ CAB, 02/06/1418, RR. 4, fol. 132r; CAB, 08/02/1454, RR. 14, fols 119v–121r; CAB, 18/12/1466, RR. 17, fols 439v–440r: cases relating to sexual morals (clerical concubinage and adultery) that became a concern because of their public dimension were sometimes classified as sacrilege.

derived from the opinion of others.³⁶ The expression of certain acts or words in a public place would make them an offence. These were especially serious when the person insulted was of a higher rank, since in such cases the principle of authority was also questioned. Finally, the cases that were classed as sacrilege when clerics were implicated usually involved physical aggression and the use of some kind of weapon, even if they did not always occur in sacred places. Further 23 cases of physical aggression with clergy present were not classified as sacrilege. In this class were included cases related to sexual morals (clerical concubinage and adultery) that caused concern because they attracted public notoriety. Even taking into account this apparent ambiguity in classifying the misdemeanours and crimes of cathedral clergy, it is clear that physical violence was relatively important in the daily life of the fourteenth-century Burgos clergy (comprising 35.8% of the total number of documented cases).³⁷

Modern systematic research into clerical behaviour and legal practice associated with late medieval ecclesiastical reforms has been able to detect and classify cases of misdemeanours and crimes. Has it been equally effective regarding the application of punishments and sentences by medieval ecclesiastic justice? The study of these misdemeanours and crimes reveals a gap between the numbers of cases recorded and the ones which were punished according to the surviving testimonies. This fact hinders any conclusive answers. Of the 282 cases, the sentence is known in 193 (68%). It cannot be ruled out that in some of the remaining 89 cases an agreement was reached between the parties due to the increasing importance in justice of systems of negotiation. In nearly 50% of the above-mentioned 193, economic penalties were applied, either monetary, in kind or by confiscating property. The second most common types of punishment were prison sentences (35 cases) and banishment (14 cases). Economic fines and prison sentences were in reality complementary, as seen in some cases. Of the 25 cases in which the accused was acquitted, it can be deduced that it was because of a lack of evidence, as was common in medieval justice.

³⁶ Marta Madero, *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas. La injuria en Castilla y León, siglos XIII–XV* (Madrid: Taurus, 1992), 21–5; Pérez Martín, “La protección del honor y la fama,” 124–5; Chris Wickham, “Fama and the Law in Twelfth-Century Tuscany,” in *Fama. The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, ed. Thomas Fenster and Daniel L. Smail (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 17.

³⁷ For a more detailed description of the different types of misdemeanours and crimes, see Gujjarro, “The Monastic Ideal of Discipline,” 131–47.

Table 13.2: Correction and punishment of misdemeanours and crimes (1418–1499).

Penalties or punishments	Cases
Economic penalties	[94]
- monetary fine	88
- payment in kind	5
- confiscation of property	1
Forbidden entry in choir or church	6
Banishment	14
Jail	35
Excommunication	11
Absolution	25
Others ³⁸	8
TOTAL	193

At the same time only 20 of the 88 fines, usually for crimes against honour (insults and fights, with or without weapons), came to more than 1,500 *maravedís*. The fine of 6,000 *maravedís* prescribed in the 1452 “Statute of Correction and Punishment” mentioned above was rarely reached. Four exceptional fines of between 9,000 and 10,000 *maravedís* were applied in cases involving weapons in which an ecclesiastic’s servants took part. They were also applied to cases where conversations in chapter meetings were disclosed, betraying the loyalty of the chapter. These cases attest the weight and obligations of patronage networks that existed within the cathedral clergy. Without permission, the chaplain of the abbot of the Collegial Church of Covarrubias entered the bishop’s home with armed men (1418), which was regarded as an insult.³⁹ The Canon Ruy Fernández de Villahizán, together with his men, wounded the Priest Juan de Villalón (1435).⁴⁰

The difference between the number of cases reported and those that finally received a sentence can be seen in two types of crimes: firstly gambling, which the cathedral chapter finally allowed in 1472 with a limit

³⁸ Includes: Failure to fulfil clerical duties, dealing with women and jurisdictional conflicts.

³⁹ CAB, 29/1271418, RR. 4, fol. 120v: fine of 1,000 gold florins.

⁴⁰ CAB, 09/04/1435, RR. 19, fol. 45r: fine of 9,300 *maravedís*; CAB, 01/04/1484, RR. 22, fol. 150r: revealing conversations and debates held in chapter meetings would be fined with 10,000 *maravedís*, a high penalty that was applied when interests among chapter members derived from patronage relationships were put above loyalty to the institution.

of 100 *maravedís*⁴¹ (only five punished cases have been documented), and secondly the fines related to physical appearance (hair and clothing) which were harsher for the lower beneficed clergy. Although the clergy's clothing and hair was regulated in the cathedral chapter's statutes, only three punishments for incorrect dress have been documented. These reveal that clothing was a cause of disputes between lower and higher clergy. In fact, while a member of the minor clergy was fined 1,700 *maravedís* for his clothing, a canon was fined 600 *maravedís*.⁴² This type of misdemeanour and crime (gambling and indiscipline in physical appearance) caused scandals, which might explain the church's flexibility when punishing them. The notion of scandal was ambivalent since it was used to justify both the correction of clergy or laymen's behaviour, and foregoing its prosecution or punishment to avoid it becoming more widely known.⁴³ Bishops and cathedral chapters were more zealous in controlling sexual morals, especially when marriages were harmed. However, this zeal is not reflected proportionally in the cases that were punished: 28, 15 of which were due to clerical concubinage. In fact, it was not until the Council of Basel (1431–1448), when the Church made clerical celibacy compulsory, that the Burgos cathedral chapter investigated clergymen who had concubines. This vigilance increased with Bishop Acuña who insisted on the public identification of clergy having concubines (1477 and 1488).⁴⁴ However, these were first warned as many as three times to alter their behaviour. In fact, out of these 15 cases of clerical concubinage, only four sentences are known (in one of them there was an agreement among the parties, and the other three ended in acquittal). As in the cases of violence against women, clerical concubinage seems to have been punished severely only when the cases reached public notoriety. It should also be borne in mind that false accusations of concubinage were made against clergy to hide other reasons for hostility towards them. Cases of concubinage or violence against women became a scandal when the women were married or were relatives of the clergy. This same concern for the outward appearance of relationships between clergy

⁴¹ CAB, 16/11/1472, RR. 18, fol. 459v.

⁴² CAB, 12/10/1475, RR. 20, fol. 38r; CAB, 15/10/1478, RR. 20, fol. 174r.

⁴³ Richard H. Helmholz, "Scandalum in the Medieval Canon Law and in the English Ecclesiastical Courts," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 96 (2010): 260–2.

⁴⁴ Elena Catalán Martínez, "De curas, frailes y monjas: disciplina y regulación del comportamiento del clero en el obispado de Calahorra," *Hispania Sacra* 65 (2013): 237. CAB, 26/11/1477 and 06/05/1488, Vol. 13/2, fols 25r–233r: Bishop Acuña reached a first agreement in 1488 in the jurisdiction dispute with the cathedral chapter over the right to visit the institution and punish the misdemeanours of its members.

and women is seen in the fines of between 300 and 500 *maravedís* imposed on three canons for carrying women on their mules.⁴⁵

Fines were not an end in themselves but rather the means to attaining the desired goals through legal practices and the sacrament of penitence. After repentance, therefore, the reparation for the harm caused to a person was extended to the whole Christian community, which was meant to effect the return of its chastened member and the restoration of harmony. The use of Mass for ceremonially reconciling the sinner or convicted clergy with the community of ministers and Church faithful may have been a custom that already existed before the examples documented in the fifteenth century. The “Statute of Correction and Punishment” (1452) determined that fines collected by the cathedral chapter should be used for the “Peace Mass” and distributed amongst the clergy who attended it. According to some testimonies, after Mass the chapterhouse was the setting for reconciliation.⁴⁶

In the dispute between Juan Martínez de Pampliega and the Chaplain Alonso Fernández, the notion of friendship was also introduced, and it was determined that after the “Peace Mass” two chapter members would be in charge of making them friends.⁴⁷ In this ritual, friendship was used to ensure faithfulness to the clerical community, a moral obligation that transcended the individual.⁴⁸ Another three terms were associated with peace as an expression of harmony amongst the clergy: agreement (*avenencia*), concord (*concordia*) and truce (*tregua*). They were all assimilated by ecclesiastical justice in a perfect symbiosis of canon law and moral theology. Collective ceremonies of pardon were held such as that of the “Great Pardons”, which assembled the diocese’s faithful around the Piety Well in Burgos during the feast of St Mary in August,⁴⁹ and the community rite of concord that was performed during Lent.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ CAB, 16/07/1477, RR. 20, fol. 110r; CAB, 22/07/1477, RR. 20, fol. 112r.

