Medieval Iberia
An Encyclopedia

Edited by
E. Michael Gerli
First published in 2003, *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, is the first comprehensive reference to the vital world of medieval Spain. This unique volume focuses on the Iberian kingdoms from the fall of the Roman Empire to the aftermath of the Reconquista and encompasses topics of key relevance to medieval Iberia, including people, events, works, and institutions, as well as interdisciplinary coverage of literature, language, history, arts, folklore, religion, and science. It also provides in-depth discussions of the rich contributions of Muslim and Jewish cultures, and offers useful insights into their interactions with Catholic Spain.

With nearly 1,000 signed A-Z entries and written by renowned specialists in the field, this comprehensive work is an invaluable tool for students, scholars, and general readers alike.
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E. Michael Gerli
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Introduction

Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia is conceived as a single-volume, English-language reference work for scholars, students, and the general public seeking reliable information on subjects concerning the Iberian Peninsula, the geographic area comprised by present-day Spain and Portugal, from the period from approximately 470 to 1500. It consists of over eight hundred alphabetically arranged entries that deal with persons, events, works, institutions, and topics that have a particular relevance to all of medieval Iberia—Muslim, Jewish, and Christian alike. Ranging in length from 250 to 3,000 words, the articles that comprise the book are written by expert contributors, and seek to provide a basic orientation on the various subjects for ready reference. In addition, each entry supplies a selected bibliography of between two and ten items, whenever possible mostly in English. The scope of the work is broad but not comprehensive, with an emphasis on history, literature, language, religion, science, folklore, and the arts, including selected Jewish and Muslim topics. To complement its content and facilitate its use, the book offers a comprehensive index.

Given its broad, multidisciplinary sweep, Medieval Iberia is directed at a diverse readership and provides a wide variety of information on a great number of subjects. Literary scholars, for example, will be able to readily consult dates and events of historical importance, while historians will be able to clarify questions dealing with literature. Similarly, someone seeking information on folklore—for example, the Sephardic ballad tradition—may consult an authoritative entry on the latter providing a basic orientation and a selected list of readings that will serve as an introduction to the topic. The undergraduate wishing to write a research paper on scientific, philosophical, and literary translations completed in medieval Iberia, as well as the grade school teacher in need of basic facts about Prince Henry the Navigator and the Portuguese voyages of discovery, will also find this encyclopedia useful. In short, though the majority of its users will doubtless consist of individuals with some prior knowledge of medieval Iberia, and though its principal purpose is to facilitate scholarly access to information not readily available in standard reference sources on the Middle Ages, this volume will also be consulted by members of the general public who simply wish to obtain a succinct summary of a subject along with basic facts about it. On the one hand, then, Medieval Iberia serves as a reference tool for scholars seeking to undertake advanced research in areas of the humanities with which they are unfamiliar; on the other, it functions as a medium for the dissemination of knowledge about medieval Iberian culture and civilization throughout the English-speaking world.

Several criteria govern the scope and the determination of the entries:

1. Entries are generally restricted to the years 470–1500. Hence, Bartolome de Torres Naharro, whose major literary work was published in 1517, is not included, while Juan del Encina, who completed his first opus in 1493, has an entry. Exceptions to the chronology are made for overlapping subjects that continue to bear significance as well as exercise their influence. Hence, Gil Vicente, the bilingual Portuguese author whose work first appears in 1502 merits coverage based on the close relationship of his theater to that of his predecessor, Encina.

2. Because of the availability of good reference sources on certain well-known entries, coverage has been designed to emphasize the lesser-known aspects of the subject. Thus, for example, the entry on Castilian explorations devotes greater attention to the Canary Islands and the western Atlantic than to Christopher Columbus and America, for which there are useful essays in standard encyclopedias like the Britannica and the Americana. Similarly, subjects that recent research has reevaluated and whose entries in other sources are now outdated merit attention.

3. Topics are of broad significance. Those that had a wide influence in their own time; those that initiated change; and those that are relevant today outside narrow areas of specialization are all included here. Thus, in the area of literature, key authors, works, concepts, and movements are covered, while more specialized topics in prosody, bibliography, and the like, are not.

4. In general, the shorter entries (250–500 words) are more factually oriented and seek to lead the user to authoritative sources. The longer entries (500–3,000 words), without prejudicing essential facts, tend to be more interpretive and strive to synthesize and place the topic within medieval Iberia as a whole.
**INTRODUCTION**

*Medieval Iberia* thus places less emphasis on subjects fully treated in standard reference works and strives to address those areas not adequately covered in the latter. The material is distributed approximately in the following proportions:

- Twenty-five percent history (includes biographies, events, politics, law, economics, and the like).
- Twenty-five percent literature, language, and culture (includes Arabic, Hebrew, and peninsular Romance languages; oral culture, and folklore).
- Twenty-five percent life and society (includes religion, education, agriculture, popular causes, and so on).
- Fifteen percent philosophy and science (includes Christian, Moslem, and Jewish topics).
- Ten percent arts (architecture, music, painting).

Since *Medieval Iberia* provides information about subjects not easily located in reference works addressing all of the Middle Ages or medieval history exclusively, sources like the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, and *The Middle Ages: A Concise Encyclopedia*, though they cover only some Iberian themes, may be viewed as complements to this volume.

The entries are arranged according to several criteria. In listing literary works, preference is given to the names of authors, whenever known, rather than to titles; thus, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* will be found under Gonzalo de Berceo and *Proverbios morales* will appear under Shem Tov of Carrión. Anonymous works generally appear under the commonly used form of the title; thus the *Libro de Alexandre* will appear under *Libro* but at the same time has a cross-reference from Alexander of Macedonia. In cases where titles are significantly ambivalent, as in *Cantar vs. Poema de Mio Cid*, the placement for the entry was left to the author of the entry to decide, vouchsafed by a cross-reference from the form of the entry not chosen. The form used to alphabetize individual names has often proved problematical. Strictly speaking, Gil Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz should appear under Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz, yet he is generally known as Gil de Albornoz. He will thus be located under Albornoz, which we have chosen in order to respect general usage and avoid confusion. The Spanish forms of the names of kings and nobles most currently in use in historical and literary research has also been given preference over English. Hence, rather than Henry IV and Isabella I of Castile, and Alfonso V of Portugal, we use Enrique IV and Isabel I of Castile, and Afonso V of Portugal. The same is true of certain place- and saints’ names. Thus, Zaragoza and Mallorca are preferred to the English Saragossa and Majorca, although Seville and Lisbon are used in place of Sevilla and Lisboa; and St. Dominic, the founder of the Order of Preachers, can be found under Domingo de Guzmán as opposed to Dominic of Guzman, or St. Dominic. Loconyms have proved especially difficult and we have tried to resolve confusion in the following fashion: In the case of individual nobles and royals, listing can be found under their first name. Thus, Constanza de Mallorca may be found under Constanza and not Mallorca or de Mallorca. Others, whose loconyms are currently used in research as if they were last names, appear under their loconyms. Hence the fifteenth-century *converso* (Christian convert) poet Antón de Montoro is located under Montoro and not Antón, and Alonso Fernández de Madrigal may be found under Madrigal, and not Fernández de Madrigal. Finally, to facilitate the book’s use by a broad range of individuals, all dates are given according to the familiar Gregorian calendar. The norms for the transliteration of Arabic into the Latin alphabet are placed at the end of this introduction.

This volume includes illustrations, maps, genealogies, and lines of succession that seek visually to complement or clarify the subjects they accompany. The index at the end is intended to guide users to topics that are frequently cited in the volume but lack their own entries. The bibliographies accompanying the entries are organized alphabetically first by author and, in the case of edited works or numerous works by a single author, then by title. They are composed of selected items and are intended only to provide reference materials to enable the student or scholar to move confidently into the subject.

Given the substantial academic interest in medieval studies, the recognition of Iberia’s increasing importance within medieval culture, and an increased general interest in Iberia and in Hispanic culture in the United States and Britain, this encyclopedia seems not only desirable but timely and necessary. It should be welcomed by Hispanists of all disciplines, academics interested in learning more about Spain’s and Portugal’s crucial contributions to one of the formative periods of Western civilization, and the lay reader wishing to find information concerning Iberia’s fundamental role in the creation of world culture. There is no equivalent reference source to *Medieval Iberia* in either English or Spanish.

Under the direction of general editor E. Michael Gerli and the board of associate editors, *Medieval Iberia* has been completed with the advice and direction provided by of a group of internationally distinguished scholars: the historians Robert I. Burns, S.J., Joseph F. O’Callaghan, and Norman Roth; the musicologist Robert Stevenson; the literary and intellectual historians Alan D. Deyermond, Pedro M. Cátedra, and Harold...
V. Livermore; the folklorist, medievalist, and ballad expert Samuel G. Armistead; and the art historian Ana Domínguez Rodríguez. In consultation with the associate editors, the general editor has been responsible for proposing and establishing the list of entries as well as identifying potential contributors with the necessary expertise to produce authoritative articles on each of the topics selected for inclusion. He and an expert team of reference editors at Routledge have overseen the final editing and production of the manuscript.
Acknowledgments

A volume like this could not have been produced without the cooperation of literally hundreds of individuals, who gave of their time, enthusiasm, energy, and good will over a number of years to see it to completion. The editors are especially grateful to the indefatigable Gary Kuris, who originally proposed the work more than a decade ago, when he was editor at Garland; to numerous graduate students at both Georgetown University and the University of Virginia—Mary Zampani, Christopher McDonald, Laura Labauve, Pedro Pérez Leal, Matthew Bentley, and others—who helped with correspondence, filing, translation, and in the day-to-day organization of the myriad tasks involved in gathering, compiling, and sorting the entries; and to the editorial team at Routledge Reference in New York, who saved the project from oblivion and supplied their astonishing professional acumen to see it to its final publication. Among the latter group, special credit is reserved for Marie-Claire Antoine, who provided the basic impetus for the work’s resurrection after five years of uncertainty; for Mark O’Malley, who with good humor, a deep sense of duty, and a youthful, sturdy constitution literally ran up and down the spiral staircase in the last weeks of its production; and for Kate Aker, who with austere reminders and stern words kept an unbending schedule and unraveling sensibilities always intact. Finally, the greatest credit is due to the associate editors and the scholars on two continents who gave of their time, good will, deep knowledge, and profound love of Hispanism to compose, read, edit, and check the entries and the accompanying bibliographies that comprise this work. *Jubilate! Fortuna favet fortibus.*
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VOWELS: short a ← u ← i ← long a ← u ← i ←

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Alphabetical List of Entries

A
Abbey of Poblet
Abbeys, Royal
'Abd Al-'Azīz ibn Mūsā
'Abd Allāh, Emir of Córdoba
'Abdalāhh ibn Bullūgīn, King of Granada
'Abd Al-Rahmān I, Emir of Córdoba
'Abd Al-Rahmān II, Emir of Córdoba
'Abd Al-Rahmān III, Caliph of Córdoba
Abraham Bar Ḥiyya (Hayya)
Abraham El-Barchilon (Al-Barjiluni)
Abravanel, Isaac
Abū Zayd, Governor of Valencia
Abulafia, Meir
Abulafia, Todros
Abū-l-Qāsim
Acuña, Luis de
Adelantado
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Administration, Central, Castile
Administration, Central, León
Administration, Central, Portugal
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Administration, Financial, Castile
Administration, Financial, León
Administration, Financial, Navarre
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Administration, Territorial, Muslim
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Afonso III, King of Portugal
Afonso IV, King of Portugal
Afonso V
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Almujarife
Almoravidés
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Alvarez de Villasandino, Alfonso
Alvarez Gato, Juan
Alvaro, Pelayo
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Amadís de Gaula
Anagni, Treaty of
Anchieta, Juan de
Animal Fables
António of Lisbon, Saint
Antifeminist Literature
Antiphoner of León
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Aragonese Language
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Arias Dávila Family
Arias, Mayor
Army, Castilian, Catalan, Muslim, Portuguese
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Art, Jewish
Art, Muslim
Artillery
Asceticism
Astrology and Astronomy, Christian
Astrology and Astronomy, Jewish
Astrology and Astronomy, Muslim
Asturias, Kingdom of the
Athanagild, Lord of Tudmir
Atapuerca, Battle of
Auto da fe
Autobiography
Averroës, Abu ’l-Walid Muhammad B. Ahmad B. Rushd
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Azores, The
Azurara, Gomes Eannes de

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Baena, Juan Alfonso de
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Berenguela
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Bernáldez, Andrés
Bernard de Sauvetot, Archbishop of Toledo
Bernardus Compostellanus Antiquus
Besalú, Ramon Vidal de
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Bible in Spain, The Moralized
Bible Translations
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Blanche of France
Bonifaz, Ramón
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Bourgeoisie
Braga
Braganza, House of
Braulio
Breviary of Alaric
Burgos, City of
Burgos, Socio-Economic History of
Burgundy, House of

C
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ABBEY OF POBLET
Royal abbey and the premier Cistercian house in the Iberian Peninsula. Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona (1131–1162) and Prince of Aragón (1137–1162) in 1149, founded Poblet twenty miles northeast of Tarragona with monks from Fontfroide (near Narbonne), a daughter-house of Clairvaux. Royal and noble gifts of vast lands acquired from the reconquest; the strategy of using loans and tax exemptions to attract peasant tenants for the exploitation of these estates; sheep farming on a vast scale; the early-adopted policy of accepting mortgaged land protected by royal privilege from the claims of creditors; the acquisition of a monopoly of the milling industry along the upper Francal River; and the expectation of landed or cash dowries—these economic practices yielded prodigious wealth. By 1297 the abbey possessed 55,000 acres divided into granges, twenty-nine villages, thirty-eight castles, and other properties.

Much of this wealth was spent on the construction of the abbey church and conventual buildings. The classic expression of Cistercian architecture in Spain and sometimes called the “Escorial of Aragón,” though an austere Romanesque enriched by Gothic ogive vaulting, the church extends 85 meters long, with the vaulting over the nave rising 28 meters. Because the monastery held a strategic position in a frontier region commanding the Tarragona-Lérida highway and successive princes considered it of major military importance, heavily fortified walls and bastions surround the church and domestic buildings; the massive royal palace to the east of the church bears comparison with the palace of the popes at Avignon. In 1194, Alfonso II (1162–1196) held his court at Poblet and was later buried there; Pedro IV (1336–1387) conceived of Poblet as a dynastic mausoleum.

Poblet further exploited its wealth by serving as banker to the crown and nobility of Aragón. The abbey financed wars against the Muslims, the expeditions of Jaime I (1213–1276) against Mallorca and Valencia; the defense of Pedro III (1276–1285) against French invasion. Because the abbey exercised a stabilizing influence in a frontier region, and because it had pastoral responsibilities over a steadily expanding rural population, Poblet sought, and Pope Honorius granted, the abbot episcopal status. In 1336–1337, the Cistercian Pope Benedict XII granted the abbot the right to wear full pontificalia—mitre, ring, and sandals. If these liturgical practices, these economic and political activities blatantly violated the Cistercian constitutions, they were justified on the grounds of service to the crown, especially in its struggle against the Muslims.

Throughout the Middle Ages the recruits of choir monks came primarily from the nobility. Although badly hit by the Black Death—in 1348 alone, 2 abbots, 59 choir monks, and 30 lay brothers succumbed—numbers remained stable through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with about ninety choir monks, while the number of lay brothers grew from eighty-five in 1311 to 135 in 1493. Poblet made four foundations of sister houses in the late Middle Ages. In 1531–1533, numbers stood at 60 choir monks and 30 lay brothers.

The abbey underwent continual remodeling until the late eighteenth century. Although the Cistercian order was suppressed in Spain in 1835, the monastic buildings remained in such excellent condition that when Poblet was restored in 1940, a community soon flourished. Unlike most monastic houses in the late twentieth century, Poblet has suffered no dearth of recruits, and in 1967 it made a foundation, Solius, in the province of Girona.

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Bibliography
ABBEYS, ROYAL

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the period of the expansion of Latin Christendom into frontier regions such as the Iberian Peninsula, first the Cistercian monks, and later the military orders and the mendicant friars proved highly effective agents in the spread of a common culture. The Cistercians and the new orders, rather than the Benedictines, acquired lands and ecclesiastical powers; they were the great beneficiaries of the *reconquista* (Reconquest).

A distinctive feature of Iberian monasticism in this period of expansion was the conjunction or union of the monastery and the royal palace. Leaders of the Reconquest, the count-princes pushed backed Islam and established monasteries for the military, as well as the religious and cultural security and integrity of conquered areas. Kings built their residences at some monasteries and formed close associations with them during their lifetimes; the construction of royal tombs in the monastic churches represented monastic support for royal power. While not totally unique to the Iberian Peninsula—the histories of the imperial abbey of Farfa in central Italy; of the abbey of Saint Denis near Paris and the Capetian dynasty; of the abbey of Saint Peter at Westminster near London and the English monarchy; and of the German Reichsabteien—all bear comparison to Iberian counterparts. But in contrast to other parts of Europe, where the inspiration for a monastic foundation came from individuals considered outstanding for their piety, in Iberia the impulse for a new foundation came from princes who built and endowed abbey as spiritual supports for their power, resided in them, and were buried in tombs attached to them. As agents of princely power, royal abbey lacked the political and religious independence characteristic of monasticism in England and Germany. Probably the most famous royal abbey in Iberia, all of them Cistercian, were Poblet (1149) and Santas Creus (1150) in Catalan Aragon; Las Huelgas (1187) in Castile, the only house of women among the royal abbeys, whose abbet was always a royal princess and all the nuns recruited from the highest aristocracy; and Alcobaca (1158) located between Lisbon and Coimbra, the “mother house” of all twelve Cistercian abbeys in Portugal, a center of rich cultural activity, and sometimes described as “one of the greatest monastic establishments in Europe.”

By the seventh century and throughout the Middle Ages, Spanish monasteries, like those in other parts of western Europe and on the basis of scriptural precedent (1 Sam. 1 and Luke 1:63–80) and conciliar decrees (Fourth Council of Toledo, 633), accepted boys or girls as oblates, offerings given to the house by their parents. These children, overwhelmingly descended from the nobility since a dowry was required or at least expected, raised and educated by the monastic community, made monastic profession (public statement of the vows of obedience, stability in the house of profession, and conversion of life) at about age sixteen and were thereafter denied a return to lay society. In Castile and elsewhere the nobility, wishing to preserve family estates intact, entailed them on the eldest son. Apart from the knightly life, careers in monasteries or dioceses represented virtually the only socially acceptable profession. Although the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the highpoint of child oblation, perhaps the most economically viable and humane way of investing a family of superfluous or awkward children, the practice continued at least into the seventeenth century.

As in observant houses everywhere, the *Opus Dei* (Work of God, the monastic office to which St. Benedict had said nothing should be preferred) constituted the major work of the royal abbeys. The proximity of the royal court meant that chanceries drew on the monks for clerks, secretaries, treasurers, diplomats, and other officials. As monasteries acquired properties, some monks were assigned the supervision of them and of the revenues they yielded. The schools and libraries of some houses, such as Alcobaca, enjoyed considerable reputations for scholarship. The bulk of the wealth of the royal abbeys seems to have been spent on the decoration and expansion of the abbey church and buildings, and on charitable services to the local poor.

In 1562, King Felipe II decided to build a monastery to memorialize the Spanish victory over the French at Saint Quentin (1557). The vast granite buildings of the abbey of Saint Lawrence in the village of El Escorial near Madrid (constructed 1563–1584) was intended to combine the functions of a Hieronymite monastery for 250 monks in which the king had his own cell, a royal residence, and center of imperial administration, and a mausoleum for the dynasty. The idea for the Escorial rested on a long tradition.