⁴⁶ CAB, 22/12/1452, RR. 13, fols 81v–82r. On 18/12/1452 the Canon Pedro Guerra and the Prebendary Martín Fernández were fined 300 *maravedís* and 700 *maravedís* respectively for insulting each other in choir. The fine was used for a Peace Mass, after which they all gathered in the chapterhouse for reconciliation.

⁴⁷ CAB, 03/11/1458, RR. 16, fols 54v–55r.

⁴⁸ Hermanson, “Holy Unbreakable Bonds,” 29.

⁴⁹ Synod of Bishop Gonzalo de Mena, 1382–1394, *SH VII*, [37] 10: as mentioned above, it was the custom on the feast day of St Mary in August to hold a ceremony in Burgos cathedral called the “Well of Great Pardons”, at which general absolution of sins was granted to all the faithful in the diocese who attended in a pilgrimage. However, this custom had been lost because of the negligence of the clergy who should have held the Mass. Bishop Gonzalo de Mena ordered the restoration of the feast day and its ceremony.

⁵⁰ CAB, 19/04/1498, RR. 32, fols 43v–44r.

At the same time, the judges appointed by the chapter each year and the bishop's officers encouraged processes of reconciliation before passing sentence. One of these was the "Agreement Contract" between defendant and plaintiff, which named a mediator or arbitrating judge.⁵¹ Another was the "imposition of peace and truce" on the parties by the judges, which involved allowing them a period of time in which they should reconcile. If they did not do so, they would be punished with a fine that might be quite high, depending on the seriousness of the scandal that had occurred. In this way, when the servants (commensals) of the Canons Juan López de Castro and Gil Gómez de Yanguas were involved in a fight in 1437, it caused a great scandal and they were resultantly accorded a truce in which to reconcile on pain of a fine of 500 florins.⁵² In 1462, the cathedral chapter approved a "Statute of Peace and Concord" at a time (as explained above) of political violence between bands or "partialities" in the city: the supporters of Prince Alfonso as the heir to the throne of Castile, and those who supported Joanna, daughter of King Henry IV. The municipal government (*regimiento*) asked the cathedral chapter for help in re-establishing peace in the city.⁵³ In 1476, Queen Isabella (who came to the throne of Castile following the deaths of her brother Prince Alfonso and King Henry IV) asked the cathedral-chapter members not to align themselves with any lord or official in the Burgos *regimiento*.⁵⁴ In a similar way, in 1474 Bishop Luis de Acuña had forbidden the clergy to work for lay lords or knights on pain of losing their ecclesiastical benefices.⁵⁵ This was rather difficult for Bishop Luis de Acuña and the cathedral dignitaries and canons, whose circles of relatives and servants were involved in many of the crimes and misdemeanours

⁵¹ CAB, 21/04/1423, RR. 6, fol. 89v.

⁵² CAB, 27/09/1437, Book 47, fol. 529r.

⁵³ CAB, 26/03/1462, RR. 17, fol. 16r–v; CAB, 27/03/1462, RR. 17, fol. 17r–v. For the role played by the city of Burgos in the succession to the throne of the kingdom of Castile in the second half of the fifteenth century, see Yolanda Guerrero Navarrete, "Burgos y Enrique IV: la participación ciudadana en la crisis castellana de la segunda mitad del siglo XV," *Hispania: Revista española de historia* 47:166 (1987): 437–84.

⁵⁴ CAB, 06/09/1476, RR. 20, fol. 75v: people of Burgos and its districts are forbidden to join or associate with officers of justice (mayors, judges, etc.) or city aldermen to seek their favour or participate in bands. They are equally forbidden to associate with armed people or take up arms to defend a relative.

⁵⁵ Synod of Bishop Luis de Acuña, 1474, *SH VII*, 19 [308] 2: beneficed clerks must not live with laymen to serve them in the exercise of weapons and temporary cavalry. Otherwise, they will lose their benefices. Those wishing to live in the royal court are excluded. Breaking these rules will be punished with a 1,000 *maravedis* fine each time it happens and banishment for four months.

that have been recorded, often with the use of weapons. Ecclesiastical regulations themselves contain contradictions and paradoxes. Thus, as well as developing legal and ritual instruments to establish peace and concord, the cathedral chapter was also able to justify a measure like the one taken in 1482, which allowed beneficed clerks by the Burgos Church to arm their men for the defence of their homes and freedom.⁵⁶ By contrast, two years later the same chapter forbade the formation of leagues or “monipodios” (illegal associations).⁵⁷

Conclusions

The doctrine of ecclesiastical discipline that guided late medieval reforms in the Castilian Church is reflected in the cathedral chapter of Burgos, as a good example of the contradictions and resistance caused by its application to the lives of clergy and lay people. Inspired by the monastic ideal of control over body and soul in search of harmony, this doctrine came up against clerics immersed in their daily life and conditioned by the kinship and patronage networks that characterised late medieval urban society. Harmony was often broken by verbal and physical violence among the clergy or between them and lay people. To re-establish peace, the bishops and cathedral chapter in Burgos pursued three main approaches: they set down clerical discipline in codified rules (statutes and synodal constitutions), empowered the sacrament of penitence and applied legal practices accompanied by symbolic ceremonies of reconciliation. The repetition of rules in the statutes and synods regarding certain forms of behaviour that caused public scandal (gambling, concubinage, adultery, verbal and physical aggression and serving members of the city oligarchy) attest to their limited efficacy but also to their usefulness as a means of disseminating the rules of ecclesiastical discipline. Legal practice appears to reflect certain differences between the number of misdemeanours and crimes that were tried and the number that were finally sentenced and punished. This may be because special importance was given to methods of reconciliation, both symbolic (the “Peace Mass”) and legal (mediators and periods for a truce or agreement between the parties). Equally, flexibility in applying punishments was aimed at avoiding publicity that would harm the image of the harmony pursued by ecclesiastical discipline. It can be said that these methods of discipline and reconciliation undoubtedly influenced the concepts of peace and pacts formulated by urban culture in late medieval Castile.

⁵⁶ CAB, 08/11/1482, RR. 22, fols 61v–62r.

⁵⁷ CAB, 30/10/1490, Book 47, fols 18r–19r.

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CHAPTER 14

BREAKING BREAD WITH ENEMIES: JUAN DE CHICHILLA'S CHALLENGE TO INQUISITORIAL COMMUNITY

MADERA ALLAN

The Spanish Inquisition was founded in 1478 to purge the Marrano community of Judaizers. Guided by comprehensive religious writings and a rich literary tradition, the judges distinguished between pious Christian and heretical kosher diners. However, Juan de Chinchilla's trial records complicate the inquisitorial paradigm, demonstrating that diet, while meaningful, defies facile interpretation.

Juan de Chinchilla

Juan de Chinchilla, alias Juan Soga, was born in Ciudad Real, the principal town of La Mancha, in 1444.¹ He was born into a family of Crypto-Jews in a city that had been technically bereft of a Jewish population for at least 30, and possibly 50, years. Baptismal waters had transformed the decimated Jewish population into a relatively large and influential group of converts who controlled the town's finances and held most of the public offices. Chinchilla was not an heir to these powerful families. He was one of the many impoverished descendants of a community that had historically taken part in all aspects, including the rudest, of city life.² Shortly after his birth, his father, also Juan de Chinchilla, died and he went to live with a wealthy grandmother. He stayed with her in Almodóvar del Campo, a small town on

¹ Haim Beinart, ed., *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1977), 163–80. All translations are mine.

² Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 12.

the site of an old Moorish fortress 18 miles southwest of Ciudad Real, until he was 10 years old, consequently missing the brutal anti-Marrano riots that devastated Ciudad Real. Post-riot order had been restored and the ousted officials had resumed their positions by the time that Chinchilla returned to the city to live with his mother, stepfather and seven siblings. In a moment of relative quiet, he joined their moderately spiritual household. His parents kept mitzvoth but does not appear to have shared in the messianic fervor that took hold of many Marranos after the fall of Constantinople and subsequent comet sightings in 1453, the year before Chinchilla's homecoming.³ The family observed the Sabbath by wearing clean clothes and eating a special stew prepared on Friday. They celebrated Passover and Juana González, Chinchilla's mother, heard prayers in a neighbor's house.

Thus disposed, Chinchilla was apprenticed to a tailor named Juan de Carmona in 1458, when he was 14 years old. It is not clear where the master and his wife, Mençia Gonçalves, lived, but it must have been outside of Ciudad Real since Chinchilla describes himself as having "come" to the city when he married.⁴ This means that Chinchilla likely avoided another bloody riot – this time on St. Martin's Day in 1464.⁵ He also probably missed the town's visitation by a proselytizing Jewish draper who circumcised at least ten men in 1462.⁶ Thus, despite his mother's concealed Judaism, Chinchilla largely avoided participation in both the spiritual life and the political woes of the Marrano community.

Chinchilla lived on the geographic and economic margins of the city, untouched by its strife, until at least his late twenties. After marrying, he settled in Ciudad Real with his wife and was therefore likely present during the anti-Marrano riots of 1467, 1469 and 1474, the last of which resulted in 15 deaths on October 6 alone and another 20 before they petered out at the end of the month. In spite of his probable physical presence during these events, it is unlikely that Chinchilla was personally targeted in the disturbances. He was a tailor who did not so much as own a shirt, but rather "con vn trapo puesto en los pechos andaua" (went about in a rag) for more than six years on account of his extreme poverty; he was hardly tempting prey for looters.⁷

During the 1475 revolt, made famous by Lope de Vega, Chinchilla was away from the city, but not from the action. He was fighting near the

³ Haim Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1981), 58–9.

⁴ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 176.

⁵ Beinart, *Conversos on Trial*, 62.

⁶ Beinart, *Conversos on Trial*, 61.

⁷ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 167.

Portuguese border to defend Ferdinand and Isabel's claim to the throne against the pretensions of their rivals.⁸ In so doing, he was at odds with the powerful Marranos of Ciudad Real, who supported Diego López Pacheco, the Marqués de Villena, and Rodrigo Téllez Girón, the Master of the Order of Calatrava, in their defense of Juana and Alfonso's claim.⁹ As a result of their collaboration, Sancho de Ciudad, Diego de Villareal, Juan González Pintado and Ferdinand de Torres were all removed from office. Their posts were restored to them a year later as part of a pacification campaign that continued until the Inquisition arrived in Ciudad Real in 1483. Nevertheless, the loss of royal support after a decade of mounting popular violence meant that even the wealthiest and best-positioned Marranos in Ciudad Real were vulnerable.

Such was the state of affairs when the inquisitors arrived in La Mancha. The Ciudad Real Tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition was a short-lived institution: established in 1483, it was transferred to Toledo in 1485. In his introduction to the collected trial documents from the Tribunal, Haim Beinart offers a number of possible explanations for the early establishment of the court in this decidedly peripheral city. He suggests, for instance, that it served to pave the way for entrance into the Jewish stronghold of Toledo, by simultaneously preparing public opinion and obviating the need for papal permission to establish a court in the more influential neighboring city. However, Beinart insists that the choice of location was at least as political as it was pragmatic.¹⁰ Chinchilla notwithstanding, the Marranos of Ciudad Real had risen up against the Catholic Kings and retribution seems to have motivated the choice not only of locale, but also of early victims, who were mostly important civic figures with ties to the aristocracy. The first couple tried, *in absentia*, were Sancho de Ciudad and his wife, María Díaz, who were burnt in effigy after having been found guilty of apostasy. This couple, like most of the early defendants, was wealthy, powerful and politically connected. They were also observant Jews. The same cannot be said of many of the early defendants, though most were similarly affluent and

⁸ Upon the death of Enrique IV in December of 1474, both Isabel – his half-sister – and Juana – a daughter whose paternity was widely disputed – were declared Queen of Castile. Isabel's claim was backed by her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon; Juana's by hers, King Alfonso V of Portugal. The ensuing war of succession lasted four years and pitted neighbors against one another in cities throughout the peninsula.

⁹ These two men are Juana and Alfonso's best-known supporters, not because they were particularly effective or valuable, but because they were immortalized as the antagonists in Lope de Vega's best-known play, *Fuenteovejuna*.

¹⁰ Beinart, *Conversos on Trial*, xiii.

influential. Indeed, the trial testimony reveals striking religious heterogeneity among the Marranos called to appear before the Ciudad Real Tribunal.

After the first slew of prominent prosecutions, Chinchilla was summoned and accused of committing nine heretical acts, including: preparing stew and having it prepared for him on Friday, so that he might eat it on Saturday; observing Passover by eating unleavened bread; participating in funerary feasts, in which he ate the food that Jews eat; and fasting in accordance with the Law of Moses.¹¹ The prosecution presented evidence from three witnesses. The first, Juana Martines, recounts having glimpsed suspicious culinary activities in Chinchilla's mother's house "avra veynte años, poco mas o menos, quando el robo de San Martin" (about twenty years ago, more or less, around when the Saint Martin's Day robbery occurred),¹² or in 1464, six years after Chinchilla left his parents' home to apprentice himself to Juan de Carmona. It is possible that my earlier conjecture of his absence during the riot was incorrect, that his training had concluded by that point and he had returned to Ciudad Real and married. However, he still would not have resided in the aforementioned house. There is nothing in the record to indicate that he lived with his mother after marrying; indeed, it appears that he spent only four years with her, between the ages of ten and fourteen. In spite of the brevity of their cohabitation, all of the prosecutorial testimony deals with her behavior and his presumed complicity.

The second witness, Marina de Coca, explains that "avra dies y seis años, poco mas o menos, que tuuo este testigo por vesino ocho años de pared y medio a Juan Gonçales de Santistevan e a su muger Juana" (about sixteen years ago, more or less, this witness had Juan Gonçales and his wife Juana as neighbors with only a partition wall between them for eight years).¹³ That is, she lived in proximity to Chinchilla's mother, stepfather and siblings from 1460 to 1468. The defendant was probably not present during the first years of observation and was likely only an occasional guest in later years. Moreover, this witness's elaborate gastronomic testimony was evidently given not against Chinchilla but rather his brother, whom she names twice.¹⁴ Tellingly, she describes her former neighbors as "Juan Gonçales de Santistevan e ... su muger Juana, madre de Gomes de Chinchilla" (Juan Gonçales of

¹¹ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 165.

¹² Beinart, ed., *Records*, 174.

¹³ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 174.

¹⁴ All testimony given to the Inquisition – whether as part of a confession during the Period of Grace or in the course of a trial – was filed away and brought out during any trial, even after decades had passed, in which it was deemed relevant. If the witness was still alive, she or he was asked to confirm the testimony. Consequently, testimony is frequently repeated verbatim in the files of various family members.

Santistevan and his wife Juana, mother of Gomes de Chinchilla).¹⁵ She only explicitly mentions the defendant once, when she says “guardaban el sabado ellos y sus hijos, et el vno se llama Juan de Chinchilla” (they observed the Sabbath, they and their children, one of whom is named Juan de Chinchilla).¹⁶ Nevertheless, Chinchilla fell victim to the impulse to purge the Catholic community of Jewish taint and thereby reconstitute the division between Christian and Jewish communities that had been blurred by mass conversion. On the basis of this paltry evidence, he was convicted and relaxed to the secular arm to be executed just three months after being summoned.

Naissance of the Marrano Community

Ninety years earlier, in June of 1391, an angry mob led by Archdeacon Ferrand Martínez sacked the Jewish quarter of Seville. They pillaged, raped and killed. They demanded that the Jews they captured choose between conversion and death. Within a week, they had done the same in Montoro, Andújar, Jaen, Ubeda and Baeza.¹⁷ By the end of the summer, copycat crowds laid waste to Jewish communities all over the peninsula: in Valencia, Gerona, Barcelona, Burgos, Ciudad Real and numerous other cities. In their wake, they left a new class of citizens – the Marranos. Although there had been myriad conversions to Christianity in the millennium or so that Jews had lived on the Iberian Peninsula, they were individual and sporadic – insufficient to constitute a community. Suddenly, at the end of the fourteenth century, thousands of people converted at once. Their numbers were further increased by Jews trying to escape the continued, erratic violence and harsh anti-Jewish legislation of the coming decades. The fifteenth century thus dawned on an Iberian Peninsula that, having been home to three religious communities for seven hundred years, suddenly housed a fourth perplexing faction: masses who had joined the Catholic church with scant knowledge of what their conversion entailed.¹⁸

¹⁵ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 174.

¹⁶ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 174.

¹⁷ David M. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 7.