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Bibliography


‘ABD AL-‘AZIZ IBN MUSA

The son of Musa Ibn Nusayr, who in 711 had sent Tariq across the Straits of Gibraltar to conquer Iberia, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Ibn Musa governed al-Andalus from 714
to 716. During his tenure, he proved a capable and imaginative administrator who established Seville as his capital, and from there directed the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula toward the east, west, and south, consolidating and extending his power to Portugal, Málaga, Granada, Orihuela, Girona, and Barcelona. He was the first Muslim governor to organize the financial and administrative affairs of the newly conquered territories of Iberia, and he sought to eliminate the ethnic distinctions in government service between Berbers and Arabs. Abd al-‘Aziz encouraged intermarriage between the Islamic conquerors and the native Iberian population. While his political and administrative program for the period immediately after the Conquest was generally successful, as a result of his marriage to Egilona, who was either the sister or the widow of Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king, he was accused by both Arabs and Berbers alike of favoring the native Christian population and of having monarchial ambitions. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz was said to have been urged by Egilona to wear a crown on his head and to adopt the manner of a western monarch. Tensions grew within the army just as his father, Mūṣa Ibn Nusayr, had been recalled from North Africa and was disgraced within the army just as his father, Mūṣa Ibn Nusayr, had been recalled from North Africa and was disgraced by the Caliph in Damascus. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Ibn Mūṣa was executed in 716 on the grounds that he was seeking to separate himself and al-Andalus from Damascus.

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Bibliography


‘ABD ALLĀH, EMIR OF CÓRDOBA

‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muhammad I was the grandson of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II and grandfather of ‘Abd al-Rahmān III. He succeeded his brother, al-Mundhir, as emir of al-Andalus in 888 and ruled until 912.

‘Abd Allāh, born in 844, was forty-four years old when his brother died fighting the rebel Ibn Hafsūn (some have accused ‘Abd Allāh of Hafsūn fratricide). ‘Abd Allāh’s reign was characterized by violence and upheaval—at times, he controlled only the city of Córdoba, which itself was full of tensions between “old” and “new” (muwallad) Muslims.

Arab biographers describe ‘Abd Allāh as being particularly pious, yet they also note his cruelty in dealing with enemies. ‘Abd Allāh quickly alienated most segments of the population, especially his own family. He is said to have encouraged the stabbing death of his son Muhammad at the hands of his other son, al-Muṭarrif. Al-Muṭarrif, in turn, was killed after being accused of conspiring with the leaders of Seville. Two of ‘Abd Allāh’s brothers were killed when they became too powerful. These harsh measures only served to further weaken the prestige of the Umayyad family as a whole and reflected the disintegration of centralized power at this time.

With a weak and paranoid-reclusive authority in Córdoba, the administrative and tax structure established by ‘Abd al-Rahmān II completely fell apart. Strong local families quickly removed any remaining Umayyad-appointed governors and kept the taxes for themselves to maintain standing armies. Of the many provincial revolts that took place during ‘Abd Allāh’s reign, the most significant was the revolt of the muwallad Ibn Hafsūn in Bobastro, in a mountain valley outside Córdoba. He had begun his revolt in 881 during the reign of Muḥammad I, and under ‘Abd Allāh’s nose, Ibn Hafsūn began conducting raids right up to the walls of Córdoba itself with impunity. Until he announced his conversion to Christianity in 899, Ibn Hafsūn was the unofficial leader of the muwallad factions of the lower Guadalquivir valley; after 899, he slowly lost most of his Muslim supporters. Other strong muwallad rebels at this time were Daysam Ibn Ishāq of Murcia and Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Hajjāj of Seville.

Without doubt the best decision ‘Abd Allāh made during his reign was selecting and training his grandson ‘Abd al-Rahmān as heir. When ‘Abd Allāh died in 912, ‘Abd al-Rahmān III peacefully ascended to the throne and began a reign that ultimately proved to be the high point of Umayyad power in Spain.

Marilyn Higbee Walker

Bibliography


‘ABDALLĀH IBN BULLUGIN, KING OF GRANADA

The last Zirid king of Granada. He reigned from 1073 to 1090. His memoirs, written after being exiled to Morocco, were discovered in the last century in a mosque and have been translated into Spanish under the title El siglo XI en primera persona. They reveal precious information concerning the interaction of the members of his family and other tawā‘if (party) kingdoms as well as the internal political administration of Granada shortly before the advent of the Almoravid invasion. Of particular interest are the details concerning the rise to power of his kinsman and predecessor,
Badis, who was helped by the Jewish magnate Samuel Ibn Nagrillah, who was generously compensated by being named vizier and put in charge of the finances of the kingdom.

‘Abdallāh was a minor when he acceded to the throne in 1073. During his minority his tutor, Šmacha, an astute and able individual, grasped the power of the monarchy for himself and continued to exercise it well after his pupil had come of age. Pressed during his reign by incursions into Granadan territory by the ‘Abbadíes of Seville and Alfonso VI of Castile, ‘Abdallāh’s time on the throne of Granada was made even more difficult by rivalries among his lieutenants and dissent in the army. When Šmacha was expelled from court, he fled the kingdom and sowed conflict from afar between ‘Abdallāh and his brother, Tamām of Málaga. In his memoirs, ‘Abdallāh vividly recalls how Alfonso VI took advantage of this situation by extorting huge sums from him in order to guarantee his protection.

Faced with a deteriorating situation in the Iberian Peninsula, aggravated by mutual competition and conquest between Muslims, ‘Abdallāh finally joined other tawā’if kings in seeking protection against Alfonso from Muslims abroad. In the end, Yusuf Ibn Tashfïn, the emperor of the Almoravids who had been called in by his coreligionists from North Africa to save them from the Castilians and from themselves, arrogated all power in al-Andalus to himself, depositing ‘Abdallāh and exiling him across the straits, from where he wrote his illuminating memoirs.

E. Michael Gerli

Bibliography

‘ABD AL-RAHMĀN I, EMIR OF CóRDOBA
‘Abd al-Rahmān I Ibn Mu’āwiyah Ibn Ishāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik Ibn Marwān was the founder of the Muslim Umayyad dynasty that ruled Spain from 756 to 1031. He was born in Damascus in 731 and is purported to be the only member of the Umayyad family who survived their overthrow in 750 by the ‘Abbasids. ‘Abd al-Rahmān escaped first to Palestine, then to Egypt, and then on to Morocco, where he took refuge with the Nafza Berber tribe, of which his mother was a member. When his efforts to gain power among the Moroccan Berbers failed, he looked to Spain, where the lack of unity among the Muslim conquerors—Yemeni Arabs, Syrian Arabs, and recently converted Berbers and Iberians—made for an easy conquest. Because of this successful entry and establishment of a dynasty, ‘Abd al-Rahmān is known as al-Dākhil, or “the Immigrant.”

At the time of ‘Abd al-Rahmān I’s entry into Spain in 756, Yusuf Ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihrt was the local governor appointed by the Umayyad regional governor in Qayrawān (in Tunisia). Like the many provincial governors who had preceded him since the Muslim conquest of Spain in 711, Yusuf struggled to manage the infighting between the Arabs and Berbers. The Berbers formed a vast majority and resented the pretension of racial and cultural superiority of the Arabs despite Islam’s injunction of equality. Yusuf also had to deal with the perennial feuding (which dated back to pre-Islamic Arabia) between the Yemeni and Syrian Arab tribes. A large Syrian army contingent had entered Spain in 742 after being defeated by the Berbers in North Africa, several years after the original Yemeni conquerors, and there were power struggles between the “new” and “old” invaders. ‘Abd al-Rahmān I took advantage of this rivalry and the support of Umayyad clients already in the peninsula. He arrived in Seville in 756 and, gathering forces along the way, defeated Yusuf al-Fihrt on the outskirts of Córdoba. ‘Abd al-Rahmān I proclaimed himself emir of al-Andalus (the Arabic name for the portion of Iberia controlled by the Muslims), refusing allegiance to the ‘Abbasids but recognizing their caliphal claim.

‘Abd al-Rahmān I ruled al-Andalus for over thirty-three years and spent most of that time struggling with the same problems of unity that the governors before him had faced: Berbers who had been settled in the geographically familiar mountainous north and northwest regularly rebelled against the central Córdoban authority; the Arabs, who had settled along tribal lines in various towns in the south and southeast, continued to feud; the local converts, or muwallads, felt as unjustly treated as the Berbers and often rebelled; and in the east, a coalition of Arab tribal leaders went so far as to encourage Charlemagne to lay siege to Zaragoza in 778 (he withdrew when recalled to the Rhineland and from this episode emerged The Song of Roland). Any group that had established themselves in the provinces prior to 756 resented the Umayyad efforts at administrative and financial control.

However, through a relatively lengthy reign and with the prestige and legitimacy attached to the Umayyad name, ‘Abd al-Rahmān I was able to slowly consolidate power in the province of Córdoba and at least keep most of the localized rebellions in check. As for the outlying provinces, if the provincial leaders were
willing to recognize his nominal right to rule and to send Córdoba a percentage of their taxes, Abd al-Rahmân I permitted them to continue in relative autonomy. He established an administrative and military structure similar to the one he had known in Damascus, and when news of his accession spread, Umayyad supporters throughout the Islamic world began coming to Spain, which increased his power base but further antagonized the earlier invaders, who resented having to share the spoils.

With so many internal concerns, Abd al-Rahmân I was unable to make much headway against the Christians in the north and failed to regain many of the towns lost to them under the governors. A border system of “marches” had been established to maintain the fluid frontiers with the Christians, but by the time Abd al-Rahmân I gained control internally, the marches had receded to the following positions: the eastern march became centered in Zaragoza, the central march in Toledo, and the western march in Badajoz. Berbers often occupied these unstable, agriculturally less-productive areas, and it was not until the reign of Abd al-Rahmân III in the early tenth century that these areas came firmly under Muslim control.

In the last two years of his reign Abd al-Rahmân I built, on the site of the Church of St. Vincent, the Great Mosque of Córdoba, which his successors expanded in stages and which still stands today. Abd al-Rahmân I died in 788 without a clearly designated successor. His son Hishâm I, who had been ruling as governor of Mérida, declared himself emir two months later after defeating another of Abd al-Rahmân’s sons, Sulaymân.

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Bibliography


‘ABD AL-RAHMÂN II, EMIR OF CÓRDOBA

‘Abd al-Rahmân II Ibn al-Hakam I was the great-grandson and namesake of the emir ‘Abd al-Rahmân I, and ruled Muslim Spain from 822 to 852. ‘Abd al-Rahmân II was born in 792 in Toledo and his father, al-Hakam I, clearly designated him successor before his own death. Like his predecessors, ‘Abd al-Rahmân II had to face both internal and external threats to his power. His father had been quite heavy-handed in his reign, and ‘Abd al-Rahmân II’s first challenges were to put down the subsequent and continuing internal rebellions.

One of ‘Abd al-Rahmân II’s first steps was to give more official support to Islam—for example, he executed the chief of the palace guard, who was a Christian, and began building several mosques in Córdoba. The cooperation and legitimation provided by the Muslim scholarly class was essential to maintaining power in the capital. ‘Abd al-Rahmân II’s next concern was to regain control in the Levantine territories and in Toledo. Other sources of internal rebellion were the muwallads (converts to Islam) and the Berbers (Muslim converts from North Africa). In the Ebro valley the muwallah Banû Qasî family regularly rebelled against ‘Abd al-Rahmân II’s central authority. In Mérida, the Berber leader Maḥmûd Ibn ‘Abd al-Djabbar revolted. By the end of his reign, ‘Abd al-Rahmân II succeeded in placing Umayyad-loyal governors in the three frontier capitals of Mérida, Toledo, and Zaragoza.

What has come to be known as the “Córdoba martyrs movement” began in 850 and finally came to a close with the death of the priest Eulogius in 869. Eulogius was chronicler of the movement, along with Paulus Alvarus, and their Latin accounts are the only sources available. This movement involved the voluntary martyrdoms of Christians who, distressed at the increasing cultural, linguistic, and religious weakness of the Christian community, publicly denounced Islam and the prophet Muḥammad, a crime punishable by death. For the most part these men and women came from monasteries on the outskirts of Córdoba, but some were offspring of religiously mixed (one parent Muslim, the other Christian) families in the city. The martyrs’ deaths did not stem the tide of Islamization that continued well into the tenth century; rather, they caused increased tension between the Christians and Muslims and within the Christian community itself.

On a somewhat irregular basis ‘Abd al-Rahmân II sent summer military expeditions to fight the Christians in the north, particularly in the eastern march region of Asturias-León. The primary purpose does not seem to be the conquest of territory; the collection of booty, the punishment of impertinent Christian and Muslim vassals, the legitimation of the emir’s role as defender of the faith and thus his right to rule, and the chance to conduct military exercises appear to be the reasons for such expeditions. In 844 ‘Abd al-Rahmân II faced a very real external threat in the form of Norsemen who landed at Lisbon and followed the Guadalquivir River all the way to Seville, which they sacked. ‘Abd al-Rahmân II did rally to recapture Seville and drove the Norsemen out in the same year, but the threat always remained. As a result, ‘Abd al-Rahmân II reinforced the navy and built shipyards at Seville and a naval base at Almería.
‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN II, EMIR OF CÓRDOBA

‘Abd al-Rahmān II was the first ruler of al-Andalus strong enough to pursue wide-ranging diplomacy. He maintained ties with several coastal kingdoms in Morocco but shunned the Aghlabids of Qayrawān, who were loyal to the ‘Abbasids of Baghdad. He opened diplomatic relations with Byzantium and received an embassy from Theophilus; in return, ‘Abd al-Rahmān II sent a delegation to Constantinople headed by the poet Ghażal.

Known to be a great poet himself, ‘Abd al-Rahmān II was a patron of arts and letters and brought learned men from all over the Islamic world to Córdoba. One of these, Ziryāb, was a renowned musician and singer from Baghdad who also knew astronomy and geography. The increasingly large and cosmopolitan population of Córdoba was developing a taste for luxury and ostentation under the prosperous reign of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II, and Ziryāb quickly became the dictator of fashion and culture along ‘Abbasid lines. Ziryāb apparently introduced a new hairstyle; the vegetable asparagus; and the use of underarm deodorant, among other things.

‘Abd al-Rahmān II was also known as a great builder and organizer. With the increase in the population of Córdoba, he enlarged the Great Mosque twice, in 833 and 848. He built many public works in Córdoba, but like virtually all his Umayyad predecessors and successors, did little of such things outside Córdoba. Following the ‘Abbasid administrative style, the focus was on the capital, with the various provinces enjoying a large measure of autonomy.

‘Abd al-Rahmān II died in Córdoba in 852 and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad I.

MARILYN HIGBEE WALKER

Bibliography


‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN III, CALIPH OF CÓRDOBA

‘Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Muḥammad was the grandson and successor of the emir ‘Abd Allāh and was known as ‘Abd al-Rahmān III. He ruled al-Andalus from 912 to 966 and achieved a measure of prosperity and success unparalleled by those who came before or after him.

‘Abd al-Rahmān III was born in 891. It is said that he had blue eyes and fair hair because of his Christian grandmother from Pamplona, and that he dyed that fair hair black to better fit the physical ideal of an Arab Muslim ruler. Although he was relatively young when he succeeded his grandfather, ‘Abd al-Rahmān III was already well-known at court for his intelligence, political common sense, and leadership abilities. He came to power at a time when the control of the Umayyad emirs did not extend much beyond Córdoba. When his reign ended almost fifty years later, ‘Abd al-Rahmān III could count on allegiance from Toledo on the north to Ceuta in the south; he received annual tribute payments from the Christian kingdoms to the north; and he regularly welcomed embassies from Constantinople, Baghdad, and beyond.

The first thing ‘Abd al-Rahmān III did when he came to the throne in 912 was to systematically consolidate power within al-Andalus and quell the internal revolts. The most pressing and long lasting of these was led by the muwallad rebel Ibn Hafsūn in Bobastro, a mountain fortress outside Córdoba, where he had been ruling virtually autonomously since 888. ‘Abd al-Rahmān III put pressure on Ibn Hafsūn until his death in 917, and after him on his sons until they surrendered in 928. The emir attacked the rebel provincial leaders of large cities like Seville, Badajoz, and Toledo, laying siege for years if necessary. Once a city or castle capitulated, ‘Abd al-Rahmān III either left his own deputy in charge or demolished the fortifications. He acted consistently and powerfully, but also shrewdly: if the rebel leaders submitted to his authority, he often appointed them as Umayyad military leaders in regions far from their own. In this way, by the year 933, ‘Abd al-Rahmān III had achieved the full unification of al-Andalus.

The second task ‘Abd al-Rahmān III set for himself involved securing the borders against the increasingly powerful Christian kings to the north. This he pursued simultaneously with his efforts at internal control: his summer campaigns (ṣā‘ījā‘) to secure Andalusian allegiance all included forays and shows of force deep into the territory of the Christians. ‘Abd al-Rahmān III led campaigns in 920 and 924 against the Basques and Leonese—not necessarily to conquer new territory, but to demonstrate his power to both Muslims and non-Muslims. In 920 he stopped the advance of Ordoño III of Asturias-León at the Battle of Junquera. In 924, to revenge the raids made by Sancho García of Navarre, he sacked and burned Pamplona. This was the farthest north he ever ventured. The only significant defeat ‘Abd al-Rahmān III suffered was in 939 at the hands of Ramiro II of León at the Battle of Alhindega (in Arabic, al-khandaq, or “the trench”) near Simancas. This defeat was apparently due to resentment within the Muslim army toward ‘Abd al-Rahmān III’s increasing appointment of foreign slave soldiers (ṣaqala-
Abd al-Rahmān III’s logical next step toward enhancing Umayyad prestige, further distancing himself physically and psychologically from his subjects along ‘Abbasid lines. He named the new palace Madinat al-Zahrā after his favorite concubine, al-Zahrā. Construction began in 936 and continued throughout the reign of al-Ḥakam II. The complex contained a mosque, luxurious gardens, baths, housing for courtiers, a garrison for his personal guard, and an impressive audience hall. To impress and intimidate his visitors, Abd al-Rahmān III had a large bowl of mercury placed in the audience hall which could be made to cast lightning bolts across the ceiling. Although he was not particularly interested in the arts himself, Abd al-Rahmān III created a court at Madinat al-Zahrā that attracted poets, scholars, and artisans from all over the Islamic world. Cosmopolitan Córdoba began to rival Constantinople in terms of population, and no other western European capital came close to Córdoba on any terms.

Another measure that contributed to the distance between the caliph and the people he ruled was ‘Abd al-Rahmān III’s practice of importing slave soldiers (ṣaqqalībah) from the north to staff the army and his palace guard. This is often cited as the source of resentment and division within the Umayyad forces that led to the debacle of Alhandega. But this was not a new practice—al-Ḥakam I had begun buying eastern European slaves from Jewish traders a hundred years earlier. What occurred during ‘Abd al-Rahmān III’s reign was that the numbers of ṣaqqalībah grew exponentially, as did their presence in military and political leadership positions. Ghalib, the general who fought the Fātimids for al-Ḥāsr, was from their ranks and became al-Ḥakam II’s most trusted adviser. Many ṣaqqalībah were castrated and served as officials of the harem, but others were not and established dynasties that within a few generations rivaled Arab and muwallad families for power and prestige. The Andalusian elite were understandably resentful, and the unification and loyalty ‘Abd al-Rahmān III had worked so hard to achieve began to unravel.

But it took almost a century for things to completely come apart. ‘Abd al-Rahmān III had begun with a splintered and anarchic state in 912 and within twenty-five years had forged unity, loyalty, and territorial integrity. He did this by going out on campaign himself, bringing rivals and discontents into his Córdoba circles, and cultivating loyalty to his person and dynasty. As his power grew, however, he began distancing himself from the people—he never went on a military campaign after 939 and in fact hardly left the Córdoba area; he spent increasing amounts of state revenue on displays of opulence and luxury; and, as mentioned above, he imported huge numbers of for-
‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN III, CALIPH OF CÓRDOBA

eign soldiers. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III died in 961 at Madinat al-Zāhirah, leaving his clearly designated successor, his son al-Hakam II, a strong and powerful state to rule but with the seeds of decline planted and growing.

Marilyn Higbee Walker

Bibliography


ABNER OF BURGOS See VALLAODOLID, ALFONSO DE

ABRAHAM BAR ḤIYYA (HAYYA)

Mathematician, astronomer, surveyor, philosopher, astrologer and translator Abraham bar Ḥiyya (ca. 1070–1136) lived in Barcelona. He was known by the honorific titles Ha-Nasi (Hebrew: “the prince”) and Savasorda (Latin corruption of the Arabic: sāḥib al-shurta, “master of the guard”), which indicate that he held high offices in both the Jewish and the Catalonian communities.

Nine works by him are known, all written in Hebrew. He was the first medieval author to write major philosophic and scientific works in Hebrew, and many of his termina technica are still used in modern Hebrew (e.g., gesheth = arc, ma’alah = degree, merkaz = center, shoq = side of an isocèles triangle). His works:

(1) Ḥibbur ha-meshihah ve-ha-tishboret (On Measuring), a comprehensive introduction to surveying. Translated into Latin (1145?) by Plato of Tivoli, it played an important role in transmitting Arabic geometry and trigonometry to the West. Hebrew text, ed. M. Guttmann, 1912–13, Catalan translation, J. M. Millás Vallcorosa, 1931.

(2) Yesode ha-ṭebunah u-migdal ha-emunah (The Foundations of Reason and the Tower of Faith), an encyclopedia of science; parts are lost. Hebrew text and Spanish translation, J. M. Millás Vallcorosa, 1952.


(4) Megillat ha-megalleh (Scroll of the Revealer), an eschatological and astrological work, written during the 1120s. According to it, the messianic era might begin by 1136, and the resurrection would take place in 1448 or 1493. Hebrew text, ed. A. Poznanski, 1924; Catalan translation, J. M. Millás Vallcorosa, 1929.

(5) Epistle to Rabbi Judah ben Barzillai, a defense of astrology, written ca. 1120. Abraham bar Ḥiyya had advised a student to delay his wedding for one hour in order to avoid the unpropitious influence of Mars. Judah ben Barzillai, the eminent talmudist, protested that such deference to astrology would amount to sorcery and idolatry. The wedding was not delayed, but Abraham wrote this epistle in defense of his view, arguing that astrological considerations are analogous to medical ones. Hebrew text, ed. A. Z. Schwarz, 1917.

(6) Ḥegyon ha-nefesh ha-‘asūbah (The Meditation of the Sad Soul), a philosophic study of human nature, discussing the place of human beings in the creation, the good life, repentance (including an analysis of Jonah), and the future world. While often described as neo-Platonic, it also reflects Aristotelian, Kalamic, and other influences. Hebrew text, ed. E. Freimann, 1860; G. Wigoder, 1971. English translation, G. Wigoder, 1969.

(7) Ṣurat ha-‘arēṣ ve-tabnīt ha-shamāvim (The Form of the Earth and the Figure of the Heavens), a work on cosmography, written in 1132; part 1 of Ḥokhmat ha-hizzavon (Science of Astronomy). Hebrew text, Basel 1546 (abridged), Offenbach 1720; Spanish translation, J. M. Millás Vallcorosa, 1956.

(8) Heshbon maḥalekhot ha-kokhābim (The Calculation of Astral Motions), a textbook on Ptolemaic astronomy, written in 1136; part 2 of Ḥokhmat ha-hizzavon. Hebrew text and Spanish translation, J. M. Millás Vallcorosa, 1959; this edition includes Abraham bar Ḥiyya’s astronomical tables, Luḥot ha-Nasi (The Prince’s Tables).

In addition, Abraham bar Ḥiyya was active in translating scientific works from Arabic into Latin, mostly in collaboration with Plato of Tivoli.

Warren Zev Harvey

Bibliography

ABRAVANEL, ISAAC

Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508) was one of the most important Jewish writers and statesmen of his age. His grandfather Samuel was already prominent in the reign of Juan I, and was contador mayor of Enrique III and treasurer of the queen. He converted to Christianity, however (long before the pogroms of 1491), before attaining these high posts, and took the name Juan Sánchez de Sevilla. Eventually, he determined to return to Judaism, and in order to accomplish this had to flee to Portugal with some of his sons, while others remained as Christians in Castile. Isaac Abravanel thus grew up in Portugal, where he eventually became a wealthy merchant in Lisbon (together with his father), at least from 1463 on. Ultimately he became a confidant and financier of the Duke of Braganza (ca. 1480) and banker to the king of Portugal, Afonso V. The death of that king brought a change in attitude toward the Jews under his successor, and in 1483 Abravanel fled to Castile.

He was able to obtain a minor role as tax farmer, but in 1485 his position and influence increased greatly when he was placed in charge of all the taxes of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, prelate of Spain and cancellier mayor of the kingdom. Later, Abravanel became contador mayor of the powerful Inigo López de Mendoza (it should be mentioned that the Mendoza family, many of whom were themselves of converso origin, were always intimately involved with Jews). He was able to make substantial loans to the Catholic Monarchs, and on one occasion (1491) acted as financial agent for the queen.

When the edict of expulsion of the Jews came in 1492, Abravanel apparently used his influence to annul or at least delay it, but to no avail. He chose to be among the minority of Jews who left the land, and like all the other exiles, he was permitted to collect outstanding debts and take with him money and personal property.

From Spain he went to Italy, where he again attained important political prominence, and where he did most of his writing. His son Judah (known as León Hebreo) was the author of the famous Dialoghi d’amore.

Never a rabbi, Abravanel was a deeply religious person, with a “fundamentalist” zeal for Jewish tradition. He wrote various treatises, including important commentaries on the Bible, all in Hebrew. In these, and even more in what may be called his “theological” treatises, he displayed his opposition to Aristotelian and Muslim philosophy, more than to Maimonides, whom he greatly revered while still disagreeing cautiously with some of his views. Contrary to the teachings, rather, of the more rationalist followers of Maimonides (Gerson and others), Abravanel believed literally in creation ex nihilo, and in a literal understanding of miracles. Though he showed himself ultimately opposed to any attempt to establish “fundamental principles” of faith in the Bible, since all of it is divine, these two ideas were bound up with his understanding of God as omnipotent. Unlike Maimonides, he believed that man is the “final cause,” or purpose, of the Creation, and that man’s purpose is the contem-
ABRAVANEL, ISAAC

plation of God (perhaps under scholastic influence). Again unlike Maimonides, he was also a believer in astrology.

His political attitudes, while not systematic enough to be called (as they have been) a “political philosophy,” are of interest.

Abravanel played an important role in the messianic expectations of the generation of the exiles, and had a lasting influence on Jewish thought, and no less on later Christian thinkers.

It is believed that the Panels of St. Vincent of the Portuguese artist Nuño Gonçalves (ca. 1481) present an actual portrait of Abravanel, one of only two known portraits of a medieval Spanish Jew.

Norman Roth

Bibliography


ABŪ ZAYD, GOVERNOR OF VALENCIA

Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, sayyid (Cheit Aboceyt, to the Christians), was the great grandson of the caliph ‘Abd al-Mu‘min, the founder of the Almohad caliphate. As wālī or governor of the Sharq al-Andalus (eastern Islamic Spain) during the general collapse of the Almohad empire in the early thirteenth century, he found himself effectively sovereign of the Valencian regions, or “king of Valencia” to the Christians, but challenged by the rise of the anti-Almohad Ibn Hūd. Alllying first with Fernando III of Castile as “vassal” in 1225, in violation of the zones of reconquest agreements between Arago-Catalonia and Castile, and then with Jaime I of Arago-Catalonia in 1226, he lost his capital and kingdom to a local revolt by Zayyān Ibn Mardanīsh in 1229, falling back on the remnant Sègorbe region. In desperation he had signaled the pope his willingness to convert and had conducted overtures with the cardinal legate Jean d’Abbeville in 1228. He had previously executed the Franciscan missionary “Martyrs of Teruel” at Valencia. A series of treaties with Jaime I in 1229, 1232, and 1236 progressively surrendered his income and sovereignty, until he became a puppet collaborator in the Christian conquest of the Valencian “kingdom.”

By 1236 he had converted, taking the name Vicente and the status of amply landed baron. He married the Aragónese lady María Ferrándiç, not Zurita’s Dominga López of Zaragoza, who gave him a son, Ferran Pérez (who died childless in 1262) and a daughter Alda Ferrándiç whose progeny became the Arenós noble dynasty. The number of his previous Muslim sons and their conversions (perhaps four) is disputed, but Ibn Khaldūn testifies to Jaime’s patronage of his Muslim sons “on account of the conversion of their father.” Abū Zayd rarely used his baptismal name Vicente, and only late in life a noble surname, Belvis, keeping his attested conversion a secret for reasons of state from at least 1236 until 1264 when a bull of Pope Urban IV hailed the occasion. His latter years are identified with the military order of Santiago, of which he was a devout patron. Abū Zayd called himself King of Valencia in Latin documents until 1238, though Jaime I also took that title from 1236. His eagle seal survives, along with sufficient documentation both in Islamic and Christian sources to follow the trajectory of his full career. He died between 1264 and 1268; his body is entombed in the Franciscans’ Puritat convent at Valencia.

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Bibliography


ABULAFIA, MEIR

Meir ben Todros ha-Levy Abulafia (ca. 1165–1244) was an important talmudic scholar and rabbi (though hardly “chief rabbi,” as sometimes claimed) of Castile, and a member of a distinguished family. His father, Todros ha-Nasi (“prince, leader”) was head of the Burgos Jewish community, and Meir’s brothers were also distinguished scholars. Todros, the son of Meir’s brother Joseph, was an important rabbi and cabalist of Toledo, and related to him was the renowned poet Todros ben Judah. Meir’s other brother, Samuel, produced a long line of descendants that included Samuel ha-Levy, the tesorero mayor of Pedro I. This family flourished at least to the end of the fourteenth century in Toledo.

Abulafia was a student of the renowned Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides), and by 1204 he was already a member of an important Jewish court (bet din) in Toledo, together with Joseph Ibn Megash and Abraham ben Nathan ha-Yarhi, two of the most important scholars of the age. We possess from his pen a number of legal responsa, as well as commentaries on portions of the Talmud. However, Abulafia is most famous (or infamous) for his crucial role in the “Maimonidean controversy.” Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides) had expressed certain ideas both in his legal code, Mishneh Torah, and in his earlier commentary on the mishnah,
which were concepts of Aristotelian rationalism and were viewed by the young rabbi as extremely dangerous to traditional Jewish views. He, as well as his colleague Abraham ha-Yarhi, correctly concluded that Maimonides did not accept the traditional Abulafia views about resurrection, for example. According to Maimonides, this is entirely allegorical and to be explained in accord with Aristotelian and Muslim philosophical interpretation. Abulafia penned a sharp critique of Maimonides, which he sent to rabbinical scholars in Provence. These scholars, however, sided completely with the great Maimonides and sharply rebuked the “young upstart” of Castile who dared to challenge his authority. He was similarly severely criticized by Sheshet Benvenist, lay leader of the Jewish community of Barcelona. Undaunted, Abulafia wrote a series of letters farther north, to the rabbis of France. Completely unfamiliar as they were with philosophy, much less with Maimonides’ views (which they little knew or understood), they took Abulafia’s side. Abulafia finally collected all this correspondence, which he knew or understood), they took Abulafia’s side. Abu-

Abulafia’s importance today remains his responsa and talmudic commentary.

NORMAN ROTH

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ABULAFIA, TODROS

Todros b. Judah ha-Levi Abulafia (1247–1298?) was a Hebrew poet who also served at the court of Alfonso X. Born in Toledo to an illustrious family of apparently modest means, Abulafia was steeped in Arabic and Romance cultures as well as in Jewish tradition. After being drawn into the entourage of a royal official named Solomon Ibn Sadoq, Todros traveled widely in Spain at the side of Ibn Sadoq’s son Isaac, singing his patron’s praises and otherwise entertaining him. Abulafia was apparently among the dignitaries swept into prison in 1280–1281 during the second round of royal attacks upon Jewish economic and political influence at Alfonso X’s court. During his incarceration Abulafia’s literary tastes and cultural sensibilities seem to have undergone a radical transformation. The imprisoned poet appears to make amends for his hedonistic lifestyle and licentious behavior by producing a cycle of confessional poems in which he bemoans his fate and renounces his previously profligate ways. Following his release, Abulafia wandered in exile until he made his way to Barcelona, where he studied with that city’s leading sages and devoted himself to devotional verse and the poetry of spiritual love. In 1289 and for sometime thereafter, Abulafia served in the financial administration of Sancho IV and used his various offices to pursue lucrative business ventures.

Abulafia’s poetry freely combines the prosodic forms, manneristic tendencies, and genres characteristic of Andalusian Hebrew poetry with themes, motifs, and voices drawn from contemporary Romance. A large part of Abulafia’s divan (poetic corpus) consists of manneristic exercises and highly conventional poems designed to flatter the rich and famous.

Todros’s love poetry, by contrast, cultivates the persona of the dissolute poet in the tradition of Abu Nuwās and Ibn Quzmān; yet his poetry also shares the trend toward a more personal and “realistic” poetry evident in thirteenth-century Romance lyrics.

Abulafia seems to have composed little liturgical poetry, but his secular verse—especially the lyrics composed during and after his confinement—includes many poems in which the poet speaks directly to God about matters of personal significance. Although Abulafia is frequently referred to as a gifted epigone of the Andalusian school of Hebrew poets, an image the poet himself may have sought to cultivate, his poetry should be viewed as evidence of the vitality and innovative spirit of Hebrew poetry in Christian Spain.

ROSS BRANN

Bibliography


ABULCASIS See ABU-L-QASIM

ABU-L-QASIM

Abū-l-Qāsim Khalaf ibn ʿAbbas al-Zahrq was well-known as Abulcasis in Latin translations (d. 1013). The nisba (nickname) al-Zahrq seems to refer to his
ABU-L-QASIM

birthplace Madinat al-Zahrq, the city-palace built by ‘Abd al-Rahmān III near Córdoba in 936 (a terminus post quem for his birthdate). No details about his life are known. His only extant work is the al-Tarf li-man ‘ajiza ‘an al-taq-lif (How to Practice [Medicine] for Those Who Wish to Avoid the Use of [Other] Compilations), written, after fifty years of medical practice, for his “sons” (probably his students). Divided into thirty books, it is the greatest medical encyclopedia ever written in al-Andalus. Although he had a thorough knowledge of both Greek and Eastern Arab medical works, the Tarf is often based on his own personal experience. Books 1–2 and 28 were translated into Latin via Hebrew and, the latter, dealing with pharmacology, was well-known in Europe under the title Liber servitoris. Book 30, on surgery, was translated in the twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona (Liber Alsah- ravi de cirurgia) and it established the reputation of Abulcasis as the greatest surgeon of the Middle Ages. It contains useful descriptions and drawings of surgical instruments, among which we find a vaginal speculum and an obstetric forceps that anticipates that of Cham- in instruments, among which we find a vaginal speculum. It contains useful descriptions and drawings of surgical instruments, among which we find a vaginal speculum and an obstetric forceps that anticipates that of Cham-

the time: he helped organize Prince Alfonso’s revolt against Enrique IV and also supported Juana la Beltraneja against the Catholic monarchs. Faced with Queen Isabel’s arrival to the city, Acuña abandoned the diocese until a reconciliation was achieved. His leadership of the diocese was characterized by his active role in religious matters, often with intentions of reform. He attended the Council of Aranda in 1473 and the Synod of 1474.

Acuña was a notable patron of the arts during a period in which Burgos stood out as one of the most active hubs for accomplished artists such as Simón de Colonia and Gil de Siloé. During his term as bishop, the pinnacles of the cathedral towers were completed and construction on the chapel of the Condestables de Castilla was started. Acuña himself funded what would later be his funeral chapel, the Capilla de la Concepción, or Santa Ana, which he adorned with an exceptional tableau of the Tree of Jesse, made of multicolored wood by Gil de Siloé. Later, Acuña’s tomb (sculpted by Diego de Siloé) was added to the chapel. Upon his death in 1495, Acuña left a fascinating library that attests to his humanist spirit.

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Bibliography


ACUÑA, LUIS DE

Acuña was one of the most prominent personalities of ecclesiastic life in Burgos during the latter half of the fifteenth century. He belonged to a well-known noble family, not only as the son of Juan Alvarez Osorio and María Manuel, but also because of his family ties to Archbishop Alfonso Carrillo and to the marquis of Vil- lena. After the death of his wife, Aldonza de Guzmán, he entered the clergy. He was the archdeacon of Val- puesta (Burgos) and bishop of Segovia, after which he acceded to the bishopric of Burgos in 1456. He participated actively in various political happenings of

ADELANTADO

First documented in the eleventh century, the term seems to have referred to an officer in charge of a frontier zone who also had judicial powers. As a royal office, the adelantamiento mayor was institutionalized no later than the reign of Alfonso X who, in royal charters of privilege, listed an adelantado mayor of the frontier (1253) and others to the same office in León, Castile, and Murcia (1258; at this time charters no longer list merinos mayores in Castile and Murcia). Early in 1261, contemporaneous with the war against Niebla, the adelantamiento of Andalusia was formed from the merger of Murcia and the frontier. Two years later Alfonso appointed an adelantado mayor in Galicia. Later (1268–1272), in circumstances most likely related to reaction against Alfonsine legislation, the adelantados mayores in León, Castile, and Galicia ceased to be listed; the merger in the south was dissolved; and only the adelantamiento mayor of Murcia and the newly created adelantamento (mayor is not mentioned) in Alava and Guipúzcoa continued to ap-
peared during the final, troubled years of Alfonso’s reign. Succeeding kings reestablished the lost adelantamientos, all of which continued to exist (some sporadically) through the rest of the Middle Ages. The Alfon- sine Espéculo describes two types of adelantado mayor: the one whose jurisdiction covered a major territory, and the one serving as chief justice of the royal tribunal, who judged certain types of cases and heard appeals from the decisions made in all inferior courts. Each adelantado was a lay ricohombre whose authority derived directly and exclusively from his royal appointment and whose powers, aside from specified limitations, were equivalent to those of the king.

The adelantado mayor of a kingdom or tierra administered justice conducive to the maintenance of law and order, at times exercising military and economic, especially financial, authority, and enjoying supreme judicial powers. The administration of justice especially gave rise to conflict with other authorities, notably with constituencies under feudal law, until lines of jurisdiction became more finely drawn. Lords also named adelantados, analogous in function to those appointed by the king, in their respective spheres; a well-known ecclesiastical example is the adelantado named (1332) by the archbishop of Toledo to his fief of Cazorla (Jaén). Fernando and Isabel replaced the adelantados mayores of Castile, León, Andalusia, Murcia, and Granada with alcaldes mayores.

Robert A. MacDonald

Bibliography

ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, ARAGÓN-CATALONIA
As one of most deeply acculturated sections of the Roman Empire, Spain retained the imprint of imperial government long after it was conquered by the Visigoths in the fifth century. To maintain control over the ruined Iberian political landscape, Visigothic kings adapted Roman political norms to their own rule. Though Toledo emerged as the core of the Visigothic kingdom, the administration that ruled Spain was less territorial than it was personal. With the influence of the Church through its councils, the Visigothic monarch seems in some ways only a first among equals. The center of this rule was the royal court (aula regia), comprised of the personal servants as well as the clerical and lay retainers of the king. The evolving nature of the Visigothic court and the administration that ema- nated from it often transformed such servants into officials, and officials into servants. While the realm retained the bare outlines of the Roman provincial system, civil government of the periphery was entrusted to nobles who, bearing the titles of duke (dux) or count (comes), stood as guarantors of public peace and justice in their districts. Since their jurisdictions were far too large for one man to rule, these local governors delegated authority to a number of vicars (vicarii, veguers), who carried out much the same duties as their ducal or comital superiors but on a more local level. This loose mesh of regional and local government established an administrative blueprint followed with few emendations in all realms of Christian Spain until the twelfth century.

Despite its weaknesses, the Visigothic government was a centralized state in comparison with the tenuous political existence of the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula that came into being after the Muslim conquest in the eighth century. Along a ragged and ever-fluctuating frontier with Islam, Christian rulers were forced to think of military defense more than political dominance. As a result, landscapes as varied as Catalonia and León came to be covered with castles built by sovereigns and other great lords (seniores) and garrisoned by their vassals (homines, milites, fideles). In this regime of feudal relations royal power—and with it, royal administration—withered. The same fortresses, which stood as bulwarks against Islamic invasion, also blocked the full operation of royal government. Thus, judicial and fiscal functions once carried out by royal agents were now routinely, though intermittently, exercised by great lords (principes) and churchmen. With the disappearance of public structures of administration and adjudication, the Church fashioned such institutions as the peace and truce of God (pax et treuga Dei) to serve the public functions of the king and his officials. The pax et treuga formally came to Catalonia by 1027 and came to be utilized by civil ruler from 1064.