¹⁸ David Nirenberg has argued that this group was not initially perplexing, but was rather celebrated as Christians and that the repudiation of converts later in the century constituted a radical shift in religious thinking. David Nirenberg, “Enmity and Assimilation: Jews, Christians, and Converts in Medieval Spain,” *Common Knowledge* 9:1 (2003): 137–55.

The motives for conversion were manifold: some Jews were physically forced to renounce their faith, others feared for their lives, a number converted for pragmatic reasons related to the increasingly burdensome regulations restricting Jewish social and economic activity on the peninsula, and still others lost faith in Judaism. Those whose conversions were prompted by terror, physical coercion or legal hardships often continued to practice Judaism clandestinely. Of those who had lost faith after years of suffering, many were unimpressed by their new lives as Christians and in time reverted to their former religion. Some, of course, found solace in their adopted faith and embraced it piously. People belonging to this religiously stratified group have been called many things over the years: *Conversos*, New Christians, Crypto-Jews, Judaizers, *Anussim*, *Meshumadim*, *Goyim Gemorim* and *Marranos*.

Most of these appellations make an explicit claim on the community's religious beliefs. However, equating faith with ethnicity is highly problematic, as is evident in the assertion of a fifteenth-century descendant of Jews that he was not a New Christian – having been called such derisively – but, rather, a Converso.¹⁹ While the two terms ostensibly mean the same thing, this speaker's assertion makes it clear that, for him at least, they did not. The difference he signals seems to be religious: that New Christian implies Christian (to everyone except, perhaps, an early modern Spaniard) is clear. Similarly, the title Crypto-Jew indicates that its bearer is fundamentally Jewish. The rather awkward noun, Judaizer, designates a person who participates in specific religious rituals. It seems not only inaccurate, but also inappropriate, to call third and fourth generation descendants of Jews who were born into Catholic families “converts”. Besides, claims like the one made by Gonçalo, the aforementioned non-New-Christian, also suggest that “Converso” conveyed an even stronger and more pointed presumption of underlying Judaism than, for instance, the often ironically deployed “New Christian”. *Anussim* – a Hebrew word that means “forced” – while certainly preferable to the terms created by their oppressors, elides both the Jews who voluntarily converted and those who were born into a religion, Christianity, that suited them. Jewish contemporaries dubbed those two groups *Meshumadim* – willing converts – and *Goyim Gemorim* – full gentiles.²⁰ Without denying Gonçalo his right to call himself *Converso* or challenging the appropriateness of any given term for specific individuals,

¹⁹ Moshe Lazar, “Scorched Parchments and Tortured Memories: The “Jewishness” of the Anussim (Crypto-Jews),” in *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 186.

²⁰ Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, lx.

I object to their use in labeling the community as a whole. There was no religious uniformity among the diverse defendants who were brought before inquisitorial tribunals at the turn of the sixteenth century. The use of any term that occludes the myriad attitudes displayed by defendants seems to me a needless repetition of the violence perpetrated on the group by the judges who deigned to declare religious identity both legible and final.

I instead employ the controversial term, Marrano, to describe members of a religiously heterogeneous community with shared dispositions.²¹ A number of possible etymologies for this term have been put forth, including contractions of at least three different Hebrew phrases, multiple Arabic terms and one Latin word; the imputed source words mean everything from hypocrite to apostate to swine.²² Contemporary Hispanists tend to eschew the word because of its derisive use in modern Spanish. The same is not true of historians; seminal works, by ideologically opposed scholars, embrace this moniker,²³ which Cecil Roth dubbed a “badge of honor”. The once-favored term is enjoying a resurgence of popularity among scholars interested in studying the cultural, rather than strictly religious, dynamics of

²¹ Norman Toby Simms defined Marranism as Judaism without God. Norman Toby Simms, *Masks in the Mirror: Marranism in Jewish Experience* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2005).

²² The Jewish Virtual Library offers the following possible etymologies: *marit ayin* (the appearance of the eye), referring to the fact that the *Marranos* were ostensibly Christian but actually Jews; *mohoram attah* (you are excommunicated); the Aramaic-Hebrew *Mar Anus* (forced convert); the Hebrew *mumar* (apostate) with the Spanish ending *ano*; the Arabic *mura'in* (hypocrite); and the second word of the ecclesiastical imprecation *anathema maranatha*. Yakov Malkiel argued seventy years ago that the modern Spanish word *marrano* is the product of a dual etymology: the Arabic term *barrano* or *albarrano* meaning ‘outsider, stranger, person not belonging to a community’ became *marrano* through a simple (common) substitution of initial consonants while the Latin word *verres* (wild boar) became first *barraco* then *barrano* then, as in the Arabic case, underwent an *m* for *b* substitution that resulted in *marrano*. Two homophones – meaning, respectively, outsider and swine – merged. They came together through a process of conflation, not figurative extension, that took place after the mass conversions following the 1391 pogroms, when one variant was already more than four hundred years old and the other had been circulating in Spanish for at least a century. The third meaning, ‘convert’, came about as the meeting ground for the two prior concepts. Whereas the Arabic *barrano* had been used to describe Jews, the Spanish *marrano* has only ever referred to Christians.

²³ Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia: Meridian Books, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959); Ben Zion Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain: From the Late 14th to the Early 16th Century* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1966).

the community. That its historical usage in Spain was frequently derogatory is clear, but the same is true of all of the terms coined to describe this persecuted community.

Américo Castro once described Spain as a civilization constituted through “una convivencia y un desgarro de tres clases, de tres castas de gentes –cristianos, moros, judíos” (the co-existence and rending apart of three classes, three castes of people – Christians, Moors, Jews).²⁴ The people along the seams – renegades, Moriscos, Mozarabs, Marranos – have suffered time and again in the periodic rendings that make space for Iberian communities to reconstitute and rearticulate themselves. Throughout the Middle Ages, conversion was generally accepted and often encouraged. However, the mass conversions of the fourteenth century complicated religious categories. Marranos lived in the same places, married within the same families and practiced many of the same professions post-conversion as they, or their forebears, had as Jews. Prejudice encouraged further cultural isolation, thereby enabling the perpetuation of a distinctive culture.²⁵ Marranos were then viewed as false converts because they assimilated imperfectly. David Nirenberg sees a first step toward modern race thinking in the conflation of assimilation and conversion; he argues that lineage replaced religious categories where the latter could no longer explain perceived differences,²⁶ at which point, Marranos acquired an assumed set of attributes. The traits associated with this polymorphous population were, of course, manifold and contradictory, but the most salient of them proved robust.

Legal and Literary Interpretations of the Marrano Diet

The Marranos’ perceived refusal to assimilate – whether spiritual, as the inquisitors claimed, or cultural – was manifest in their distinctive dietary habits, including their refusal to eat pork. Pig flesh was, of course, one of many *treif* foods avoided by both the religious practicants and the nonobservant heirs of Judeo-Spanish culinary traditions:²⁷ devout diners had to obey an extensive set of laws from the Torah and the Rabbinic and Talmudic traditions; moreover, the limitations imposed by *kashrut*, or

²⁴ Américo Castro, *De la edad conflictiva: El drama de la honra en España y en su literatura* (Madrid: Taurus, 1961), 13.

²⁵ Stephen Haliczer, introduction to *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble, 1987), 9.

²⁶ Nirenberg, “Enmity and Assimilation.”

²⁷ *Treif* is a Yiddish word used for any non-kosher food; its Hebrew root referred exclusively to damaged animals unfit for consumption.

Jewish food law, prompted the development of a distinct culinary culture. This, in turn, often outlasted its religious origins, since children who grew up eating Jewish dishes acquired gastronomic dispositions that differed from those of the Old Christian majority.

Literary evidence of food's ethnoreligious connotations abounds. Courtiers were often "outed" gastronomically in the post-conversion, pre-expulsion fifteenth century. In one poem, the guests at the "Wedding of Rodrigo Cota" were said to be served – in accordance with the stipulations of Deuteronomy and Leviticus – neither "the meat of furry animals nor fish without scales".²⁸ Instead, they dined on "lots of eggplant and Swiss chard seasoned with saffron".²⁹ Unlike the ingredients of the previous line, which were avoided as a matter of law, these foods are culturally inflected. Nevertheless, they mark diners as Jewish.³⁰ Food, whether ritually significant or not, had long served to foment community among neighbors who broke bread together and thus provided ready fodder for poetic jest.³¹ Francisco Márquez Villanueva has noted the status of eggplant as favored leitmotif among Converso *jongleurs* engaged in the rap-battle-esque poetic competitions of the fifteenth-century Spanish courts.³² Indeed, eggplant's association with Judaism was strong enough to endure, along with pork, well into the seventeenth century, when Francisco de Quevedo chose to conclude "*A una nariz*" (To a Nose), by morphing the nose – which had already passed through such diverse incarnations as bearded swordfish (which is *treif*), Egyptian pyramid, ram of a galley and twelve tribes of noses – into a "sabañón garrafal, morado y frito" (an enormous chilblain, purple and fried): a monstrous nose deformed by disease to resemble an eggplant.³³ Swiss chard was mentioned frequently in early Castilian poetry, when there were still Jews in Iberia.³⁴ While abstention from forbidden foods was

²⁸ Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 534.

²⁹ Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 534.

³⁰ Because a vegetarian diet is *a priori* kosher, assuming that cooks remove the insects from their food, Crypto-Jews ate abnormally vegetable-heavy meals. Also, both eggplant and Swiss chard were considered typically Jewish foods. Saffron was considered primarily Muslim, but was heavily used by all (wealthy) Andalusians.

³¹ Madera Gabriela Allan, "An Elusive Minimal Pair: Taste and Caste in Inquisitorial La Mancha," *eHumanista* 25 (2013): 94–106.

³² Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Jewish 'Fools' of the Spanish Fifteenth Century," *Hispanic Review* 50:4 (1982): 394.

³³ Francisco de Quevedo, *Antología poética* (Madrid: Austral, 1943), 56.

³⁴ Swiss chard is less prevalent, but hardly unheard of as shorthand for Crypto-Judaism in court poetry. It is one of the seven staples of the Rosh Hashanah meal, included as a symbol of Jewish autonomy because the green's Hebrew name resembled the word *yikrot*, meaning to 'cut off' our enemies (Boorstin). This ritual

potentially a sign of covert religious practice, consumption of these foods was a matter of cultural practice. Nevertheless, eggplant's ability to signify was equal to the *treif* ingredients invoked in the poem. The similarity in treatment of the unlike foods is evidence of the conflation of practice and custom in the period, insofar as it shows that poets were trying to "out" each other ethnically rather than necessarily religiously. Nevertheless, the inquisitors tasked with distinguishing between pious Catholics of Jewish descent and Judaizing false converts relied on food to do so.

The title Marrano – meaning both “person not absorbed into a community” and one who exhibits a certain taste – fits many late Medieval Spanish citizens who avoided absorption into the nascent community by maintaining cultural culinary distinction. Indeed, many Marranos used food tactically to resist assimilation. When the church strategically imposed a sanctioned diet, Marrano diners used foods in innovative ways that conformed to the letter of the law, while subverting the spirit of assimilation. Over time, strict culinary autonomy gave way to syncretic practices. In Brazil, New Christians continued to remove the fat, veins and sinews from meat, including pork.³⁵ As late as the 1960s, an anthropologist interviewing a cab driver in Palma discovered that the Xuetas – the “little porkchops” or Mallorcan Marranos – engaged in peculiar dietary praxes.³⁶ For instance:

In the seven or eight weeks before Easter when Mallorcans eat sobrasada [a delicacy made of pork], the Xuetas also follow this custom, but they will not eat it on Fridays. It is the custom of Mallorca for each family to kill a pig sometime between November and February, and to hang it outside their door. The Xuetas do this too. They eat pork, but they do not eat it on Fridays... especially the Friday before Easter.³⁷

On an island, whose populace is widely assumed to be entirely of Jewish descent, the Xuetas' hybrid dietary rituals are conspicuous. Nevertheless, they are fundamentally Christian: both the consumption (of a *treif* food) and the abstinence (on non-meat days) are Catholic.

Naturally, some of the converted were explicit and intentional in their disavowal of Catholicism. For example, a community of Judaizers in Ciudad Real created elaborate social networks to facilitate the acquisition, preparation and consumption of kosher foods after the city no longer housed

use of chard was likely unknown to the many Old Christian and Catholic Marrano court poets whose associations were principally cultural.

³⁵ Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 548.

³⁶ Kenneth Moore, *Those of the Street: The Catholic-Jews of Mallorca* (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 7–8.

³⁷ Moore, *Those of the Street*, 7–8.

an integral Jewish population.³⁸ For them, strict adherence to *kashrut* was a physical expression of their faith.

For other Marranos, a Jewish palate was little more than a manifestation of the *habitus*.³⁹ Inquisition testimony is rife with such arguments. Defense witnesses in Juan González Pintado's trial testified that he ate "*de todas viandas*" (all foods), including bacon, and "*todas las cosas que devi[a] comer, como verdadero christiano*" (everything that he ought to eat as a true Christian).⁴⁰ González Pintado swore that he ate:

all meats, domesticated as well as wild, rabbits, bacon, dried meat, hares, partridges, whether dead or alive,⁴¹ and other birds of whatever breed they happened to be, and all fish, eel, lampreys, shrimp, snapper shark, octopus and crab [prepared] for me with my servants and family members, eating together with them at one table all my life whenever I had them, not distinguishing the fish [and] meat that the Jews and those who keep their law do not eat and are not in the habit of eating.⁴²

However, he also admitted that "*mandaua a sus criados e criadas que lauasen la carne que se traya de las dichas carneçerias porque venia ensangrentada e susia... non a fin ni cabsa de judaysar, saluo de la mandar lauar*" (he ordered his male and female servants to wash the meat that was bought from the butcher shops because it came bloody and dirty... with no intention to Judaize, but just to have it cleaned).⁴³ In other words, he ate *treif* foods that were sometimes prepared in a typically Jewish fashion – whereas Old Christians ate their meat bloody, Jews soaked it. González Pintado's taste for well washed meat evinces a Jewish *habitus* that was not overcome in decades of dining with monarchs, courtiers and servants.

³⁸ Allan, "An Elusive Minimal Pair," 99.

³⁹ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 104–5, 107.

⁴⁰ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 104–5, 107.

⁴¹ Judaizers bought live birds so that they could slaughter them properly.

⁴² Beinart, ed., *Records*, 104–5, 107: "*de todas carnes, asy frescas como de montes, conejos, toçino, tasajos, liebres, perdises, quier que fuesen muertas o biuas, e otras aves de qualesquier otras raleas que fuesen, e de todos pescados, anguila, lanpreas, camarones, tollo e pulpo e congrio para mi con mis syruientes <e> familiares, comiendo con ellos junto en vna mesa toda mi vida el tiempo que los toue, non diferenciando los pescados, carnes, que los judios e los que guardan su ley non comen ni acostumbran comer.*"

⁴³ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 101.

While González Pintado's particular dispositions appear not to have barred social intercourse, differences in taste often do.⁴⁴ A century after the Ciudad Real trials, Mateo Alemán, author of the first full-fledged picaresque novel and possible descendant of a convicted and executed Judaizer, burlesqued this phenomenon brilliantly. Upon leaving home, Guzmán de Alfarache, the novel's titular protagonist, confronts repeated dietary barriers to participation in Castilian society. Nina Cox Davis reads his culinary *desengaño* as synechdoche for his linguistic development,⁴⁵ showing how he learns to manipulate the world by controlling foodstuffs. I prefer to think of his process of gustatory acculturation as just that: a quest to cultivate a Spanish palate. As the illegitimate son of a Genoese merchant (a contemporary euphemism for Marrano) who had temporarily converted to Islam, Guzmán was "criado en regalo" (raised in luxury).⁴⁶ The first few days of his picaresque adventure, which happens to commence on the Sabbath, are marked by culinary misfortune. Free to roam the Spanish countryside, Guzmán almost starves: he goes hungry on Friday evening because he is unable to find food on a dark and odourless (because it is meatless) night; Saturday's lunch remains in his stomach only briefly and dinner is a social and gastronomic failure. He struggles to share meals with men like the Muleteer, who "nació entre salvajes, de padres brutos, y lo paladearon con un diente de ajo; y la gente rústica, grosera (no tocando a su bondad y limpieza) en materia de gusto pocas veces distingue lo malo de lo bueno" (was born among savages, of brutish parents, who formed his palate with a clove of garlic; and the rustic, crass [not touching on their goodness and clean blood] in matters of taste can rarely distinguish the bad from the good).⁴⁷ He has to find a way to socialize – to share the world and the table – with his brutish *clean*-blooded compatriots.