With the rebirth of central power in the eleventh century, the old Visigothic model of administration was adapted to the realities of the feudal world. With the reigns of Sancho III the Great, king of Navarre (1000–1035), and Ramón Berenguer I, count of Barcelona (1035–1076), the royal court (curia regis) and the comital court (curia comitis) reemerged as the center of an administration that grew more powerful, as did the office of sovereign itself. At the center of the curia was a corps of palatine servants that included the steward (majordomo), seneschal (senescal), chamberlain (cubicularius), constable (comes stabuli), standard-bearer (armiger, alférez), butler (botellerius, repostero), treasurer (thesaurarius), cupbearer (scanti-
With the marriage of Ramón Berenguer IV to Petronella in 1137, the realms of Catalonia and Aragón were linked under the same ruler. Such an event could not help but complicate the administration of two states. With two different peoples to serve and three different languages to deal with—Latin, Aragonese, and Catalan—the chancery was divided into two departments, one serving the government of Aragón and the other the government of Catalonia. Though some calligraphic differences remained between the documents that emanated from the two divisions, these began to fade in the thirteenth century as the Catalan style attained dominance when the notarial organization came under the supervision of a single head, the chancellor (cancellarius, canciller). The birth of the Crown of Aragón (Corona de Aragón)—as the new federated state came to be called—was accomplished by other administrative changes, most especially in the training and status of the men serving the royal service. Far from being drawn only from the region’s monasteries and cathedral canons, royal administration from the twelfth century onward also began to attract laymen. Many of this new class of officials had received training in the two laws, Roman and canon, in such universities as Bologna and Montpellier. With this background in mind, it is not unusual that the officialdom of Ramón Berenguer IV and his son Alfonso II (1162–1196) became proponents of a regalist philosophy that sought to extend the crown’s power at the expense of feudal privilege. One of the great curials of this era was Renallus, a poet, historian, and theologian who served as the head of the Catalan-Aragonesian chancery in the mid-twelfth century. Significant juridical outgrowths of the activist administrative philosophy in eastern Spanish administration were the Catalan legal compilations of the last half of the twelfth century, the Usatges de Barchinona and Liber Feudorum Maior.

With the long and eventful reign of Jaime I (1213–1276), the old forms of Aragonese and Catalan administration were tested, and this largely redefined the pretension of expanded royal power. Older classes of officials, such as the Catalan vicar, still held sway in their traditional jurisdictional units, but as Jaime I expanded political control over his older realms and conquered new ones, he increasingly used old bureaucrats in novel ways. The vicar was thus given an expanded role in carrying out the statutes of the peace and truce, a legal norm that Jaime I and his predecessors used as the base for all legitimate royal legislation. Unlike the vicars of the twelfth century, those of the thirteenth often worked in partnership with “peacekeepers” (paciarii) from the town councils who acted as guarantors of public tranquility as well as municipal rulers. Locked in a life-and-death struggle with his baronies, the sovereign increasingly found the old functionaries ineffective in extending his power over the great men. To counter baronial interference in Aragón, the king established such new officers as the sobrejuntero and justicia. The first began as liaison with the defensive leagues (juntas) of the Aragonese towns but eventually became a governor of a district centered on one of the realm’s largest towns. The second began as an urban judge but also attained a broader official mandate.

Jaime I took an even bolder step in administrative reshuffling by asserting more personal control over the bureaucracies of his realms. With the great conquests of Mallorca and Valencia (1229–1244), the Conqueror was away from his realms for long periods and increasingly relied on his son Pedro and the other crown princes as lieutenants (locum tenentes) who represented the crown in all official matters. Jaime I argued that he and his sons in their representative capacity were “one conjoint [royal] person.” In addition to this “family government,” Jaime I promoted bureaucrat loyalty by rewarding talent even when displayed by men of other faiths. The most important of these, the Jewish brothers Jehuda and Solomon de Cavallería, served as bailiff (bailulus, batlle) for much of Jaime I’s later life. Under their tenure, the office became the centerpiece of a much more efficient management of royal lands and local revenues. This utilization of Jewish servitors avoided royal dependence on Christian nobles for administration and thus brought firm baro-
nial opposition. This dissent among the eastern Spanish baronies was deepened when Jaime I eschewed the use of nobles in most royal offices in favor of such professional advocates and jurists as Pere Albert in Catalonia and Vidal de Canyellas in Aragón, who left their Romanist mark on the important legislation of both realms.

To the nobilities of Aragón and Catalonia, Jaime I’s administrative adaptations were dangerous “innovations” that had to be rolled back at all costs. In Catalonia, Roman law and lawyers learned in it were outlawed from court use on several occasions. In Aragón, the baronial revolt of the Unión (1265–1266) not only attacked the governmental changes that the king had put in place but attempted to co-opt them with the establishment of the justicia mayor—a “middle judge” who theoretically was to stand as an impartial mediator and justice between the crown and the Aragónese people. In time, this official was used by the Union to hamstring the expansion of royal government. During the reign of Jaime I’s immediate predecessors down to that of his great-great-grandson Pedro IV (1336–1387), the Union increased its power at the expense of the crown by the establishment of a baronial council that oversaw royal domestic and foreign policies, using the Aragónese parliament (Cortes) to legitimize these private actions as national law. Even after the Unión’s demise in 1348, an expanded governmental role for the parliaments of both realms remained with the establishment of permanent agencies—the Generalitat in Catalonia and the Diputación in Aragón—that aided the sovereign in such matters as taxation and emergency military funding.

The trends of royal administration were altered in the sixty years after Jaime I by these waves of baronial unrest that attempted to redraw the official lines between ruler and ruled in a way reminiscent of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Nowhere was the Union’s anachronistic view of royal power better expressed than in the spurious Fuero de Sobrarbe, which attempted to hem in not only the king but the royal administration with an impenetrable hedge of custom. With the reign of Jaime II (1291–1337), the crown began to reclaim power lost to the rebellious baronies of Aragón and Catalonia. Spending his youth as the sovereign of Sicily, Jaime II brought a more centralized view of administration to the Crown of Aragón. The supreme post in Jaime II’s government, which had its roots in twelfth-century Sicily, was the maestre racional. This servitor, initially an overseer of palace accounts, emerged as the most important member in the eastern Spanish government, subsuming a number of the functions of the Aragónese steward and Catalan bailiff in the process. Despite such bureaucratic importations, Jaime I did not destroy the offices of his predecessors but assigned to them a more restricted agenda. In one case, however, the king experimented with the older offices, creating an “overvicar” (supravcarius, sobreveguer) to oversee blocks of Catalan vicarates. In regard to the chancery, Jaime II and his successors continued its development as a professional entity. A chancellor oversaw the operation and was assisted by a vice chancellor. The royal seals were maintained by the protonotario while the everyday functioning of the chancery came under the authority of a “manager” (regente) who was also responsible for document production and sealing as well as their reproduction in registers. All of the realms of the Crown of Aragón had similar chancery offices headed by a vice chancellor.

The most far-reaching trend that Jaime II continued was the use of his sons as procurators or lieutenants in his Iberian realms even when he was present in them. This office, which had originally been a temporary one, now became permanent, eventually overriding the bureaucratic dominance of the maestre racional. The office of procurator, which came to be called governor general (gubernator general) by the late fourteenth century, eventually came to be called vicerei (virei) in the fifteenth century. Though royal princes (infantes) initially held such lieutenancies, other family members, including queens, occasionally served in such posts. This power delegation was absolutely necessary during the reigns of such sovereigns as Alfonso V (1416–1458) who spent most of his life away from his Iberian realms in search of new Italian ones, routinely leaving Catalonia under the rule of his queen and lieutenant María of Castile. In the viceregal office of the crown of Aragón, then, we see one of the strands that would culminate in the sixteenth century with the office of viceroy. With the emergence of Spain as great international power, the viceroy would take his place at the head of an administration that would link places as distant as Sicily, the Netherlands, Mexico, and Peru to Madrid and its royal master. For eastern Spain, however, such power delegation had ominous overtones. It pointed forward to an era after 1516 when Aragón and Catalonia were not ruled by a native dynasty but instead received their government from Madrid. In the marriage to Castile, then, the old administrative ways of Catalonia were undermined and then discarded, eventually to be replaced with such foreign governmental norms as Felipe V’s Decreto de Nueva Planta (1716). Catalonia would not regain even a measure of administrative autonomy until 1931 with the Catalan Statute. With Francisco Franco’s victory in 1939, this short-lived freedom abruptly ceased, not to return until
the 1970s when Catalan home rule became one of the cornerstones of the new Spanish Republic.

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ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, CASTILE

The central administration of Castile-León was based on the Visigothic court, which in turn was modeled on the Roman imperial court. A body of officials (officium palatinum) attended the Visigothic king on a daily basis. Several counts were responsible for the administration of the patrimony and the treasury, and the supervision of notaries, chamberlains, and the royal guard. Magnates (seniores or maiores palatii) specially commended to the king’s service, together with bishops and territorial officials constituted a council (aula regia) assisting the king in executing his duties.

Emphasizing the continuity between the Visigothic and Asturian monarchies, Alfonso II (791–842) tried to restore in Oviedo the Visigothic order as it had once functioned at Toledo. Visigothic terms for the royal council reappeared. The chief officials were the standard-bearer (armiger), the maiordomus or superintendent of the household, the notary, treasurer, and chamberlains. The king occasionally gathered bishops, magnates, and palace officials in an extraordinary concilium, such as the council of León held by Alfonso V in 1017 to restore the kingdom after the destruction wrought by al-Manṣūr. In twelfth-century Castile and León the term curia regis came into use to designate the royal court or council, whether meeting in ordinary or extraordinary sessions. The duties of the standard-bearer, now called alférez, the mayordomo, and lesser officials remained essentially the same. Supervision of the royal writing office was assigned to the chancellor, ordinarily a cleric. The council advised the king in matters of legislation, justice, finance, diplomacy, and war. The king often stated that he acted “with the counsel of the chief men of my curia.” The great men of the realm participated in extraordinary sessions (curia plena, curia generalis, curia solemnis), as on the occasion of Alfonso VII’s coronation as emperor of Spain at León in 1135. The curia of León held in 1188 by Alfonso IX was significant because he summoned to participate not only prelates and nobles but also the “elected citizens of each city.” That event heralded the future development of the cortes.

By the thirteenth century the business of government had become so complex that the responsibilities of those daily attending the king were differentiated and administrative departments emerged. Legists (letrados) trained in Roman and canon law gave a professional cast to the court. Still there was no administrative capital, as the court continued to travel with the king. Alfonso X described the organization of the court (corte, casa del rey) in the Siete Partidas. The council (consejo del rey) was composed of clerics and laymen sworn to give good and loyal advice, to guard the king’s secrets, and to obey his commands. The alférez, a noble of high rank, carried the king’s standard and served as his advocate in matters of justice. Next in rank was the mayordomo mayor, a noble charged with oversight of the household and especially of financial accounts. The almojarife (usually a Jew) was responsible for collecting revenues and paying stipends to the nobility and to others. The admiral (almirante de la mar) was the commander of the fleet.

An army of domestic servants, including chaplains and physicians, also accompanied the king. The chamberlain (camarero mayor) had custody of the bedchamber and the king’s personal effects; the butler (reposero mayor) was in charge of service at table; the steward (despensero mayor) purchased food supplies and other necessities; the lodging master (posadero mayor) arranged suitable housing for the king and the court. The portero mayor directed heralds or ushers, who admitted visitors to the king’s presence and served as messengers. The bodyguard (caballero de la mesnada del rey) completed the royal entourage.

This structure remained more or less intact until the Trastámara era in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Then the main innovation was the clear separation of the royal household (casa real), whose responsibilities were essentially domestic, from the royal council (consejo real), the chancery, and the judicial tribunal. Every aspect of administration came within the purview of the council, which now became the principal organ of government. In response to the petitions of the cortes Juan I in 1385 created a council including four persons representing each of the three estates. The towns hoped that this would give them a permanent voice in the council, but the king quickly
replaced the municipal representatives with four legists who could be counted on to uphold royal authority. Thereafter membership constantly fluctuated. Perceiving that control of the council would ultimately mean greater power over all the instruments of government, the nobility strove to secure places in that body so that they could dominate it.

Fernando and Isabel transformed the council from a battleground of conflicting nobiliary factions into an instrument of the royal will, reorganizing it in 1480. The council now consisted of a prelate, three knights, and eight or nine legists. The royal secretary served as the intermediary between the ruler and the council and began to assume something of the character of a prime minister. As required, other specialized councils were created for the administration of the Military Orders (Consejo de las Ordenes, established in 1495), the Inquisition (Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición, 1483), and the Hermandad (Consejo de la Santa Hermanadad), dissolved in 1498 after order had been restored to the kingdom. This medieval legacy underwent subsequent evolution and alteration as the needs of the modern era demanded.

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**ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, LEÓN**

From the repopulation of the city of León by Ordoño I (850–866) to the incorporation of the kingdom of León into that of Castile on the death of Alfonso IX (1188–1230), the chief constant of its administration was the king in his curia. Throughout those four centuries kingship remained a peripatetic institution that brought its government to the various corners of the realm by visiting them periodically and personally. Its central method of operation was to bring the charisma of the crown to bear on political, religious, and judicial problems where they originated. Though the city of León itself always remained the civitas regia it was primarily a cult center in which the court took up residence for the celebration of the greatest feasts of the Christian and royal year, such as Christmas and Easter. It was in no sense a permanent administrative center.

The king never functioned simply by himself, but always with and in his curia, which was at once the essential advisory body and the executive instrument of the crown. Though no one individual or officer was indispensable to the makeup of the curia except for the king himself, its constituent parts were fairly stable. First and foremost among them was the royal dynasty. That is, the prime advisers of the king were the other living adult members of the royal house, from queen mother, uncles, and aunts to sisters and younger brothers, the infantes or the generation to come, present in the court.

Second to the dynasts of the curia were the great churchmen of the realm. Usually that meant the bishop of León above all, closely followed by the bishops of Astorga and Zamora, who traveled with the court for long periods of the year. The bishops of Galicia, especially of Santiago de Compostela, became curial figures when the court was actually in Galicia itself but the very geography of the kingdom usually relegated them to minor participation. During the great period of union with Castile between 1037 and 1157, the bishops of Palencia, Burgos, and Toledo rivaled in importance even those of León proper. As the Reconquest of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries progressed, the bishops of Salamanca became curial figures, too.

The third constant element was composed of members of the great magnate families of the realm. These had not the institutional regularity or permanence of the episcopacy, and their identity at any given time is harder to specify. Nevertheless, some members of some such families were always present at court, though their composition would change from month to month. Ordinarily, those of the district through which the court was then progressing were most heavily represented.

A delicate and dynamic mix of the influence and advice of members of all three of these powerful groups lay behind every royal decision whether that latter had to do with matters dynastic, military, legislative, administrative, or judicial. Distinct organs to treat these areas had not evolved, and the curia dealt with all of them. In that work it was assisted by a number of officers of the crown who began to appear, as such, in the eleventh century although the functions themselves had doubtless existed earlier. We are not sufficiently informed as to the day-to-day functioning of the curia to determine in what measure they were actually regarded as members of it or simply as important royal servants. Probably such a distinction was not regularly made, for institutional categories were largely foreign to the age.

These offices were three. One was the mayordomo, responsible for the order and supply of the court on its travels and of its principal residences. A second was the armiger, or alfériz, who was the commander of the royal bodyguard, the nucleus of the army, and the bearer of the royal standard in battle. The third was
the royal notary, called chancellor from the reign of Alfonso VII (1126–1157). The first two offices were held by nobles drawn from one or another of the great magnate families of the realm ordinarily and the relative frequency of the latters’ appearances in them is a good gauge of their contemporary influence at court and in the kingdom. Since the third required literacy, it was held by ecclesiastics. From the reign of Fernando II (1157–1188) the chancellorship was titularly held by the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela but usually exercised through a delegate.

None of these offices were held for a fixed term, and there is no good evidence of a hierarchical staff to support them, except in the case of the chancellor, though all doubtless had assistants of some sort. In the case of the notary or chancellor we can see already in the reign of Alfonso VI (1065–1109) a function vested in a group of four or five clerics arranged in a rough hierarchy, some being known simply as scriptor, others notarius, and finally as chief officer or cancellarius. Also from the time of Alfonso VI there seemed to be a rough sort of cursus honorum that operated in relation to all three offices. Some clerics, at any rate, appear to have moved from scriptor, to notarius, and even to cancellarius, and then go on to appointment to an episcopal office. In the lay offices, some male children of the nobility seem to have been raised at court, as adults are entrusted first with the office of alférez, move on to become mayordomus, and subsequently appear as count in an area where their father or an uncle had preceded them.

At least from the time of Alfonso V (999–1028), the ordinary curia was purposely swollen from time to time for functions of special importance. These “general curias” to which people were especially summoned and to which contemporaries referred by a variety of terms, decided questions of royal succession, war, peace, and church reform. One such, summoned to León in April of 1188 by Alfonso IX to ratify his own succession, is the first known to have included representatives selected by some of the towns of the realm. Therefore, it is ordinarily thought of by modern historians as the first cortes—the first parliament in Iberia as well as in the medieval west. Burghers are known also to have been summoned to other, later curias of Alfonso IX but it would be too much to say that their attendance had already become customary.

**Bernard F. Reilly**

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**ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, NAVARRE**

It is only at the end of the medieval era that a real administration came about in the kingdom of Navarre. During the epochs of Sancho the Great (1005–1035), of the kings of “Aragón and Pamplona” (eleventh and twelfth centuries), and then of the last sovereigns of the native dynasty (the thirteenth century), one chancellor alone seemed sufficient to the whole of affairs, at the side of the king, head of his troops and master of his castles. As the kingdom became a real state such as the great neighboring kingdoms, Navarre asked for an administration and a specialized staff. The kings of the French dynasties have seen, in these appointments and this management, an element of their sovereignty; the political and economical necessities required it. The examination of this administration is therefore the most fruitful in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. The king had a palace and a court, from where everything was issued and everything ended up. The king of Navarre, like his contemporaries, only acted with the advice of a council. Within its ranks appeared the princes of the family and all those that the king wanted to summon according to his own will. On several occasions, as the kings of Navarre lived in France as much as in their kingdom, a governor replaced the king. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the governors were French noblemen, treating Navarre as a bailiwick of the Capetian lands. But Charles II (1349–1387), definitively and truly setting down his kingdom, no longer appointed governors. His brother Louis, then his son Charles and also queen Jeanne, periodically replaced him, each bearing the title “king’s lieutenant” (this was especially true of Louis, until 1361).

Beside this high officer, the members of the council were the Navarrese noblemen or the sovereign’s personal secretaries whose social backgrounds were various. The chancellor of Navarre played one of the first parts, but he was not always appointed and could be replaced by the keeper of the seals or even by a college of solicitors and alcaldes—the judges of the court—who often took charge of the administration. But under Charles III (1387–1425), the chancellor Francés de Villaspeña was one of the greatest actors in the life of the kingdom. The chancellery’s seal and the king’s seal alternated in diplomatic acts, according to their object and according to their author.

Lastly, at the king’s side, the palace sometimes grouped together several hundred people. To manage this king’s house, this king’s hotel, “masters” and
chambriers had officers, servants, equerries, and clerks, who were gathered in the departments of the stable, kitchen, fruiterie, echansonnerie, pound, paneterie, and chapel. Each department had its budget, each officer his wages.

The supplying of the court lay on the management of the province as the efficiency of the royal government. Since the thirteenth century the kingdom of Navarre was divided into merindades of the mountains, Estella, Sanguesa, the Ribera, and the Châteleneuf of Saint-Jean for northern Navarre. Each county town of a merindad had its bayle, sitting in Pamplona, Estella, Sanguesa, Tudela, and Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port. Divisions according the valleys, walled towns, and enclaves still separated these merindades. Then, in the fifteenth century, the merindad of Olite was created. The merinos were the king’s representatives, judges, and administrators, especially in charge of the castles (which had alcaytes filled by the king) and the raising of the troops; they were generally French noblemen, or Navarrese in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, often simultaneously holding duties in the court and in the council. At their side, a collector and a judge were indispensable experts.

Another way of controlling the province was to make it take part in the central government. Following the usual custom of occidental kingdoms, the king of Navarre convened representative meetings, the very Iberian cortes. Members of the clergy, nobility, and the delegates of the “good towns” therefore sat on the royal request, in order to grant fiscal aid and to support the great acts of politics (the raising of an army, the legal recognition of an heir to the throne). But the management of the merinos and of their tax collectors had to be controlled by investigators—reformers created by the French kings in imitation of the Capetian’s investigators, who supervised the whole of judicial and fiscal life, and provincial as well as treasury officers.

Everything indeed ended up in a treasury. The general treasurer of the kingdom, a cleric or French or Navarrian bourgeois, supervised all the provincial collectors, domestic officers, and the military or miscellaneous expenses of the life of the state. Besides this very great official, a chamber of accounts was created in 1365. This was a special court that dissected all financial initiatives and expenses with clerks, solicitors, and auditors, most of the time Navarrese bourgeois. Finally, a court tribunal, entrusted to four alcaldes and four solicitors, a lawyer, an inland revenue prosecutor, and a crown prosecutor, represented a breeding ground of councillors and high-ranking officers and played both political and juridical roles. The staff of these administration charges, with its solidarity, its careers, its remunerations, its efficiency, and also its abuse and faults, reflected the whole political life of the kings of Navarre.

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ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, PORTUGAL

The central administration of the kingdom of Portugal was initially patterned on that of the neighboring kingdom of León-Castile, from which Portugal separated in the twelfth century. The curia regis consisted of prelates and nobles who counseled the king on major affairs and a body of functionaries who accompanied the king on his travels. The royal court at that time had no fixed residence, nor were the responsibilities of royal officials clearly differentiated. The principal officials were the signifer (later called alferes-mor), a high-ranking noble who bore the royal standard and commanded the king’s armies. Next in rank was the maiordomus curie or mordomo mor da corte who supervised the affairs of the royal household and the public administration. Under Sancho II (1223–1248) the mordomo was known as the maiorinus maior (meirinho mor) of Portugal, but Afonso III (1248–1279) restored the older title. Assisting the maiordomus was the dapifer curie, but this office soon disappeared. A notarius or notary originally acted as a royal secretary, but Afonso I (1128–1185) established the office of chancellor. The cancellarius or chanceler was a cleric whose task was to draft and publish charters and diplomas and to guard the royal seal used to authenticate them, notaries and scribes assisted him. From the time of Afonso II (1211–1223) royal documents were recorded in registers for future reference. The office of superiudex (sobrejuiz) or superior judge was created by Sancho II to adjudicate litigation brought before the king.

From the time of Afonso III the central administration became more complex and required greater organization and differentiation of functions. Whereas Coimbra had been a favorite residence of his predecessors, Afonso III opted in favor of Lisbon, which was more centrally located. There the royal archives were deposited, but the chancellor and much of the rest of the court continued to accompany the king as he trav-
eled extensively about his realm. In 1258, Afonso III published a *Regimento da Casa Real* that described the duties of palatine officials. Besides the mordomo mor, the alferes mor, the chancellor, and the sobrejuiz there were numerous other officials whose functions were often of a private nature. They included the reposteiro mor or butler, the porteiro mor or chief usher and messenger, the chaplain, the royal physicians, and other subordinates. A royal council (*conselho d’el-rei*) composed of the mordomo mor, alferes mor, the chancellor, the sobrejuiz, and other counselors chosen by the king assumed a more permanent character and was consulted regularly by the king on matters of great importance.

After the conclusion of the Reconquest the chancellor assumed the dominant role in the court, supervising an ever-growing bureaucracy of clerks, notaries, scribes, and other professionals or legists educated in the universities in civil and canon law. The functions of diverse groups of officials now became more specialized. In the reign of Pedro I (1357–1367) the chancellor was gradually supplanted as the most influential person in the royal court by the escrivão da puridade, the king’s private secretary, who used the king’s personal seal (anel de camafeu) to handle business much more expeditiously than the cumbersome machinery of the chancery. Also playing a role of the utmost importance were the livradores de desembargos or deliverers of dispatches. These legists received petitions and requests for royal action; after reviewing them and determining how these matters should be handled, they presented their recommendations to the chancellor or to the king.

During this time as the administration of justice became more complex, requiring highly specialized knowledge, the royal tribunal was separated from other elements of the central administration. The sobrejuizes of earlier times were replaced by ouvidores or auditors, men usually trained in Roman and canon law, who constituted a tribunal or audiência to adjudicate suits in the king’s name. Under Afonso IV (1325–1357) one group of auditors sat in a fixed place while another accompanied the king. This eventually gave way to the establishment of two principal royal courts. The Casa do Cível, settled first in Santarém and then in Lisbon by João I (1385–1433), was constituted by sobrejuizes and two ouvidores do crime to hear both civil and criminal cases. The two ouvidores do civil and two ouvidores do crime who formed the Casa da Justiça da Corte traveling with the king also dealt with civil and criminal matters. A third group of judges, the vedores da fazenda, handled litigation concerning the king’s revenues and financial administration. The cor-

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**ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, CROWN OF ARAGÓN**

The resources available to the kings of Aragón depended upon a wide array of patrimonial assets, customary exactions, and subsidies that varied in importance according to historical circumstances and regional tradition. Each component of the dynastic federation known as the Crown of Aragón possessed fiscal assets and prerogatives providing the ruler with support but also limiting his prerogatives. In the upland kingdom of Aragón and the counties of Old Catalonia, the foundation stones of the dynastic confederation, rulers originally lived and governed from their domain and traditional fiscal exactions. The impulse for new territorial conquests in al-Andalus and ambitions in the Mediterranean created heavy new demands that outstripped traditional resources by the late twelfth century. As a result, the early count-kings instituted fiscal initiatives to improve the management and collection of their older resources and turned to new forms of taxation. The forcible addition of the new realms of Valencia, Mallorca, and Sicily in the thirteenth century and the later conquests of Sardinia and the kingdom of Naples each presented new challenges to fiscal control, not to mention the heavy expense of maintaining such far-flung interests. New forms of central financial control were instituted, but the monarchy also had to
recognize the financial and political concerns of the individual regional components. The tensions between central and local fiscal supervision, delegated and direct fiscal management, and traditional and novel forms of revenue created the dynamic behind the administrative and political actions of the kings of Aragón.

Early Fiscal Initiatives

The surviving fiscal accounts in Catalonia, whose administrative records are far fuller than those of Aragón, provide a window on the nature of early fiscal supervision. From the mid-twelfth century the records of account demonstrate that scribes and clerks provided a literate professionalism essential to the development of government. While vicars and bailiffs, the local agents in charge of the fisc, no doubt had traditionally been subject to irregular review, the spread of militant lordship in Catalonia from the early eleventh century had made the count’s men look upon their charges as patrimonial assets rather than as delegated responsibilities. To rein in his officials and gain firmer control of his assets, Ramón Berenguer IV commanded an ambitious survey of comital domains, executed by Ramón de Caldes and Guillem de Bassa in 1151. Although a traditional form of memorializing assets, the “Little Domesday” for Catalonia provided a basis for erecting a more ambitious structure of fiscal control. Under Ramón Berenguer IV’s successor, Alfonso I (Alfonso II of Aragón, 1162–1196), court accountants began to update inventories and supervise periodic fiscal reviews of officials. Copies of audits were kept in a new fiscal archive and professional literacy began to overshadow personal loyalty as the foundation of patrimonial control. Because of growing indebtedness in the later years of Alfonso I and especially during the reign of his son, Pedro I (1196–1213), the assignment of revenues from bailiwicks and vicariates as pledges to meet financial demands became increasingly common. Credit long remained a critical feature of local Catalan administration. Royal finance was still dependent on supervision by courtiers, without budget or treasury. One must not overemphasize the effectiveness of these reforms, but they did point the way to firmer fiscal control. A handful of accountants and scribes helped organize and supervise local financial administration, but firm central institutions were still lacking.

Expanded political ambitions in the thirteenth century severely strained traditional sources of revenue. King Pedro I incurred massive debts to barons and court financiers; his death at the Battle of Muret provoked a financial crisis during the early years of his son Jaime I (1213–1276). Large parts of the royal domain were given over to barons in order to recover their loans, but under the financial supervision of the Knights Templar, the crown gradually regained direct administration of its domains. The conquests of Mallorca (1229) and Valencia (1238) provided important new sources of revenues that offered immediate relief for the financial pressures on the old heartlands of Catalonia and Aragón, yet other sources of revenue would also be required to support even more ambitious military and political designs. Close supervision of commercial tolls and urban utilities provided important supplements to traditional patrimonial assets as towns grew. In addition, King Jaime I asked for more tallages from individual cities and regions, imposed taxes on Jewish communities, exploited the newly subjected Muslim communities in Valencia, and requested general levies. In Catalonia, the bovatge, distantly related to a peace tax in Cerdanya, was levied throughout the land in 1173. Although it became a customary accession tax, thirteenth-century kings came to impose it in emergencies. In Aragón, a tax levied for the redemption of the coinage, the monedatge, served a similar function. Territorially based and levied by paid collectors, the bovatge and monedatge became the first public subsidies in the Crown of Aragón and prompted the kings to ask the cortes (general assemblies) for the aid.

The reign of Jaime I was marked by growing institutional maturity and expanding bureaucracies. Bailiffs continued to supervise fiscal administration locally in Catalonia and Valencia while merinos served the same function in Aragón, only both increasingly employed subordinates or farmed out parts of their charge to investor-administrators. Substantial elements of older patrimonial assets were assigned to creditors, whose advances were critical in keeping local administration running smoothly. The kings kept tighter control of their rights in their newly conquered territories of Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Until the 1280s Jews served frequently in the principal urban bailiwicks, and major parts of the domain were pledged to barons and urban financiers. Fiscal supervision, once charged to the Templars, became connected with the chancery, for the early royal registers, dating from the 1250s, contain accounts and audits. Because of baronial revolts and the conquest of Sicily in 1282, the later years of Jaime I and the reign of his son Pedro II (III of Aragón, 1276–1285) were again marked by mounting financial pressure. To help organize his scattered assets for urgent military needs, in 1283 Pedro II experimented with a new, centralized fiscal supervisor for the Crown of Aragón, the mestre racional.
Central Fiscal Control (1283–1419)

The creation of the mestre racional was part of a general movement toward administrative specialization and maturation throughout the Crown of Aragón. Mediterranean conquests and the political repercussions they brought strained the financial resources of the Aragónese kings as a long series of confrontations with France, Castile, Genoa, and Naples, as well as the difficulty of subduing Sardinia, required substantial military and naval expenditures throughout the fourteenth century. To meet these demands, the monarchy needed to tap its widely dispersed resources and turn to new forms of revenue. As the fiscal overseer of accounts throughout the Crown of Aragón, the mestre racional became the principal fiscal official with responsibility over the federation.

Pedro II instituted the office after a Sicilian model in 1283, the year after the Catalan conquest of the island. At first, the mestre racional served with three other court officials to supervise accounts from the realms directly subject to the king of Aragón with the exception of Sicily, where the office originated. Without clearly circumscribed functions among his three peers, the mestre racional was not able to consolidate his position at first and encountered opposition from local administrators, particularly in Aragón. The office was briefly abolished from 1288 to 1293. Jaime II (1291–1326), however, reinstated it and now gave the supervision of fiscal audit to the mestre racional alone, assisted by his scribes and a lieutenant. Later administrative ordinances in 1344 and 1358 further clarified and strengthened the nature of the office. The mestre racional oversaw a complex network of fiscal administrators and creditors to the crown. He received and audited accounts from the three general bailiffs, instituted in 1282 in Catalonia, Aragón, and Valencia to supervise local vicars, bailiffs, and merinos. Accounts kept by royal creditors, collectors of extraordinary revenues, and members of the royal family also fell under his jurisdiction. With increased central control of finance, the king could now total and compare revenues from various peninsular realms in order to determine the degree to which his resources could support his policies.

Besides the mestre racional and his assistants, two other officials also participated in central financial administration: the treasurer and the escrivá de ració, with attendant scribes. The treasurer was of course responsible for the receipts and disbursements from the royal treasury, which remained itinerant. Associated with the treasurer was the escrivá de ració, who dealt with the royal household, including jewelry, clothing, and other valuables, and occasionally with royal ambassadors or procurators. The central financial administration thus involved fifteen or twenty individuals, with the mestre racional at its summit.

The centralization and stability of fiscal audit produced a splendid series of financial records from the end of the thirteenth century. Together with the accounts of the general bailiffs in Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia, the records kept by the mestre racional provide a detailed account of the state of finance throughout the Crown of Aragón, with the exception of the kingdoms of Sicily and Mallorca (which had its own mestre racional during its period of independence). These records reveal a substantial growth in the revenues available to the king since the early thirteenth century. The increases, however, came principally from commercial tolls and extraordinary taxation rather than from the older lands and revenues of the fisc. These traditional sources of income had been assigned to meet the expenses of local administration and debt or alienated either for long periods or in perpetuity. In the early fourteenth century only 10 percent of income that came from the traditional royal patrimony in Catalonia made its way into the coffers of the treasurer, and the state of the fisc was surely little better in Aragón. King Jaime II already complained that debt was forcing him to alienate parts of the royal patrimony, and the problem worsened during the second half of the fourteenth century. Owing to the erosion of the fisc, Martín I (1396–1410) attempted to recover portions of the lost patrimony and further alienations were prohibited. In Catalonia, royal officials concentrated on the recovery of jurisdictional rights, while in Aragón the cortes were in charge of recovering royal rents. Although not completely successful, these reforms did help slow the hemorrhaging of traditional sources of revenue and rights to the crown. The attempts at recuperation, however, above all demonstrate the financial difficulties facing the monarchy in the fourteenth century and the need to look for new sources of revenue.

Although the kings of Aragón had sought and received general levies such as the monedatge and botavge as well as local tallages from the twelfth century onward, customary limitations on their assessment did not allow these revenues to meet the expenses of the crown. In the early fourteenth century, nondomainal revenues constituted the lion’s share of income to the royal treasury. Regular tribute and irregular subsidies demanded from Mudéjar and especially Jewish communities grew in importance. In the treasury receipts of 1335, for which one of the few detailed studies exists, Jews contributed 21 percent of the total; the aljamas of Catalonia paid almost twice as much as those of Aragón. In the same year 58 percent of income to
the crown came from irregular subsidies, of which only 4 percent derived from the traditional sources of tallage, monedatge, and bovatge. In that year the primary source of income to the crown as a whole came from an imposición (subsidy) voted by the cortes of Valencia. In Catalonia and Aragón as well irregular aids and impositions granted by the cortes of the individual realms provided important new means of war subsidies that far exceeded renders from customary domains and revenues. With larger and increasingly regular subsidies came greater demands on the part of representative bodies for fiscal supervision. Permanent standing deputations of the cortes in the three realms supervised and audited the collectors of the revenues they approved. The autonomous powers of the Diputación del General in Aragón, Catalonia (where it was called the Generalitat), and Valencia, each a permanent commission voted by their respective cortes, were fully recognized by the early fifteenth century. As representative institutions consolidated their power and provided substantial revenues to supplement the income from the royal domain, regional concerns in each of the three realms heightened the practical difficulties of managing financial affairs centrally.

By the turn of the fifteenth century Valencia, jealous of Catalan domination of the federation, had attained a new financial and economic importance. In addition, the installation in 1412 of a new dynasty the Trastámara, had come at the price of strengthening the constitutional prerogatives of each of the realms. These new circumstances induced Alfonso IV (Alfonso V in Aragón), who would spend most of his long reign in southern Italy, to establish a separate mestre racional in Valencia in 1419.

Debt, Regionalism, and Reform (1419–1516)

With the foundation of separate mestres racionals, the treasury remained the only central financial institution after 1419. Yet the movement toward decentralization also eroded the traditional responsibilities of the office. From the 1420s onward the general bailiffs in each realm and local bailiffs and merinos authorized expenditures directly from the revenues they collected without receiving specific letters of payment from the general treasurer. As a result, specialized local treasuries formed and kept separate registers of account. The general treasurer’s receipts therefore no longer reflected the balance of income from throughout the crown since large portions of patrimonial revenues and expenditure were handled at a local or regional level. His duties became limited to supervising the reduced amounts that actually arrived at the coffers traveling with the king.

During the fifteenth century the kings of Aragón continued to face the same financial difficulties that had plagued their predecessors in the fourteenth. We still know little about the effects that heavy military expenditure had on the royal fisc and local officials. The majority of revenues from traditional patrimonial resources continued to be consumed in local administration, and parts of the fisc were pledged to meet expenses. Owing to the persecution of Jews and declining number of Mudejars, taxes from religious minorities declined. Contributions to the king administered by the diputaciones of the three regional cortes, however, continued to be substantial, as did subsidies and loans from the towns. In Catalonia, private banks also provided substantial amounts. Unable to meet the immediate demands of their sovereign from their ordinary revenues, the diputaciones and towns came to rely on the sale of annual and life annuities (censals and violaris) to investors, secured upon their taxes and other rights. The amount of public debt grew substantially in Aragón and Valencia during the fifteenth century, but the crisis was deepest in Catalonia, which was wracked by civil war and economic hardship from 1462 to 1472. The advent of Fernando I in 1474 marked an important turning point in the financial well-being of the Crown of Aragón for he set out with urgency and determination to reduce public debt, decrease the interest paid on annuities, and recover alienated portions of the royal patrimony. His reign witnessed an amelioration in the finances of the Crown of Aragón, but the amounts his territories could provide seemed meager in comparison to the resources Isabel possessed in the expansive Crown of Castile.

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, CASTILE

The rudiments of the financial administration of the Roman Empire survived in the Visigothic era. Recesvinth, at the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653, confirmed the distinction between state property and the personal holdings of the king, which were transmissible to his heirs. Nevertheless, the distinction between
public property and the private estates of the king tended to blur very easily. Officials such as the count of the patrimony and the count of the treasury appear to have had responsibility for the royal domain and revenues and expenditures. Revenues, including a land tax, poll tax, tolls, and fines, tended to be customary and of fixed amounts and were collected by local officials.

The data for the kingdoms of Asturias-León-Castile prior to the thirteenth century is so scant as to make it difficult to speak of financial administration. The distinction between public and royal property disappeared altogether. No attempt at a budget seems to have been made, and revenues, whatever their source, were used by the king as he saw fit. The maiordomus apparently took charge of the collection and expenditure of royal revenues, while the treasurer (thesaurarius) guarded the king’s jewels and other valuables. Local officials (merinos) were responsible for the collection of tributes and other moneys owed to the king. Royal revenue continued to be derived from the tribute payable by tenants on the land, labor services, tolls, fines, hospitality, and transportation.

As royal needs and responsibilities became more complex in the thirteenth century so did the financial administration. The mayor domo mayor had general charge of the king’s accounts, but the almojarife mayor, often a Jew, directed the collection of taxes and the payment of stipends to the nobility, one of the major expenses of the crown. Ordinarily the king contracted with tax farmers who were authorized to collect specific taxes in return for payment of a fixed amount into the treasury every year; for example, in 1276–1277 several Jewish tax farmers contracted to pay 1,670,000 maravedís from the collection of taxes due since 1261. In 1280 Alfonso X executed Zag de la Maleha, the almojarife mayor, for diverting funds due since 1261. In 1280 Alfonso X executed Zag de la Maleha, the almojarife mayor, for diverting funds already collected to the king’s son, Sancho. The cortes (parliament) often demanded that only Christians should be permitted to collect taxes, to the exclusion of Jews, nobles, and clerics. Tax collectors (merinos, cogedores) were required to render accounts annually; among the few records still extant are accounts for several years in the reign of Sancho IV (1284–1295). From time to time the cortes demanded an accounting of royal income and expenditures; an audit carried out at Burgos in 1308 revealed a deficit of 4,500,000 maravedís. Fernando IV promised the cortes in 1312 that he would balance the budget, but that was never effectively accomplished. An audit in 1317 indicated income of 1,600,000 and expenditures of 9,000,000 maravedís for maintenance of the royal court, custody of castles, and stipends for the nobility. As a basis for assessing taxes a padrón was drawn up in each locality listing taxpayers and estimating their wealth.