When Guzmán shares his qualms about a meal, his Old Christians companions dismiss his complaints as an expression of his privileged *habitus*, teasing that "este gentil hombre se ha criado con rosquillas de alfajor y huevos frescos" (this gentleman has been raised with almond cookies and fresh eggs).⁴⁸ The ostensibly class-based difference that they invoke is ethnically-inflected: *alfajores* were popular among both Marranos

⁴⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1987).

⁴⁵ Nina Cox Davis, "Indigestion and Edification in the Guzmán de Alfarache," *Modern Language Notes: Hispanic Issue* 104:2 (1989): 304–14.

⁴⁶ Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, ed. Emiliano Escolar (Madrid: Cultura clásica, 1977), 74.

⁴⁷ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 74

⁴⁸ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 78.

and Moriscos;⁴⁹ and while most peasants presumably ate their eggs fresh, Judaizers, and descendants of Judaizers with vestigial habits, carefully examined each egg and discarded the less than perfect.⁵⁰ Before modern chemistry obviated the need for roosters in the hen house, and thereby facilitated the production of sterile eggs, kosher diners had to inspect each egg for blood spots that could indicate embryonic development. Any blemished eggs were thrown away, which was likely considered profligate in a country riddled by food scarcity. Given that, the deprecatory reference to “fresh eggs”, made by an innkeeper who adamantly insists on the freshness of his own ingredients, reads like a veiled reference to Guzmán’s legible ethnic identity. It is worth noting that everyone recognizes the protagonist as Marrano, including the priest who blames Guzmán’s thirst for vengeance on his new blood within moments of meeting him.⁵¹

The eggs that Guzmán refuses are served in the most non-kosher fashion possible, scrambled with mule brains and fried in butter. He cannot bring himself to eat them because they remind him of lunch. Earlier that afternoon, he had happened upon an innkeeper eager to take advantage of his artlessness by serving Guzmán bread so bad he could barely swallow it and eggs that had begun to develop into chickens. Guzmán notes that “el gusto... no era como el de los otros huevos que solía comer en casa de mi madre” (the flavour... was not like that of the eggs that I was used to eating in my mother’s house), but eats them nonetheless.⁵² Haggard and ravenous, he gobbles them up, “como el puerco la bellota, todo a hecho, aunque verdaderamente sentía crujir entre los dientes los tiernecitos huesos de los sin ventura pollos, que era como hacerme cosquillas en las encías” (like a pig does acorns, even though I felt the delicate bones of the unlucky chicks crunching between my teeth, as if tickling my gums).⁵³ Unlike the black bread that he chokes down, he does not find the experience of eating the embryonic chicks altogether unpleasant. Rather, he embraces the novelty, describing the sensation both as “tickling” and as “tañerme castañetas los huevos en la boca” (the eggs playing castanets in my mouth); the folk music metaphor underscores the fundamentally Spanish nature of his culinary escapade.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Gitlitz lists alfajores among the foods used as evidence of Judaizing in Inquisitorial trials; Covarrubias calls them “Moorish” cookies.

⁵⁰ Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 550.

⁵¹ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 65.

⁵² Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 58.

⁵³ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 57.

⁵⁴ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 60.

Guzmán's tenor changes when he grows ill, poisoned by the spoiled eggs. Shortly after leaving the city, "como a mujer preñada, me iban y venían erupciones del estómago a la boca, hasta que de todo punto no me quedó cosa en el cuerpo, y aun el día de hoy me parece que siento los pobrecitos pollos piándome acá dentro" (like a pregnant woman, eruptions from my stomach to my mouth came and went, until there was nothing left in my body, and still today it seems like I can feel the poor chicks chirping inside me).⁵⁵ His physical reaction to the bad eggs is like Don Quixote's to Fierabrás' balsam – incapable of digesting them, he expels everything from his stomach.⁵⁶ In the knight's case, his relative refinement prevents him from digesting his own ill-designed potion, saving him from the violent malady that afflicts his proudly Old Christian squire, whose rustic gut holds onto the balsam long enough for it to poison him.⁵⁷ In the picaro's, class and ethnicity fuse. The focus on the partially formed chicks signals that this is neither simple food poisoning nor a class-based aversion to street food. There is no reason that eating embryonic chicks would necessarily make Guzmán ill; they are a delicacy in much of Asia and were likely consumed frequently when eggs were regularly fertilized. However, they are forbidden to Jews. Thus, this obviously impious New Christian is hampered by a palate that prevents him from sharing a meal with his companion.

The point is driven home later that evening. When he and the Muleteer are served a brain omelet, more than simple fussiness keeps Guzmán from eating: "Pusiéronse los huevos y sesos en la mesa, y cuando vio la tortilla mi arriero, dióse a reír cual solía con toda la boca; yo me amohiné" (The eggs and brains were set on the table, and when my muleteer saw the omelet, he started to laugh whole-heartedly like he tended to; I got annoyed).⁵⁸ The word play is ingenious: Guzmán, in admitting his frustration over the Muleteer's mirth, says that he "se a-mohinó" (got annoyed, but also turned himself into a mule). This pun comes a mere two pages after the narrator described a foetal mule in terms evocative of anti-miscegenation discourses, going so far as to claim that "es inviolable ley en el Andalucía no permitir junta ni mezcla semejante, y para ello tienen establecidas gravísimas penas" (It is an inviolable law in Andalusia that no such union or mixture is permitted, and for this they have established severe punishments).⁵⁹ The illicit union of a horse and donkey reads like a clear analogy for the illegal

⁵⁵ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 61.

⁵⁶ Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: Planeta, 2002), 166–7.

⁵⁷ Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 168–70.

⁵⁸ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 74.

⁵⁹ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 72.

joining of New and Old blood to produce offspring like Guzmán whose suddenly awakened Marranism keeps him from enjoying a meal with his Old Christian companion.

It is clear in literary works like this one, as in much inquisitorial testimony, that the dispositions that identified Judaizers were not unique to the devout. Nevertheless, inquisitorial operations legally reinforced food's widely accepted status as legible sign of religious distinction. However, the physical and social reality of Marrano life during the second half of the fifteenth century meant that diet was not necessarily a reliable indicator of faith. Many of the dishes considered typically Jewish during the late medieval and early modern periods – including *alfajores*, eggplant, *albondigas*, beef *empanadas*, radishes, stuffed peppers and eggs cooked with onions – are now regarded as quintessentially Spanish, which constitutes indisputable evidence of Iberian culinary *convivencia*.⁶⁰ Conversely, Spain's enduring obsession with pork is the product of a long-term policy of differentiating and persecuting religious groups on the basis of diet; by now, it is something of a commonplace that Spaniards came to love ham because its ingestion violated both Jewish and Muslim law and therefore served as a show of Christianity. The first situation attests to the prevalence of cultural transmission, even across heavily policed ethnoreligious cultural borders. The second, seemingly contradictory, custom is a testament to the power of religion and the state to strategically intervene in the *habitus*.

The Marrano Diet on Trial: Juan de Chinchilla before the Inquisition

In the 1480s, Judaism was still permitted in Spain – not, however, in Ciudad Real or myriad other towns throughout Castile and Andalusia, where baptism had left most of the population vulnerable to ecclesiastic authority. Anyone participating in a Jewish ritual in the city was either an itinerant Jew (illegally) promoting apostasy or themselves an apostate. However, when eating family dinner constitutes participation in a ritual, the lines of demarcation are necessarily murky. Some contemporaries recognized that the Jewish practices of the Marranos were a matter of culture rather than faith. In a letter to the Archbishop of Toledo, Queen Isabel's secretary, Hernando del Pulgar, wrote: "In Andalusia there are at least 10,000 young women who have never left their parents' home. They observe the way of their fathers and learn from them".⁶¹ In lieu of instruction, the crown offered

⁶⁰ Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 550.

⁶¹ Quoted in Beinart, *Conversos on Trial*, 38.

publicly proclaimed lists of heresies that converts might unknowingly commit. Upon arrival in a new locale, the inquisitors published Edicts of Grace, which enumerated heretical practices and announced a set period during which sinners could confess their participation in the proscribed activities, repent and be reconciled to the Church. The following excerpt is taken from a modern day cookbook based on Inquisition testimony. It explains that Crypto-Jews:

[keep]... the Sabbaths... [by] cooking on the said Friday such food as is required for the Saturdays and on the latter eating the meat thus cooked on Fridays as is the manner of the Jews;... cleansing or causing meat to be cleansed, cutting away from it all fat or grease and cutting away the nerve or sinew from the leg;... not eating pork, hare, rabbit, strangled birds, conger-eel, cuttle-fish, nor eels or other scaleless fish, as laid down in the Jewish law; and upon the death of parents... eating... such things as boiled eggs, olives and other viands... who have porged or deveined the meat they are preparing to eat, soaking it in water to remove the blood, or who have removed the sciatic vein from a leg of mutton or from any other animal... Or who have eaten meat during lent or on other days forbidden by the Holy Mother Church, without needing to do so... Or who celebrate the Festival of unleavened bread, beginning by eating lettuce, celery or other bitter herbs on those days.⁶²

This list of Jewish eating practices was highly effective at motivating testimony. In fact, it prompted Chinchilla to confess during the period of grace. Unfortunately, he was turned away by busy inquisitors who asked that he return at a later date. His failure to do so likely accounts for his prosecution on the basis of scant evidence. Had he not appeared, he likely would have escaped notice. However, by trying and failing to confess he effectively alerted the inquisitors to his transgressions without enjoying the opportunity for absolution.