Confusion seems to have been the hallmark of financial administration into the late Middle Ages, when some effort at reform was undertaken. The role of the mayordomo mayor was now honorific, and the office of almojarife mayor disappeared in the late fourteenth century; the despensero mayor continued to pay the salaries of members of the royal household. Tax collection was in the hands of recaudadores named in each district or partido. The principal financial administrators were now divided between the contaduría mayor de hacienda and the contaduría mayor de cuentas. Two accountants, or contadores mayores de hacienda, saw to the collection and disbursement of the king’s ordinary revenues, which were recorded in libros de asiento. They also kept books recording alienated income (libros de lo salvado). Two additional contadores mayores de cuentas reviewed royal accounts, prepared an annual summary of expected income and expenses, and had jurisdiction over litigation concerning any of these issues. After 1436 they were required to take up permanent residence at Valladolid in the Casa de las Cuentas. Fernando and Isabel refined various aspects of this system, making it a more effective means of collecting and controlling the expenditures of royal revenues. As a consequence they greatly increased the income of the crown.

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, LEÓN

The fundamental resource of the Leonese monarchy was the landed property of the dynasty. From it were derived the horses and oxen that furnished its means of locomotion; cattle, sheep, and grains, which gave it sustenance; rents, which provided for the sophisticated goods that must be purchased in the Islamic south in the early years; and the men who filled out its raiding parties and war bands. The administrator who was responsible for all of this wealth in its various forms was the merino. He was essentially an estate manager. Surely he was appointed but rarely was he of such rank as to leave much trace in the documents. The last century of the Leonese kingdom sometimes saw merinos of some personal prestige and family but these were the custodians of royal urban properties and so
of a rather different type. Their prime concern would have been the collection of rents from bakeries, forges, and presses owned by the crown, along with the proceeds of justice that they, like their country cousins, administered.

One thinks that such local officials must have been responsible to the royal majordomo at court for their stewardship. Still, it is so far impossible to discern any mechanism that would have regularly connected the two. A later period will see the merindad emerge as a fundamental unit of local government and the merino mayor as a coordinating official, but these are hard to detect in the kingdom of León. During the reign of the last of its kings, Alfonso IX, there are some persons designated merino of much larger units—Galicia, for instance—but not much is known of their function.

The merino must also have been responsible for the collection of what was the major tax revenue of the realm, that is, the fossataria. This was a “shield tax” levied on those who elected not to perform the fossata, or obligatory military service in time of war. No particular machinery was necessary to collect it since the merino could simply bring it to the gathering of the royal host.

This same near absence of administration as such marked the entire range of royal revenue and its collection. The coinage was a royal prerogative but the actual mints were located in the episcopal towns and were operated by the bishop, with a share of the proceeds going to the crown. So too, the portaticum and the mercatum, levies on goods transported or sold, seem often to have been administered by those bishops or abbots who had been allotted a share in them by royal charter, but the collection of the former, especially in country districts, must simply have been leased to local magnates or royal castellans. Likely the procedure was the same with the royal share from the proceeds of mining operations, especially of salt.

Finally, as everywhere during the Middle Ages, the proceeds of the administration of justice belonged to the crown. In fact, as the charters make abundantly clear, everywhere the regular procedure was that they were to be divided, most frequently evenly, between the injured party and the crown. The position of judge became most visible in the documents, although judges were ordinarily the most humble of officials, and exclusively local. Most probably, the collection and forwarding of the royal share of the imposts arising from their work again fell on the merino, castellan, or bishop of the vicinity. There is no trace of alternative machinery either at the local or royal levels.

While all of these rents and customary revenues may have sufficed ordinarily in time of peace, they had to be supplemented in wartime, which was quite frequent. By the second half of the twelfth century a special revenue, the petium, emerged, and its levy was occasional and general. Again, since it was a special impost no particular machinery seems to have been devised to collect it, and apparently the proceeds would have been borne to a royal curia or assembly of the host by those who attended.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century this tradition of royal entitlement to special “grants in aid” in times of emergency would be linked to the emergence of the new cortes in both León and Castile. Doubtless, such requests had ordinarily been made in the context of a royal curia. One such grant may have been made at the first cortes of León in 1188, but the documents are not clear. Certainly one was authorized at the cortes at Benavente in 1202, where it was linked to a royal promise not to tamper with the coinage for a period of seven years afterward. Such a linkage became common in both León and Castile, and suggests that the bulk of the revenue was to be derived from the merchant community. Before 1230 there is no evidence that special tax collectors were appointed for its collection.

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, NAVARRE

Every state with a foreign policy and managed by a king and a court needs a serious financial administration. In the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, the kingdom of Navarre had its own treasury and experts. The treasurer of Navarre, whose yearly registers detailed the expenditure and receipts kept, was usually a French clerk (Simon Aubert in the beginning of the fourteenth century) or a Navarese middle-class person (Juan Caritat, a “Franco” from Tudela, in the end of the fourteenth century). Helped by a chamber of deniers which supervised the minting of money, and by a chamber of accounts, which managed and judged the fiscal cases, the treasurer’s main function was to plan the state’s expenditure (war, fortifications, troops’ pay, military and civilian officers’ wages, equipment work, amounts of money granted to the king’s loyalists, and court’s expenditure); and to attend to the coming in of the receipts (pechas of the taxable commoners and of
the Moors and Jews—that is to say, taxes of quota raised by homesteads, indirect miscellaneous taxes on trade, bridges, markets and fairs, registering rights under the king’s seal). Therefore, the treasurer controlled the provincial tax collectors, as well as all the officers of the court charged of a specialized duty and entitled to certain spending necessary to their responsibilities.

In the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, the claims for “exceptional help” periodically returned. The king or his representative then convened the cortes (parliament) and the delegates of the prelates, nobility, and “good towns” accepted the amount of money requested by the treasury for war causes, royal events, princely weddings, fortifications, and the like.

Social categories that were usually tax free, such as the Church and nobility, collaborated most often to these exceptional levyings. The sovereign always had the ability to exempt his subjects in a personal capacity, with a seal charter. For this reason expenditures very quickly exceeded receipts (a merino received 2,000 pounds in yearly wages, for instance, causing the expenditure of the court to possibly exceed 50,000 pounds each year) that relied only on the demography and economic prosperity of Navarre. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the treasury had to resort to short-term measures. By the mid-fourteenth century, the treasury regularly leased taxations, either directly or indirectly. For a fixed and yearly amount of money, the arrendadores managed for themselves the royal resources; they gathered in groups of six to twelve members, most often Navarrese and Jews from the kingdom; thus, in 1392, they gave 60,000 pounds to the treasury, and then had enough money come in to be paid back. These amounts paid in advance and in one payment were still not enough for the courts of Charles II and Charles III (1349–1425), who constantly borrowed from the nobility, middle-class, and Jews and reimbursed them by giving them a fraction of the royal incomes, or by making installments, interest and usury being wholly legal in Navarre around 1400.

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, PORTUGAL

The financial administration of the kingdom of Portugal was based originally on that of the kingdom of León-Castile, from which Portugal separated in the twelfth century. At that time the personnel responsible for the collection of tributes owed to the crown was undifferentiated from that of other administrative offices. Moreover, as many royal officials were remunerated from local contributions, those moneys did not ordinarily enter the royal treasury. Initially the maior domus curie or mordomo mor, as he was known, not only supervised the royal household but also had general responsibility for the administration of royal revenues. From the thirteenth century onward as awareness of the distinction between the king’s private patrimony and the public patrimony of the state increased, the role of the mordomo mor was restricted to the finances of the household, and general supervision of the collection and disbursement of tributes was entrusted to almoxarifes. The collection of royal revenues was usually given over to tax farmers who promised to pay the crown a certain sum from the various tributes and taxes collected and of course to pocket a profit for themselves. Municipal councils preferred to collect their own tributes.

The sources of royal revenue were many and varied but of unequal importance. There were tributes in the form of rents and services (pectum, peito) owed by the tenants on royal estates. In addition, the king was entitled to pasturage fees (montado); tolls (portagen) collected at roads and bridges; market tolls (açougagen, alcavala, sisa); judicial fines (coima) imposed by his courts; payments made in place of personal military service (Fossataria); and lodging and hospitality (colheita), which became a regular payment in money whether he visited each locality or not. He could also call on local inhabitants for service in building and repairing bridges, roads, and castles (fazenda), and to provide transport for himself or his representatives. He was also entitled to a fifth of any booty, and a fifth of the income derived from the exploitation of mines.

In the thirteenth century the Portuguese kings began to feel the need for extraordinary taxes to meet their steadily increasing financial requirements. To some extent that need was met by convoking the cortes (parliament) and asking the representatives of the townspeople for subsidies (pedidos). An early example of this came during the reign of Afonso III (1248–1279) who tried to improve his financial resources by altering the coinage. The ensuing economic distress evoked strong protest and he had to negotiate a solution with the cortes. In return for the king’s pledge not to debase the coinage for a period of seven years, the cortes granted him a subsidy called mone-tágio or moeda foreira. The kings also exacted forced loans (emprestitos) and levied customs duties of a tenth (dízima) of the value of imported goods. The sisa, a
sales tax, appeared as a royal tribute in the reign of Fernando (1367–1383), though it may antedate him; it remained an extraordinary tribute until the reign of João I (1385–1433) when it became a permanent levy.

King Dinis (1279–1325) established the rudiments of a financial bureaucracy separate from the royal household. The royal treasurer (tesoureiro) assumed general oversight of royal finances and received accounts from almoxarifes and other subordinate officials. Extant today are four incomplete books (libri de recabedo regni) recording royal revenues in the thirteenth century as well as the accounts of the almoxarife in 1273. As the variety of royal revenues became more extensive so did the apparatus responsible for their collection and disbursement. In the fifteenth century two veedores da fazenda (overseers) of the treasury assumed responsibility for financial administration and also adjudicated litigation concerning royal revenues.

According to Fernão Lopes, King Pedro (1357–1367) was especially careful in the management of royal finances, so that when Fernando succeeded him he found a treasure in Lisbon Tower of 800,000 gold pieces, 400,000 marks of silver, as well as other coins. Excluding the customs of Lisbon and Oporto, the revenues of the crown amounted to 800,000 libras, or 200,000 dobras, a significant amount. The customs of Lisbon were reported to be 35,000 to 40,000 dobras annually. The first royal budget appeared in 1473, with revenues of 47,000,000 reais or 145,000 gold cruzados, and expenses of 37.6 million reais or 115,600 cruzados. The bulk of those revenues, 81 percent, was used for the maintenance of the king, his court, and his family, and for stipends given to members of the nobility. As the medieval centuries drew to a close the expenses of royal efforts to expand into Morocco and to exploit the newly emerging continent of Africa meant that expenses quickly outran income and forced the government to operate at a deficit.

Judicial administration in the Visigothic era was complicated by the coexistence of both Roman and Visigothic laws. Hispano-Romans were ruled by the Theodosian Code of 438 and its later derivatives. The Visigoths lived according to custom, but efforts to codify their law and to establish a uniform law for all the inhabitants of the peninsula were made. This process culminated in the Liber Judiciorum, completed during the reign of Recesvith (653–672). This was a systematic, comprehensive code of law, derived in large part from Roman law, and unparalleled elsewhere in the barbarian kingdoms of western Europe. Justice was administered by the king and provincial officials.

In the kingdom of Asturias-León the Liber Judiciorum continued in use, but in Castile custom prevailed. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the new municipalities received fueros or charters regulating the status of persons and property and their obligations to the crown. The Fuero of Cuenca, issued after the conquest of that town in 1177, was the most comprehensive of these texts. The Usatges of Barcelona, a compilation formed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, became the foundation of the legal and judicial system in Catalonia.

The king’s court dealt with cases involving the great men, and provincial governors were responsible for administering justice in their respective territories. As there was no hierarchy of courts, there was no system of appeals, though in León one could appeal to the judgment of the book—that is, the Liber Judiciorum. Procedure was largely Germanic. Except in cases of violation of the king’s peace, the plaintiff had to bring suit by accusation. Once summoned, the defendant had to give pledges as a guarantee of appearance in court. The process was oral as the parties or their spokesmen argued the case. Once the charge was clearly established, judges of proof determined whether it should be proved by an oath of purgation, the ordeal of hot water or hot iron, or the judicial duel. The judges declared whether the proof was successful, but execution of the judgment was left in private hands. Monetary compensation was possible in case of murder or physical injury. Penalties included fines, confiscation, exile, mutilation, and hanging.

The reception of Roman law in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought with it the idea that the king had the primary responsibility for declaring the law and administering justice. This principle was enunciated clearly in the Siete Partidas, a code of law drawn up by Alfonso X of Castile for use in his court, and in the Fuero Real, a code of municipal law. The Partidas were translated into Portuguese under the aegis of King Dinis, and both texts influenced the development of Portuguese law. Roman law was the basis for the

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In 1371 Enrique II established the Real Tribunal to make it more efficient. The Casa da Justicia da Corte was reorganized as a supreme court and Isabel entrusted the Chancilleria of Valladolid with the treasuries and in 1505, with increasing frequency, the crown appointed rectores, iudices, or duces with both civil and military authority. Provincial subdivisions called territoria consisted of a city and its dependent area. The Muslim invasion disrupted all aspects of civil administration, but Islamic Spain was divided at first into five zones corresponding more or less to Andalucia, Galicia and Portugal, Castile and Leon, Aragon and Catalonia, and Septimania or Gallia Gothica. Under the rule of the caliphs of Cordoba a more effective provincial regime was instituted as the realm was divided into at least twenty-one provinces whose extent in some cases probably corresponded to those of the Visigothic era. Provincial governors with both civil and military responsibilities ordinarily resided in the chief cities. Military commanders governed the frontier, which was divided into three segments: the Upper Frontier, embracing Catalonia and Aragon, with headquarters at Zaragoza; the Middle Frontier, centered at Medinaceli and running along the borders of Castile and Leon; and the Lower Frontier, touching Galicia and Portugal and administered from Toledo. These frontier governors often enjoyed considerable auton-
many of the provinces, such as Seville, Córdoba, Jaén, Granada, Málaga, Murcia, Baza, Almería, Beja, Silves, Badajoz, Valencia, and Mallorca, were formed into petty kingdoms known as ta’ifas. The ta’ifas were displaced in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries by the Almoravids and Almohads of Morocco who successively subjugated Islamic Spain and governed it through members of the royal family acting as viceroys. Once Muslim rule was reduced to the kingdom of Granada in the thirteenth century the royal wazir appointed provincial governors, but large areas were often held as lordships. The Ashqilula family, for example, controlled Guadix, Comares, and Málaga, and often acted in opposition to the king. As the price of military assistance the kings of Granada also yielded important places such as Gibraltar and Algeciras to the Benimerines who ruled Morocco in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The system developed in Christian Spain after the collapse of the Visigothic kingdom was essentially new. The tiny kingdom of Asturias-León was initially divided into small districts (mandaciones, comissia) often governed by officials having the personal title of count. Counts and other officials served at the king’s pleasure and ordinarily did not acquire a hereditary right to their office. Together with their subordinates (known as maiorini or merinos) they had full responsibility for dispensing justice, collecting taxes, and providing for defense. Castile, which originated as a frontier province of the kingdom of León, was administered by a count. In the tenth century Fernán González transformed this into a hereditary office and so the county of Castile became an independent entity. In the Pyrenees a series of counties were created as part of the Carolingian empire. By the tenth century the counts had secured a hereditary right to their offices and also achieved practical independence of the Capetian kings of France. Their subordinates were known as vicars or viscounts. What cities or towns there were existed principally as administrative centers, and there was no organized municipal government.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the concession of immunities and the emergence of municipalities resulted in the decline of counties as major territorial divisions. Tenancies of districts, towns, and fortresses were assigned to royal vassals variously called tenentes, seniores, or alcaldes. Only in Aragón (from 1134) and Navarre did they hold their offices or honores by hereditary right. A merino mayor, aided by subordinate merinos, appeared as the chief administrative officer in Castile after 1180. The Catalan counts were assisted by vicars (vicarii) with civil and military responsibilities and bailiffs (bajuli) who collected tributes.

From time to time the king granted the privilege of immunity in perpetuity to lands held by hereditary right by bishops, monasteries, nobles, and military orders. The beneficiary had authority to maintain law and order, appoint judges, administer justice, collect tributes and fines, and require military service. The lands so privileged were immune from the intervention of royal officials except in case of negligence, or in cases of treason, rape, robbery, and destruction of highways. The most notable immunity was that enjoyed by the archbishop of Compostela over broad lands in Galicia. The pertigüero mayor was the archbishop’s representative. In the second half of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth, large areas south of the Tagus River in both Castile and Portugal were handed over as lordships to the military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara, and Avis, who were responsible for all aspects of defense and administration.

The municipalities in the central regions between the Duero and the Tagus river valleys enjoyed self-government in direct dependence on the king, who granted charters or fueros spelling out their military and tributary obligations, and the rights of the citizens. Consisting of an urban nucleus and an extensive dependent rural area (terminus, alfoz), and often populated with villages, the municipalities were a major element in the defense and control of vast areas in the kingdoms of Castile, León, and Portugal abutting the Islamic frontier. While the king appointed a noble (dominus ville, senior civitatis, alcáide) to guard the citadel or alcazar, an assembly of neighbors (concilium, concejo) was responsible for general municipal administration. A juez or juez headed the town government and was aided in the administration of justice by several alcaldes chosen from the parishes of the community. Other officials were in charge of finances (iurati, fieles), the collection of fines and taxes (merinos), inspection of the market (almotacén, zabaque), inscription of public documents (notarios, escribanos), and the maintenance of law and order (sayones, alguaciles). After the conquest of Andalucía, Murcia, and the Algarve in the thirteenth century this municipal regime was introduced into southern cities such as Seville, Córdoba, Cartagena, and others.

The reconquest of these southern provinces in the thirteenth century also resulted in the creation of new
extensive territorial districts governed by officials with responsibility for maintaining law and order, dispensing justice, and collecting tributes and fines owed to the king. Each of the principal constituents of the crown of Castile-León after the union of 1230—namely, the merindades of Castile, León and Asturias, and Galicia—was administered by a merino mayor whose principal responsibility was the administration of justice. Under Alfonso X the title merino mayor was changed to adelantado mayor; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these titles alternated at times, but generally in Castile, León, Asturias, and Galicia the principal representative of the crown was usually called merino mayor. On the southern frontier the adelantado mayor de la frontera, as the chief administrator of Andalucía was called, was charged mainly with military defense against the Muslims. Another adelantado mayor exercised a similar responsibility in the old Muslim kingdom of Murcia. These posts were usually held by leading members of the nobility who often abused their powers, prompting the cortes (parliament) to complain again and again that only those who loved justice should be given this responsibility.

Other adelantados mayores (later known as merinos mayores) were entrusted with the administration of the Basque provinces of Álava and Guipúzcoa. Guipúzcoa was incorporated into the kingdom of Castile in the reign of Alfonso VIII (1158–1214) while Alfonso XI added Álava in 1332. Vizcaya in the eleventh century was ruled by a count under Castilian suzerainty; in the twelfth century it became a lordship held by the López de Haro family. Juan I (1379–1390) finally annexed Vizcaya to the crown; henceforth the king’s representative there was called a prestamero mayor. In the later medieval centuries an hermandad or association of cities, towns, and districts was organized in Vizcaya, Álava, and Guipúzcoa, whose customs the king or his representatives were to uphold. From the fourteenth century the archbishop of Toledo was also represented by an adelantado mayor in the frontier lordship of Cazorla.

Portugal was also divided into zones, each governed by a meirinho mor and marked out by river boundaries—namely, Além Douro, Aquém Douro, Entre Douro e Minho, Entre Douro e Mondego, and Entre Douro e Tejo. The municipal regime in Portugal was comparable to that of Castile-León.

As the Crown of Aragón consisted of several distinct elements—namely, the kingdoms of Aragón, Mallorca, and Valencia—and the county of Barcelona—the territorial administration was complicated. The heir to the throne was usually named procurator general of all the kingdoms, or lieutenant general. In the fifteenth century the office of lieutenant general assumed relatively continuous existence as Alfonso V pursued his ambitions in Italy. During his lengthy absence his wife María or his brother Juan were empowered to act for him throughout his dominions, effectively exercising the authority of a viceroy. In each of the constituent realms a procurator general (later called a governor general) represented the king during his absence. In Valencia and Mallorca that post was more or less permanent. Catalonia was divided into a varying number of vicariats (Rousillon, Cerdanya, Pallars, Manresa, Osona, Girona, Barcelona, Vilafranca, Cervera, Tarrasa, Lérida, Montblanch, Tarragona, and Tortosa), each under a vicar (veguer) entrusted with full authority in matters of administration, justice, and defense. There were two vicariats in Mallorca—one for the city of Palma and the other for the rest of the island. In Aragón and Valencia justiciars (justicia) fulfilled much the same role as the vicars. The king also appointed sobrejunteros to direct the activities of juntas or associations of Aragónese towns organized to preserve order, to suppress crime, punish criminals, and levy fines. In the fourteenth century sobrejunteros presided over six such administrative districts—namely, Zaragoza, Huesca, Teruel, Jaca, Tarazona, and the counties of Ribagorza and Sobrarbe; a century later Exea had replaced Teruel. In the fifteenth century Valencia was divided into four zones or governacions (Valencia, Játiva, Castellón, and Orihuela), each administered by a portant-veus representing the governor general. Side by side with the vicars and justiciars, there were other officials whose duties were primarily financial—namely, the batllés or bayles mayores of Catalonia, Valencia, and Mallorca, entrusted with the collection of royal revenues.

Given the frequent absence of the kings of Navarre of the French dynasty of Champagne, a governor general often had full responsibility for the administration of the kingdom. In the fourteenth century Navarre was divided into six merindades (Pamplona, Tudela, Estella, Sangüesa, Ultrapuertos, and Olite).

A major development in the later Middle Ages was the increase in the number and extent of lordships held by the nobility immune from the supervision of royal officials. The reason for this was the king’s need to gain support and to keep it. Enrique II (1369–1379), the first of the Trastamaran kings of Castile, was notorious for his mercedes or favors granting lordships and other favors to his adherents. Not only were rural estates alienated, so also were towns that had long been directly under the rule of the king and had long enjoyed self-government as such. Typical of such concessions was Juan II’s charter of 1453 conferring certain towns on the widow of Álvaro de Luna “in hereditary right, for ever and ever . . . with their fortresses, lands, jus-
tice, civil and criminal jurisdiction, high and low justice, *merum et mixtum imperium*, rents, tributes and rights belonging to the lordship of those places.” The cortes from the thirteenth century onward consistently protested such alienations and demanded that the king recover domain lands already alienated or usurped by others. Afonso III of Portugal (1248–1279) conducted extensive inquests to determine whether royal lands were in private hands, but efforts to recover them were often unavailing. João I (1385–1433), the first representative of the house of Avis in Portugal, ceded to his constable Nun’ Alvares Pereira the counties of Ourém, Barcelos, and Arrailos, as well as eighteen cities and towns. The king subsequently hoped to resume possession of alienated royal lands, but it was left to his son Duarte in 1433 to enact the so-called *lei mental*, the law his father had in mind; according to this estates granted by the king were heritable only by the firstborn male and could not be divided; in default of a male heir such lands would revert to the crown. In spite of that Duarte’s son Afonso V was extraordinarily liberal, as was Enrique IV of Castile, in yielding towns, lands, and other royal rights in lordship.

From the thirteenth century onward urban oligarchies gained control of the cities and towns, eliminating the lower classes from any real participation in public affairs. At the same time factionalism within the ruling aristocracy increased to such a point that the crown had to intervene to maintain order. Alfonso X tried to subordinate municipal fueros to a common royal law known as the *fuero real* but encountered strong opposition. To curb factional disputes kings began to send royal officials (*jueces de salario, veedores, juizes da fora*) to supervise municipal affairs. From the reign of Alfonso XI these officials known as *corregidores* began to assume a permanent status in the towns of Castile and Portugal. Municipal autonomy was also restricted when the king began to appoint the *regidores* or members of a small council or *ayuntamiento* (usually numbering twenty-four), which came to exercise the role of the older general assembly of citizens. In the thirteenth century the cities and towns of the Crown of Aragón also developed the institutions of self-government, such as a small council that supplemented a larger council of all the citizens. In Barcelona, for example, five councilors chosen yearly were charged with the oversight of day-to-day affairs while a *consell de cent* or council of one hundred also chosen annually met when the need required. A council or *cabildo* in Aragón consisting of several *jurados* or sworn men was elected annually to manage affairs; in Valencia six *jurats* performed a similar function. In Catalonia the king’s vicar often supervised and regulated the activities of the towns; the royal justicia or *zalmedina* did likewise in Aragón and Valencia. While the towns increasingly lost internal autonomy as a consequence of royal intervention, further losses were incurred in the fifteenth century as many towns were handed over in lordship to nobles whose favor the king wished to purchase or retain.

Fernando and Isabel, whose marriage united the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón, and João II of Portugal adopted several measures intended to give them greater control over the territorial administration of their respective kingdoms. The Catholic Kings replaced the *adelantados* and *merinos mayores* with *alcaldes mayores*, responsible for the major subdivisions of the crown of Castile—namely, Castile, León, Andalucía, Murcia, and Granada. Asturias and Galicia continued to be administrated by merinos mayores and Castoría by an adelantado mayor. The territorial administration of the Crown of Aragón remained substantially unchanged. In Álava the crown was now represented by a *diputado general* and in Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa by a *corregidor*. In addition, Fernando and Isabel deprived the municipalities of the last vestiges of autonomy by dispatching corregidores to them all after 1480. João II also sent corregidores to assume responsibility for the administration of the Portuguese towns. His successor, Manoel I (1495–1521) undertook a review of all municipal charters, with the purpose of standardizing their obligations.

One of the major accomplishments of both Fernando and Isabel and João II in restoring the power and prestige of the monarchy was the recovery of alienated crown lands and the subordination of lordships to royal authority. With papal approval Fernando and Isabel took control of the lordships of the military Orders of Calatrava (1489), Santiago (1493), and Alcántara (1494), placing their general administration in the hands of the Consejo de las Órdenes. The lands of the orders were divided into eighteen districts, each administered by a *gobernador* or alcalde. Similarly, João II and Manoel I administered the lordships of the military orders of Avis and Christ, which were incorporated into the crown in 1551. As the medieval era came to a close in both Spain and Portugal the crown was taking steps to gain more effective control of territorial and municipal administration.

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ADMINISTRATION, TERRITORIAL, MUSLIM

Al-Andalus was divided into ten “climates” (Arabic aqālīm, sing. iqtīm), does not translate the same as the English “climate”; rather, it designates areas or regions). There is some confusion as to the term, for in Andalusian Arabic the Berber term kūra (pl. kuwar) was used for “districts” and rastaq (pl. rasatāq) for “province.” There were ten of these regions: Aljaraf (al-Sharaf), the present province of Huelva; Albuhera, the present province of Cádiz (apparently the district called Tārkumā in some Arabic sources), including Gibraltar, Algeciras, Tarifa, Cádiz, Rota, Jerez, and Arcos de la Frontera; Sidiwana; which is a problem, and may refer to the Seville region, according to Saavedra, but this is unlikely and seems instead to be Shadūna, or Medina Sidiwana; Campania, the province of Córdoba, including Écija, Baena, Lucena, and others; Osuna, which included sections of Estepa, Osuna, and Morón; Reya, the present province of Málaga, except for Ronda, and including parts of Córdoba and Granada; Elvira, the present province of Granada, excluding Alhama, Baza, and Huéscar (this region is variously referred to also as jabal shulayr or jabal al-thalj; i.e., the Sierra Nevada); Pechina, which only Al-Idrīsī mentions as a region, including the area of Almería; and Ferreira, the present area of Baza, Huéscar, and others. (Idrīsī also mentions al-Busharrat, as including the kingdom of Jaén.)

Some Muslim sources refer also to “marches” (thughūr; sing. thagr) in the northern valleys of the Ebro and Tagus, with the upper capital at Zaragoza and the lower at Toledo, but this is as problematic as the so-called march in Christian geography. The Pyrenees were referred to romantically as the “temple of Venus” (haykal al-zuhara), or more prosaically as “mountains of the ports” (jibal al-burt). Each of these kuwar, or provinces, was administered by a governor (wālī) who resided in the provincial capital.

The Muslim government in Spain was highly organized, becoming more bureaucratic during the established caliphal period. The primary official was the ḥājib, often unhelpfully translated as “chamberlain,” who in fact was the prime minister and often the military commander (interestingly, the word derives from a root that means “veil, conceal”; cf. hījāb, a veil). Originally, it is true, his function was to guard the entrance to the caliph, but in fact the office was far more important. After the fall of the caliphate, the tā’ifa rulers often used the title ḥājib to refer to themselves. Under the Almohads, the title seemed no longer to be known.

The wāzīr, next in importance, was usually in charge of a particular department of the dīwān (chancellery), but the title was also given to those who were privileged to sit in council with the ruler. If one of these was also an administrator or other kind of officer, he held the title dhī-ḥawwārī (“master of two offices”), such as we find for the Jew Samuel Ibn Naghrillah in the tā’ifa kingdom of Granada, who was prime minister and also commander-in-chief.

The khattīb was a secretary; there were increasing numbers of these, and they had to be highly skilled in caligraphy and styles of Arabic correspondence. Some were high-ranking administrators, such as the kāṭīb al-rasa’il, in charge of the whole chancellery. Next in importance was the kībat al-dhimām, or “secretariat of protected minorities.” Although al-Maqqarı makes it sound as if this office was literally concerned primarily with the “protection” of Christians and Jews, it is clear from what he writes that it was the equivalent of the khattīb al-jihbādah, or tax officer, in other Muslim lands, and that its primary purpose was the collection of taxes from the dhimmīs.

Other minor officials included the sāhib al-shurtah, a magistrate of morality and other civil crimes in at least the major cities (several Jews had this title also, including the famous scholar Abraham bar Hiyya, known in Latin as Savasorda, and Moses Ibn Ezra, the renowned poet of Granada). Others were the sāhib al-mada’in, an official responsible for municipal services, the muhtābīb, supervisor of markets, and others (including that of the very efficient mail service).

Administrative orders were issued to the provinces through the secretariat, and most importantly taxes were imposed on the provinces, particularly for the support of the army. The expenses of the latter must have been enormous, for the Muslim army was nearly as organized and bureaucratic as a modern one. Salaries and expenses had to be paid also for the military doctors, masons, carpenters, and builders of siege machines, as well as the maintenance of a vast array of weapons. Taxes for these came not only from the Muslims, but also the dhimmīs (Christians and Jews) of the provinces.

The tā’ifa kingdoms, themselves roughly equivalent to the provinces, administered correspondingly smaller territories, of course (the kingdom of Granada being the largest) but maintained essentially the same type of government.

The Almoravids and the Almohads of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries essentially appear to have maintained the original territorial or provincial divisions (or at least as many of them as applied to the
lands they were able to hold) and utilized the basic government offices already long established in al-Andalus, with some changes in titles. Finally, the *nāṣirī* dynasty of the last surviving Muslim kingdom, that of Granada, simply divided its kingdom into *kīwār* (no less than thirty-three of them) that were administered in much the same manner.

An important subject that remains to be studied is what influence, if any, Muslim government administration had upon the Christians in Spain.

**Bibliography**


**ADOPTIONISM** *See CHURCH; HERESY; THEOLOGY*

**AESOP** *See ANIMAL FABLES; YSOPETE YSTORIADO*

**AFONSO HENRIQUES, OR AFONSO I**

Count of Portugal from 1128, king of the Portuguese from 1140, conqueror of Lisbon in 1147, and forebear of all three Portuguese dynasties, Burgundian, Avis, and Bragança. Afonso’s mother was the illegitimate daughter of Emperor Alfonso VI of León and Ximena Moniz of the Bierzo. The emperor had awarded Portugal with Galicia to his heiress Urraca on her marriage to Count Raymond of Burgundy, but when Raymond failed before Lisbon in 1094, he detached Portugal and Coimbra and gave them to Teresa on her marriage to Count Henri, Raymond’s cousin. They were installed at Guimarais, where their son Afonso was born, probably in 1109, the year of the emperor’s death. Teresa used the title of “queen,” despite Urraca’s disapproval. Henry was killed while claiming Zamora in May 1112, leaving Afonso and two daughters. Teresa entrusted the defense of Coimbra to the Galician count Fernando Peres of Trava, and endured the attempts of Gelmi­rèz, first archbishop of Santiago, to overthrow the ancient primacy of Braga. Afonso appears in her documents from 1120. He was educated by barons of the Douro, who in 1128 removed Teresa and Trava in the battle of São Mamede, near Guimarais. Urraca’s son Alfonso VII had been knighted at Santiago, and Afonso Hen­riques armed himself knight at Zamora in 1126. He now defied his cousin, with varying success, but did not appear when Alfonso VII assumed the title of emperor in 1135. A clash at Cerneja was averted by a Muslim attack on Coimbra. Afonso assumed the title of king in 1140, probably following the death of the aged Gelmi­rèz. The miraculous victory of Ourique, once considered a proof of divine approval, is undocument­ed. In 1143 he reached agreement with his cousin at Zamora, and obtained the consent of Rome. Afonso married Mafalda, daughter of the Count of Savoy and Maur­tienlle, in 1145 or 1146 and in March 1147 recovered Santarém (lost in 1111) in a surprise attack. St. Bernard’s preaching of the Second Crusade brought a large contingent of 164 ships from England, the Low Countries, and southern Germany that participated in the conquest of Lisbon. An English priest, Gilbert of Hastings, became the first bishop of the restored dio­cese. Sintra and Palmela also capitulated, almost dou­bling Afonso’s territories. His own wealth and authority were greatly increased, rendering secure the continuity of his house. He installed the military orders in castles to defend the line of the Tagus, while the Cistercians undertook the cultivation and settlement of largely abandoned frontier areas, from their headquar­ters at Alcobaça, founded in 1153. His usual capital was Coimbra, where the monastery of Santa Cruz Al­cobaça served as his scriptorium and treasury. Queen Mafalda died there in 1157, having given him three sons and four daughters.

Although Afonso’s daughter Urraca married Fern­ando II of León, now separated from Castile, the fron­tier beyond the Tagus was disputed. Afonso supported the adventurer Geraldo Sem Pavor who from Evora seized Badajoz, where in 1169 Afonso was wounded and captured, peace was later made at Pontevedra. Afonso remained incapacitated, and shared his military responsibilities with his heir, Sancho, born at Coimbra in 1154. Although Alcácer do Sal was taken in 1158, much of the lower Alentejo was overrun in the great Almohad invasion of 1171. Afonso Hen­riques ob­tained full recognition as an independent monarch from Pope Alexander III in 1179. He died at Coimbra on 8 December 1185 and is buried at Santa Cruz, the present monument having been erected by King Ma­noel. Afonso’s qualities of boldness, persistence, and astuteness firmly established the Portuguese mon­archy, free from the entanglements that had frustrated his mother.
The documents of Afonso Henriques are excellently edited by R. P. de Azevedo; see the Documentos medievais portugueses (Lisbon, 1958).

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Bibliography

AFONSO II, KING OF PORTUGAL
Afonso II, Portugal’s third monarch, was born in Coimbra in 1185, son and successor of King Sancho I and his Aragones wife, Queen Dulce. Rarely in good health, Afonso was obese and most probably died of advanced leprosy on 25 March 1223. In 1208 he married Urraca, daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile. Afonso II took over the kingship of Portugal at the end of March 1211.

Though his reign was relatively short, it was far from uneventful. Afonso II did much to consolidate the various gains of his predecessors, particularly by seeking to augment royal power. In 1211 Afonso II promulgated the first corpus of Portuguese law. This legislation had four chief purposes: (1) to guarantee the rights of royal as well as private property, (2) to regularize the administration of civil justice, (3) to defend the material interests of the crown, and (4) to eliminate abuses by both the clergy and the nobility. Afonso II also developed two institutions to strengthen royal prerogatives: the inquiricões gerais (general inquiries) to investigate the legitimacy of earlier grants, and the confirmaçoes (confirmations). He sent teams of investigators out into the country to check on the legitimacy of claims and grants, and to take testimony. Sometimes the inquiries resulted in an annulment of grants and loss of property or privileges. Predictably, this action to improve public administration and to strengthen royal control caused some turmoil, resented as it was by the higher clergy and nobles, jealous of their prerogatives and immunities. Serious disruptions often limited the scope of the inquiries. However, the investigations did improve public administration and were a model for future kings of Portugal, especially Afonso III and Dinis.

In his will, Sancho I had left part of the royal patrimony to Afonso II’s brothers and sisters. Afonso II deemed this a challenge to his sovereignty. He argued that the royal patrimony was indivisible and that he should have jurisdiction over all crown properties. Rather than face the restrictions that their brother, the king, was putting on their goods and persons, Afonso’s brothers left the kingdom for voluntary exile. However, the king’s sisters, two of whom (Teresa and Ma-falda) had been queens in Castile, refused to accept Afonso II’s authority over their grants. When Afonso applied force to get his way, the princesses protested to Pope Innocent III, who reacted in August 1212 by placing Portugal under an interdict that lasted for a year and a half. In the meantime, Afonso paid the pope the annual tribute, which had been in arrears since Sancho I’s lump-sum payment late in the preceding century. Finally, a papal bull published by Innocent III in 1216 provided the foundations for a settlement to the quarrel. It asserted that Sancho I had intended that his daughters have the revenue from, but not jurisdiction over, the towns he had willed them. But because of a new conflict involving Afonso II—this time with the archbishop of Braga—that resulted in the king’s excommunication, the issue of the royal patrimony was not definitively settled until the beginning of Sancho II’s reign in 1223.

In the process of investigating the grants that were claimed by the Church in Portugal, Afonso II annulled a number of them. Estêvão Soares da Silva, the archbishop of Braga, convoked an assembly of clergy and condemned the actions of the king, accusing him not only of abuses against the Church, but of living an adulterous life. The king redoubled his efforts against the Church in northern Portugal. When the archbishop excommunicated Afonso and his chief advisers and put Portugal under interdict, the monarch ordered his forces to destroy the properties of the archbishop, including his granaries, vineyards, and orchards. The archbishop then appealed to Rome, and Pope Honorius III intervened. Afonso II, with an heir only twelve years old and faced with a papal threat of deposition, began negotiations with the archbishop of Braga. But before they were concluded, the king died, an excommunicate.

When Afonso II assumed power in 1211, Portugal’s independence was fairly well established, although there still were occasional threats from neighboring Christian kingdoms. In 1212 Alfonso IX of León used the clash between the Portuguese king and his brothers and sisters as an excuse to invade northern Portugal. With help from some Portuguese nobles, including one of Afonso II’s brothers, the Leonese defeated the supporters of Afonso II at the Battle of Valdevez. Fortunately for the Portuguese, the threat of hostilities with Alfonso VIII of Castile forced the Leonese king to withdraw from Portugal and Afonso II was able to recover the occupied territory.
There was relatively little fighting against the Muslims on Portugal's borders during the reign of Afonso II. The Portuguese monarch did, however, send troops to aid his father-in-law, Alfonso VIII of Castile, in the famous Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, in which the Christians decisively defeated the Almohad forces. Las Navas de Tolosa was the gateway to Andalusia, and the Almohads never recovered from this defeat. The Portuguese distinguished themselves by their bravery in this encounter, the outcome of which is considered by many to be the greatest Christian victory of the Reconquest.

Five years later, when Afonso II was at Coimbra, the bishop of Lisbon convinced knights from the Fifth Crusade to aid the Portuguese in an attempt to regain the important stronghold of Alcácer do Sal. The crusaders, together with the Templars, Hospitalers, and knights of Santiago, captured Alcácer after a two-month siege. The victory opened up the Sado River basin to Portuguese settlement and commerce.

**Bibliography**

**AFONSO III, KING OF PORTUGAL**
The second son of Afonso II and Uracca of Castile, Afonso III was born in Coimbra on 5 May 1210. The fifth king of Portugal, he succeeded his brother Sancho II and reigned from early in 1248 to his death on 16 February 1279.