Ultimately, Chinchilla confessed, probably under duress, to a litany of transgressions. He had lit candles on Friday night, worn clean clothes on Saturday, eaten Sabbath stews prepared with proper ceremony, fasted for Yom Kippur twice, and once in observance of another unnamed Jewish holiday and eaten Jewish foods on the floor during a funeral.⁶³ He explained that:

⁶² David M. Gitlitz and Linda K. Davidson, *A Drizzle of Honey: The Lives and Recipes of Spain's Secret Jews* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 4.

⁶³ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 176–7.

Living with his stepfather and mother, he said that he saw Sancha Gonsales, his mother, light clean candles on Friday night and cook the meal for Saturday... and likewise all of those in her house kept the Sabbath and ate the stew from Friday.⁶⁴

He later specified that all of his siblings took part in their parents' heretical practices and confirmed the testimony regarding his brother's observance. His own actions seem peripheral to the account, although his lawyer admitted that "este testigo comio dello" (this witness ate of it).⁶⁵ Most of his account of the four years of family life that he enjoyed in Ciudad Real is devoted to describing Judaizing activities that he witnessed without taking part in them. The funerary rituals that he engaged in were as much a matter of custom as religion and his participation in them was dictated by social convention. He observed Yom Kippur twice – once to mollify his in-laws soon after his wedding and once at his mother's behest. He also might have fasted with an acquaintance whose house he visited on his way home from the war.

After fighting near the Portuguese border, Chinchilla met his wife in Seville, where they stayed with a cobbler named Alonso. When they arrived, he spied his host and some neighbors praying. Upon discovery, the Judaizing *zapatero*:

told me that it was a day of fasting, that I ought to fast and then come back to have dinner and that pleased me, I went to a tavern to eat and ate, then I returned that night to eat dinner with them and they [fed] me well.⁶⁶

In other words, he pretended to participate in a Jewish ritual. In this anecdote, Chinchilla breaks bread with both of the communities that the inquisitors sought to demarcate. He employed a similar ruse with his wife's family:

As for the charge that I fasted on Jewish holidays, it is true that I was very poor, to the point that I did not own a shirt or shoes, and two of my wife's relatives, who were called Garçia Barvas, and Juan Daray, told me that if I

⁶⁴ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 175: "Estando con el dicho su padraastro e con su madre, dixo que vido a Sancha Gonsales, su madre, que eņçendia candiles limpios el biernes en la noche e guisaba el comer para el sabado... e asy mismo todos los de su casa guardaban el sabado e comian el guisado del viernes."

⁶⁵ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 175.

⁶⁶ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 168: "dixome que era dia de ayuno, que ayunase e que me viniese alli a çenar e que me plasia, y fueme a vna terna a comer e comi, pues vine a la noche a çenar con ellos e dieronme bien a []."

kept God's Law they would return my wife, whom they had taken; and I told them that I wanted to. They later gave me a shirt and shoes and asked that I fast that day; I said that I would be pleased to do so and then went to a vineyard and filled up on grapes. And when I returned that night, they asked me if I had fasted; I said yes and they embraced me and kissed me; but this is how I saved myself, I did not actually fast.⁶⁷

Without modern diacritics, there are several viable readings of *salve*—“this is how I saved myself (*salvé*)”, “this is how I hope to save myself (*salve*)”, “God save me (*salve*).” Of course, none of those glosses proved true – Chinchilla’s clever story, designed to exhibit his unwavering Catholicism, inadvertently confirmed all of the inquisitors’ suspicions about Jewish culinary culture and thus condemned him.

Chinchilla’s infelicitous anecdote confirms that proselytizing Judaizers pressured New Christians into returning to their ancestral religion. In that, it resonates with later testimony given by Estevan de Ares de Fonseca, a Portuguese Marrano, who moved among Crypto-Jewish communities in Lisbon, Madrid, Seville, Bayonne, Amsterdam Liorno, Venice, Trapanca, Salonica, Turkey and Rouen. Throughout his travels, he tried to maintain a Catholic lifestyle, but was constantly thwarted by friends and associates who were eager for him to embrace his ancestral religion and were willing to use material advantage – promising, for instance that they “le darian con que pudiese pasar” (would give him enough to get by) to hasten his doing so.⁶⁸ It also affirms the meaningfulness of eating – or abstaining – as a communal act. Perhaps most significantly, it shows that Marranos are deceitful. Chinchilla claims that, contrary to the prevailing view of Marranos as practicing Jews who simulate Christianity, he is a pious Christian who successfully faked Judaism.

Another religiously ambiguous minority born in Granada just a few years after Chinchilla was burned at the stake made a similar claim. In his book, *The History and Description of Africa*, Johannes Leo Africanus recounts the parable of Amphibia, a bird who, when asked to pay taxes by

⁶⁷ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 167: “A lo que dise que ayune ayunos de judios, pasa en verdad que yo estando muy pobre, que no tenia camisa ni çapatos, dos parientes de mi muger, que al vno desian Garçia Barvas, e Juan Daray, me dixeran que si guardase la Ley de Dios, que me darian mi muger que la avian quitado; e yo les dixi que si queria. Dieronme luego vn camison y vnos çapatos, e que ayunase aquel dia; yo dixi que me plasia, e fueme a las viñas aquel dia e alla como e me farte de vid. Y quando vine a la noche, preguntarme si avia ayu[nado]; yo dixi que si, y abraçaronme y besaronme; pero asi me salue, que lo no ayune.”

⁶⁸ David Gitlitz, “Inquisition Confessions and Lazarillo de Tormes,” *Hispanic Review* 68:1 (2000): 68–9.

the king of birds, decides to live with the fish. The bird remains under water until the king of the fish levies taxes, at which point he returns to the birds.⁶⁹ The Morisco author living at Pope Leo X's court confesses himself like Amphibia, both African and Granadan, a sentiment often read as a confession that he is Crypto-Muslim.⁷⁰ A more nuanced, or perhaps just more literal reading, recognizes the indeterminacy in the author's assertion: a bird who can live with the fish, after all, is not really a bird. Amphibia does not fully belong to either of the communities that he inhabits. A strikingly similar metaphor appears in the late fifteenth-century anti-Marrano polemical pamphlet, "Libro llamado del Alboraique", in which the author calls Marranos hypocrites who claim to be Jews when with Jews, but Christians in the company of Christians. He says that Marranos are like bats, neither birds nor animals, who "dizen a los animales: como vos somos, ca dientes tenemos;... dizen a las aves: como vos somos y alas tenemos para volar al cielo" (they say to the beasts: we are like you, because we have teeth; ... they say to the birds: we are like you and have wings to fly to heaven).⁷¹ Like Amphibia, the ambiguous bat upsets the neat categories of birds and beasts – heavenly and mundane – that separate creatures.

Chinchilla claims that he misled both his wife's family and the friends who, on his way home from the war, invited him to break fast with them. The amphibious tailor presents himself to the inquisitors as a Christian who has occasionally submerged himself in Jewish waters in order to reap material benefit. In his trial, the trickster who "saved himself" (or hoped to save himself or prayed that God might save him) by not actually fasting pretends to prove his Christianity by observing Catholic fasts. Of the eight questions that he writes for the defence witnesses – one of which is the ubiquitous "do you know me?" – two include information about his dietary habits. In one, he asks his acquaintances to affirm that his poverty was such that he ate whatever and whenever he could, including on the Jewish Sabbath. The other calls for them to confirm that he celebrated holidays like a faithful Christian and "ayune los ayunos que ayunan aquellos" (fasted the fasts that they fast).⁷² The question, in this context, would be humorous had the irony not proven fatal. Even though two witnesses affirm that he fasted, the defendant has already proven himself capable of convincing people that he has fasted without actually doing so and thereby undermined their

⁶⁹ Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. John Pory, ed. Robert Brown (New York: B. Franklin, 1963), 189.

⁷⁰ Africanus, *The History*, 190.

⁷¹ David M. Gitlitz, "Hybrid Conversos in the "Libro llamado el Alboraique,"" *Hispanic Review* 60:1 (1992): 8.

⁷² Gitlitz, "Hybrid Conversos," 8.

sympathetic testimony. Juan de Medina, an Old Christian resident of Ciudad Real who had lived in Chinchilla's house before his arrest, testified that the defendant ate whatever he could on Saturdays, including foods prepared that day, and that he observed the Catholic Sabbath and kept Christian fasts dutifully.⁷³ Diego Gallego likewise affirmed that in the approximately four months that he had known him, Chinchilla had fasted and attended church regularly. Antón de Córdoba said that he cooked and ate on Saturdays. Fish and bird, bat and beast, Chinchilla fasted with both his mother (a Judaizer) and Diego Gallego (an Old Christian).

Conclusions

The Spanish Inquisition was created to purge the newly united realms of Castile and Aragon so that they might return to an imagined state of religious purity. In order to do so, inquisitors first had to disarticulate an intertwined community, identifying and extricating heretics. They created a false dichotomy – Christian and Judaizer – that has resounded in literature and scholarship for centuries. Yet attentive readings of trial testimony reveal a complicated portrait of religious heterogeneity, collaboration and intersecting foodways. That picture is particularly rich for including commonly overlooked figures, like Chinchilla, who resist not only the inquisitors' facile religious characterization, but also class expectations. As a needy and hungry tailor, Chinchilla's relationship to the Ciudad Real community differed from that of his more affluent neighbors. For him, like innumerable others lost to history, orthodoxy was a luxury beyond his reach. He ate whatever, whenever and with whomever he could. His testimony productively muddles the tidy image promoted by inquisitors and replicated in literature.

⁷³ Beinart, ed., *Records*, 171–2.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Susan L. Aguilar is Adjunct Assistant Professor at the American River College. She received her doctorate in Jewish History and Culture from the Graduate Theological Union in 2019. Her primary research areas are the social history and cultural production of Jews in medieval Iberia.

Leticia Agúndez San Miguel is Senior Lecturer at the University of Cantabria. Her main lines of research are the social history of written culture, charters and cartularies, monastic institutional memory, and Spanish and Portuguese monasteries. For her research she has been awarded the tenth *Medievalismo* award of the *Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales* (Spanish Society for Medieval Studies). She recently published the book *La memoria escrita en el monasterio de Sahagún (904–1300)* (Madrid: CSIC, 2019).

Madera Allan is Associate Professor of Spanish at Lawrence University. Her research interests cover Medieval and early modern Spanish and Latin American cultural production, including theater, literary theory and ethics.

Kim Bergqvist is a doctoral candidate and instructor in medieval history in the Department of History at Stockholm University, Sweden. He is completing a dissertation on aristocratic insurrections, resistance, and political values in Castile-León and Sweden in the period *c.* 1250–1370. Bergqvist teaches Viking Age and medieval history at DIS Stockholm. His research has appeared in journals such as *Collegium Medievale* and *The Medieval Chronicle*, and in edited collections published by Palgrave Macmillan and Routledge.

Adriano Duque is Associate Professor in the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures at Villanova University. He has published articles on Christian-Muslim relations in the Middle Ages, medieval gardens, and African vernacular traditions in classical and late medieval authors.

Rodrigo Furtado is Associate Professor at the School of Arts and Humanities - University of Lisbon, Portugal. He has studied Isidore of Seville's *Histories* and its circulation and has published several papers on the Medieval Spanish codices transmitting historical texts (in SISMEL,

Brepols, Brill). He is now preparing the critical edition of Isidore's *Historiae* for the *Corpus Christianorum* series (w/ Isabel Vélazquez Soriano). Since 2013 he has also been a member of SISMEL. In 2016 he was Resident Investigator at the Casa de Velázquez-Madrid. Currently, he is Director of the Center for Classical Studies – University of Lisbon.

Francisco García-Serrano Nebras earned his PhD at the University of California, Berkeley. He is a professor of History and Director of Ibero-American Studies at Saint Louis University, Madrid Campus. His research focuses on the influence of the Mendicant Orders in Iberia and on religious identity and interfaith relations. He has published *Preachers of the City. The Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile, 1217–1348* (University Press of the South, 1997), and edited the volume, *The Friars and Their Influence in Medieval Spain* (Amsterdam University Press, 2018). His current project analyzes the expansion of Iberian friars in Asia.

Herbert González Zymła is Doctor in Art History since 2011. He is Professor in the Department of Art History at the Complutense University of Madrid, and academic in Ávila by the Royal Academy of History. His main research lines are: the cistercians in the Crown of Aragon; iconography of macabre themes in medieval art; the ducal house of Alba and its palace castles in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Susana Guijarro (Ph.D. in History, 1992), Visiting Scholar at University of Michigan (1993–1995), is currently Associate Professor of Medieval History at the University of Cantabria (Spain). Her main fields of research have focused on education, learning, cathedral clergy and religious practices in Medieval Spain. Current research Project: *Culture, Power and Social Networks in the Late Medieval Castile: The Clergy of the Cathedral and Diocese of Burgos*. Among her publications are *Maestros, escuelas y libros. El universo cultural de las catedrales en la Castilla Medieval* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2004); “The Monastic Ideal of Discipline and the Making of Clerical Rules in Late Medieval Castile,” *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 2 (2013); and more recently “Power, Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform in Late Medieval Castile: The Bishop of Burgos, Luis de Acuña (1456–1495)” in S. Thomas (ed.), *Bishops' Identities, Careers and Networks* (Brepols, forthcoming).

Kurt Villads Jensen is Professor of Medieval History and Director of the Centre for Medieval Studies at Stockholm University. He has worked on both ideological and practical aspects of Iberian and Baltic Crusades. His

interests also include medieval military history; mission to Jews, Muslims, and Mongols; the Christianization of Scandinavia; medieval theology, and Church history in general.

Anthony John Lappin (D.Phil. Oxon.) was previously research professor at Maynooth University, Ireland. He has published widely on the Iberian Middle Ages and Golden Age, and is currently preparing his edition of the *Alchoran latinus* (Rome: Aracne).

María Marcos Cobaleda is Doctor in Art History from the University of Granada (2010, Extraordinary Doctorate Award). She was granted the prestigious Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowship (MSCA-H2020) to develop the *ArtMedGIS* Project (2016–2018). Currently, she is Assistant Professor at the University of Málaga (Spain). Her research is focused on the application of the Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to the research in medieval Islamic art and architecture.

David Navarro is an Associate Professor of Spanish at Texas State University, San Marcos. His research field includes Thirteenth-Century Jewish-Christian relations; Biblical Exegesis; Sephardic Diaspora and Medieval Jurisprudence. He has published in various edited book volumes and journals such as *Corónica*, *eHumanista*, *Cahiers d'Études Hispaniques Médiévales*, *Mirabilia* and *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*.

Francisco Peña Fernández is Associate Professor at the University of British Columbia, Canada. His areas of research are Literary Studies, Biblical Studies, Religious Studies, and History of Ideas. He is the Principal Investigator of the International Research Project: “Confluence of Religious Cultures in Medieval Historiography: A Digital Humanities Project” financed by the SSHRC.

David Peterson is Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at Burgos University. His research interests focus on the Early Medieval period in Castile and neighbouring regions, with emphasis on onomastics and their historical implications. He was responsible for the digital edition of the Becerro Galicano of San Millán (<http://www.ehu.es/galicano/?l=en>).

Tiago João Queimada e Silva holds a Master's degree in History of the Middle Ages from the University of Coimbra (Portugal) and is currently working on a doctoral dissertation at the University of Turku (Finland) dealing with representations of Christian-Muslim interaction in medieval

Portuguese historiography. His research interests revolve mainly around the uses of history for political legitimation, particularly uses of depictions of past interaction with Muslims for the legitimation of royal and aristocratic rule in late-medieval Portugal.

Harald Endre Tafjord is Associate Professor of medieval history at Volda University College, Norway. He received his PhD from the University of Oslo with the thesis *Conflict, Friends and Ideology: Aspects of Political Culture in Early Twelfth Century Castile-Leon* (2013). Tafjord's research is influenced by a legal anthropological approach to medieval society and has in particular focused on medieval chronicles as an important source for understanding medieval political culture.