Before becoming king, Afonso lived first in Denmark and then in France, where in 1238 or 1239 he married the wealthy widow Matilda, heiress of the Count of Boulogne. Afonso was influential at the court of his maternal aunt, Queen Blanche, widow of Louis VIII and mother of Louis IX. While in France he became involved in Portuguese internal affairs, where his older brother was under attack by clergy and nobles. Pope Innocent IV, in a bull of 24 July 1245, effectively deposed Sancho II by reducing him to king in name only and by turning over the government to his younger brother, Afonso, Count of Boulogne. Innocent IV instructed the Portuguese to receive and obey Afonso as soon as he arrived in Portugal and to ignore the orders of Sancho II. After the pope issued his bull, a delegation of Portuguese—a number of whom had testified against Sancho II at the Council of Lyons—visited Paris, where they swore obedience to Afonso. They also exacted a series of promises from the future monarch to respect the Church, to honor the privileges and customs of Portugal, and to promote justice.

Arriving in Portugal in early 1246, Afonso took part in the civil war against supporters of the king. After Sancho II died in Toledo in January 1248, Afonso III was crowned king. The new monarch renewed the policies of Portugal’s earlier monarchs by asserting authority wherever possible and by taking a hard line with the privileged classes when their immunities and prerogatives interfered with the royal treasury or administration. Early in his reign, Afonso III took up the task of driving the Muslims from their isolated strongholds in southwestern Portugal. The time was propitious for such a move. Fernando III of Castile, with the aid of the Portuguese military orders and some Portuguese nobles, had been campaigning successfully against the Muslim kingdoms in Andalusia. Seville would fall to Christian forces in November 1248. Afonso II personally led the drive to oust the Muslims from the Algarve. In March 1249 he captured Faro. Soon, Albufeira and Silves, along with a number of lesser towns and fortresses, fell to the Portuguese. This completed the ouster of Muslim military forces from what was to be the limits of modern Portugal. In 1251 Afonso II continued his campaign—this time to the east of the Guadiana River in territory that the Castilians regarded as their preserve. Castile, in the meantime, claimed parts of the Algarve. Armed conflict soon broke out between Portugal and Castile over these disputed territories.

In 1252 Alfonso X “el Sabio” (the Wise) ascended the Castilian throne. A year later, a truce was arranged between the two kings. It was resolved that Afonso III would marry Beatriz of Castile, the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso X. The marriage took place in 1253. In addition, it was decided that the administration of the newly conquered kingdom of the Algarve and the lands east of the Guadiana would be Portugal’s but the usufruct of these territories would remain in the hands of Alfonso X until the firstborn son of the marriage between Afonso III and Beatriz reached the age of seven.

Unfortunately, there were a number of difficulties in implementing this marriage arrangement. Beatriz was very young and was related to Afonso III within the fourth degree of consanguinity. But most importantly, Afonso III was already married to Matilda, Countess of Boulogne, who was living in France. Soon Matilda was complaining to the pope about her husband’s bigamous marriage. Although Pope Alexander IV placed under interdict those parts of Portugal where the king was residing, he was unable to persuade Afonso III to leave his young bride.

Matilda’s death in 1258 helped resolve some of the Portuguese monarch’s difficulties. But papal oppo-
sition to the marriage continued, as did the interdict. The bishops and cathedral chapters of Portugal came to the king’s defense. In 1260—by which time Beatriz had already borne two children to Afonso—they pleaded with Pope Urban IV to lift the interdict and legitimize the children. They argued that the abandonment of Beatriz by Afonso would lead to war with Castile, and they claimed that ecclesiastical penalties were causing spiritual harm and scandal in Portugal. Finally, in 1263, after a visit to Rome by a delegation of Portuguese bishops, and after much lobbying by European leaders such as Louis IX of France and the Duke of Anjou, the request for the necessary dispensations and legitimizations was granted.

The birth in 1261 of Dinis, Afonso III’s third child by Beatriz (the first was a girl, the second a boy who died in infancy), provided the necessary ingredient for the resolution of the controversy between Castile and Portugal. By the Treaty of Badajoz in 1267 Alfonso X of Castile renounced his rights to the kingdom of the Algarve, while Afonso III gave up Portuguese claims to the territories between the Guadiana and Guadalquivir Rivers. Portugal, however, would have authority over the territory to the west of the mouth of the Guadiana and its confluence with the Caia River.

In addition to the reconquest of the Algarve and the resolution of Portugal’s boundaries with Castile, several other major accomplishments marked Afonso III’s reign. Afonso promoted greater participation by towns and their officials in Portuguese national life. At Leiria in 1254, for the first time in the nation’s history, representatives of the cities participated in the cortes (parliament) along with the nobility and the higher clergy. Laws were also enacted to protect commoners from abuse at the hands of the privileged classes. Furthermore, Afonso III restructured the country’s monetary system. Charters issued during his reign show that a moneyed economy was replacing barter. Fixed monetary taxes replaced the custom of paying in kind. At the cortes of Coimbra in 1261, Afonso III agreed to devalue the currency only once during a reign instead of every seven years, as was becoming the practice. The monarch favored Lisbon over Coimbra as the kingdom’s chief commercial and administrative center, and he increased the royal treasury by promoting the country’s economy.

Afonso III continued his predecessors’ policy of strengthening royal prerogatives. This was accomplished chiefly through the use of the inquirições gerais (general inquiries) and confirmações (confirmations). In 1258, in response to complaints from royal officials as well as commoners, the crown sent investigative teams into the comarcas (districts) of Entre Douro e Minho, Trás-os-Montes, and Beira Alta to examine titles to lands claimed by nobility and clergy. Sworn testimony was taken to determine if the rights of the crown were being respected. Afonso III was anxious to curb the power of the old nobility and the higher clergy, especially those in the comarca of Entre Douro e Minho, the oldest and most populous region of Portugal. These investigations revealed a wide range of violations, including the usurpation of the royal patrimony, evasion of taxes, and abuses of commoners by the privileged estates, both secular and clerical. Laws were promulgated to deal with these infractions and they soon sparked fresh opposition from clergy and nobility.

In 1267 a number of Portuguese prelates traveled to Rome and presented Pope Clement IV with an extensive list of grievances. They accused Afonso III of condoning, even encouraging, violence in civil administration, of using unfair practices in his business dealings, and of infringing on ecclesiastical liberties. The Portuguese monarch answered these charges with testimonials from the towns of the kingdom that defended his actions and praised his administration. In addition, in 1273, during the meeting of the cortes at Santarém, Afonso III established a commission to investigate his acts and those of his officials. But the papacy was not impressed by the results of this investigation, which maintained that there had been little wrongdoing. In 1275 Pope Gregory X ordered that the king correct his actions and those of his officials. But the papacy was not impressed by the results of this investigation, which maintained that there had been little wrongdoing. In 1275 Pope Gregory X ordered that the king correct abuses and promise not to repeat them under pain of a series of penalties. These penalties would be invoked in stages, beginning in 1277, and would progress from local interdict, to excommunication, to a general interdict for the kingdom, to freeing the Portuguese from obedience to their king. And, indeed, by the end of 1277, Afonso III had been excommunicated and the kingdom placed under interdict. Soon, minor revolts broke out against the king in which Afonso III’s son and successor, Dinis, took part. In January 1279, a month before his death, Afonso III made his peace with the Church and with his son.

**Bibliography**


**AFONSO IV, KING OF PORTUGAL**

The seventh king of Portugal, Afonso IV, was the only son of King Dinis and his Aragones queen, Isabel (later St. Isabel of Aragon). Afonso was born in Lisbon on 8 February 1291 and died in the same city on 28
May 1357. In 1309 he married Beatriz of Castile; he reigned from 1325 to 1357.

An austere ruler, Afonso IV continued his father’s policies of augmenting the crown’s patrimony, strengthening royal authority, and promoting justice. His reign, however, was marked by numerous internal revolts, conflicts with Castile, and dislocations in the wake of the Black Death.

During the early part of his reign, Afonso IV was preoccupied with the struggle against his illegitimate half-brother, Afonso Sanches. After the latter’s death in 1329, Portugal became embroiled in a conflict with Castile over Afonso IV’s daughter Maria, wife of Alfonso XI of Castile (reigned 1312–1350). After Alfonso XI abandoned her, Portugal gave its support to Infante Juan Manuel, Alfonso XI’s cousin and a perpetual thorn in the Castilian monarch’s side, and to others who contested Alfonso XI’s power. In fact, Afonso IV married off his son and heir, Pedro, to Aliénor de Portugal, a powerful Galician family. Although Afonso IV banished Aliénor from his kingdom, she returned to Portugal after Constanza’s death in 1345 and gave birth to four illegitimate children by Pedro. Afonso IV believed that his son Pedro was setting a bad example, neglecting his royal duties and compromising Portugal’s security by falling under the influence of Galician and Castilian nobles, headed by Aliénor’s brothers. In 1355, apparently at Afonso IV’s orders, Aliénor was murdered. Prince Pedro, aided by Castilian forces led by the brothers of Aliénor de Castro, mounted a full-scale revolt against his father, but in 1356 peace returned.

These disputes among the Christian kingdoms gave the Muslims the opportunity to recover some of the territory they had earlier lost to the Christians. The Marinids were in the ascendency in North Africa and allied with the Muslims in Granada. Gibraltar was seized in 1333. In 1340 the Marinids invaded the Iberian Peninsula after destroying an Aragonese and Castilian fleet in the Strait of Gibraltar. Castile and Portugal temporarily put their differences aside and signed a peace treaty at Seville in July 1340. A Portuguese, Genoese, and Castilian armada was organized near the Strait of Gibraltar, but storms scattered it. Portuguese forces, led by Afonso IV and accompanied by the archbishop of Braga, the bishop of Évora, and knights from the Portuguese military orders, however, played an important role in the victory at Salado (30 October 1340), a major event in the Christian reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. In the 1340s Afonso IV sponsored voyages to the Canary Islands.

The Black Death struck Portugal late in September 1348 and continued its devastation for the remainder of the year. The pestilence claimed at least one-third of Portugal’s population. Some villages and small towns completely disappeared, while others became greatly depopulated. There was an exodus to the cities by many of the survivors, which further aggravated the problem of rural depopulation. Because the epidemic often wiped out entire families, some shifts occurred within the social strata as distant relatives and the poor came into vast sums of money or substantial properties. The Church also benefited greatly from the many deathbed grants of estates and goods. A shortage of labor led to higher wages and prices. Famine and food shortages became regular occurrences in many parts of the kingdom as the Black Death was followed by new plagues and epidemics. There were frequent devaluations. Abandoned agricultural lands were turned into vineyards, olive groves, pasturage, or hunting preserves. Social instability and famine led to discontent, unrest, and an increasing number of riots. Afonso IV and his successors used iron-handed methods to try to control these upheavals. They fixed wages, cracked down on vagrancy, and bound workers to their traditional occupations. The cortes (parliament) was convened in 1352 and 1361 in hopes of solving some of the problems.

Meanwhile, Prince Pedro’s wife, Constanza, who had arrived in Portugal in 1340, gave birth to three children, including Fernando, the future king of Portugal. Pedro, however, had fallen in love with Aliénor de Castro, his wife’s lady-in-waiting and a member of a powerful Galician family. Although Afonso IV banished Aliénor from his kingdom, she returned to Portugal after Constanza’s death in 1345 and gave birth to four illegitimate children by Pedro. Afonso IV believed that his son Pedro was setting a bad example, neglecting his royal duties and compromising Portugal’s security by falling under the influence of Galician and Castilian nobles, headed by Aliénor’s brothers. In 1355, apparently at Afonso IV’s orders, Aliénor was murdered. Prince Pedro, aided by Castilian forces led by the brothers of Aliénor de Castro, mounted a full-scale revolt against his father, but in 1356 peace returned.

**Bibliography**


**AFONSO V**

Twelfth king of Portugal and third of the house of Avis, 1438–1481, sometimes called “the African” because of his crusading expeditions in the Maghrib. He was born on Sintra on 15 January 1432, the eldest son of King Duarte and Queen Leonor, and acceded at the age of six. His father’s will appointed his mother regent, but she was opposed as a woman and a foreigner (a Castilian, though called “of Aragón”), and lacking consent of the cortes (parliament). His father’s younger brother Dom Pedro was backed by the towns, and after an unsuccessful dual regency, Leonor fled to Castile, apparently to her relatives. Pedro assumed the sole regency, and fended off threats of Castilian inter-
vention, but formed an alliance with the warlord Álvaro de Luna. Pedro arranged the marriage of Afonso V to his daughter Isabel, and appointed his son, also Pedro, constable. Afonso came of age at fourteen, and prolonged Pedro’s authority. Pedro’s costly intervention in Castile lost him support, and the intrigues of the Duke of Bragança, who claimed that the constableship was hereditary in his family, forced Pedro to resign. He was provoked into rebellion and killed at Alfarrobeira. Afonso V refused to put away Isabel, but could do little to curb the Braganças. In 1455 his heir Prince João was born, Queen Isabel died, and there was a reconciliation. The Portuguese voyages of exploration to West Africa under Prince Henrique had been actively pursued under Pedro, but Afonso V responded to the loss of Constantinople and the appeals of Pope Calixtus III by organizing a large crusading expedition that took al-Qasr as’aghir (Alcácer Seguer) on 23 October 1458. It was hoped it would relieve the isolation of Ceuta, but the new conquest suffered several sieges, and then Afonso returned to Africa in 1464; he was saved from capture only by the sacrifice of Duarte de Meneses.

These costly military campaigns delayed the voyages of discovery, which had reached Sierra Leone (Sierra Leone), when Prince Henrique died in November 1460. Afonso entrusted the voyages to his younger brother Fernando, but until 1468 the main activity was in trading, with little further exploration. In 1469 Afonso awarded a monopoly of trade to Diogo Gomes, a Lisbon merchant, with the obligation to pursue the discoveries, and after the death of Fernando in 1470, the enterprise passed under the control of Prince João. By 1474, the Cape Verde Islands, the Equatorial isles and the African coast almost as far as the mouth of the Congo were made known.

Afonso was a liberal patron moved by religious idealism and somewhat outmoded notions of chivalry. His African illusions were crowned in 1471 when he led a vast fleet to take Arçila, and Tangier was abandoned without a fight. These conquests had to be supplied by sea, at considerable expense, but contributed something to the security of the seaways. Madeira, with about one thousand settlers, provided cereals and initial sugar production. The Azores, settled with some contribution from Flanders (where Afonso’s aunt had married Philip the Good), produced cereals and dye-stuffs. Afonso’s aristocracy, drawn mainly from families that had supported his grandfather João I, were his pensioners, drawing moradias at court according to rank. He resided at Lisbon, Sintra, Santarém, and Évora. He convened cortes on twenty occasions, usually at one of these places, never in the north or south of Évora. This centralizing system strengthened the class of letrados emerging from the single university at Lisbon.

The Cape Verde Islands were claimed, but not yet settled. Guinea gold was obtained from Gambia from about 1458, but the supply attained large proportions with the foundation of the factory at Mina in 1481.

Afonso’s personal inclination was to emulate his great-grandfather João I, whose conquest of Ceuta he commissioned Azurara to narrate. His sister Leonor married Emperor Frederick III and was the mother of Maximilian. His brother-in-law Pedro claimed to be king of Aragón (1464–1466). In 1455 his youngest sister Joana became the wife of Enrique IV of Castile, she gave birth to a princess, also Joana, whose succession was contested upon the death of Enrique in 1474, by Fernando of Aragón on behalf of his wife Isabel, Henry’s sister. Supporters of Joana appealed to Afonso V, who accepted the challenge, and prepared to marry his niece and lead her partisans. He occupied the towns of Zamora and Toro, claiming the throne of Castile. He informed Louis XI, his ally, also hostile to the Aragónese, and entrusted Portugal to his son, João II. Fernando took Zamora, and after the battle of Toro (2 March 1476), Afonso decided to go to France to appeal to Louis, who received him at Tours and put him off with words. Afonso visited Paris and mainly sought help in Lorraine. He then decided to abdicate and go to Palestine, but changed his mind and returned to Portugal just as his son had begun to govern. He resumed his reign, but left João to rule. Since Fernando and Isabel were now entrenched, João concluded the Treaty of Alcáçovas (4 September 1479), by which Joana’s claim was canceled, and Afonso retired to Sintra, where he died on 15 August 1481.

H. V. Livermore

Bibliography

AFONSO, COUNT OF BARCELOS AND DUKE OF BRAGANÇA
Illegitimate son of Dom João, master of Avis, who became king of Portugal (1385) as João I, and Inês Pires, was probably born in the castle of Veiros in Alentejo, southern Portugal (ca. 1380). He was brought up in Leiria and legitimized by his father on 20 October 1391. Dom Afonso fought alongside João I in the eighteen-year-old war against Castile. In the siege of Túy
in Galicia, he was knighted by the king on 25 July 1398, after the town had surrendered. On 8 November 1401, he married Dona Beatriz Pereira de Alvim (1378–1412), the daughter of Nun’ Alvares Pereira, the wealthiest nobleman in the realm, and Dona Leonor de Alvim. He received by his marriage large donations in land and property, which made up the foundation of the House of Bragança in 1442. He was the eighth Count of Barcelos and the first Duke of Bragança.

João I and the queen, Philippa of Lancaster, held him in high esteem. He visited the court frequently and was a member of the Privy Council, taking part in all affairs of state even when Duarte I succeeded his father João I to the throne. Afonso had great ambitions for his family, and though he was extremely rich and enjoyed great prestige at court, he craved political power. He believed his opportunity had come when Duarte died, leaving a six-year-old son, Afonso. But Duarte’s brother, Pedro, was elected regent (1440–1446) by the cortes (parliament) held in Lisbon (1439), one year after the young Afonso V had been crowned. The Count of Barcelos in 1443 headed the aristocratic faction that wanted to strengthen personal privilege, and led a campaign against Pedro that led to his death at the battle of Alfarrobeira (1449). Afonso died in 1461.

Luis Rebelo

Bibliography


AGRICULTURE

Introduction

Both Christians and Muslims practiced styles of agriculture that were distinctively Mediterranean in style and were equally based in the classical “Mediterranean triad” of wheat, olives, and grapes. On this foundation, the Arabs superimposed, particularly in the great periurban huertas of southern and eastern Spain, a roster of irrigated crops characteristic of “Indian agriculture” (fiáha hindíya) which had the effect of broadening the nutritional base of the urban Islamic population. As with all aspects of material culture in medieval Spain it is important to track continuity or change over the key cultural transitions: that of late Roman times to the early middle ages, both Christian and Islamic, and that of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, from Islamic to Christian society.

Agriculture in medieval Iberia was strongly conditioned by its Mediterranean climate (except for the more “continental” peninsular northwest) and by a high degree of continuity with Roman agriculture. Archaeological evidence from Islamic sites in Castellón reveals virtually no change in the pattern of cultivars from Roman through Islamic times. However, this evidence is from rural dry farming and microscale irrigated huertas (gardens) that do not reflect the more cosmopolitan “Indian”-style agriculture of the irrigated huertas of the major cities of al-Andalus.

Thus, Butzer has found that to the Roman repertoire of spring wheat, millet, a dozen species of orchard trees, and a great variety of fodder and vegetable crops, the Arabs (in Castellón) added only sorghum, four fruit trees, and some crops that were important commercially but which had no influence on the practice of the majority of the peasantry.

The case for the Arabic “green revolution” is made by Watson, who stresses the other side of medieval agriculture: that of the great urban huertas where crops introduced from the east made an entrance, these were rice, sugarcane, cotton, a number of citrus varieties not cultivated by the Romans, the banana, watermelon, a number of important new vegetables (spinach, artichoke, and eggplant), and hard wheat. The heart of Watson’s argument lies in his conception of how and when these crops were deployed, namely in the process of economic regionalization that resulted from the breakup of the caliphate into more economically coherent entities, reflected in the political organization of the “party kingdoms.” The most precise cultural marker, in any case, is less the roster of crops grown by different cultural groups than the balance struck among cereal farming, irrigation, arboriculture, and stock herding.

Agriculture in Al-Andalus

The most salient aspect of Islamic irrigation in Spain was its association with the distinctive form of rural social organization, namely the complexes of castles and hamlets (alquerías), that had been established throughout many rural districts, especially Valencia, Murcia, Almería, and Málaga. Such systems were of Islamic foundation and (following Butzer’s typology) were either microsystems (based on tanks fed from wells or small springs) or mesosystems (from large springs or small streams). The latter used a variety of water conduction techniques, including filtration galleries or surface canals. Both micro- and mesoscale irrigation were associated with terracing, an example of which is the terraced agriculture of Banyalbufar, Mallorca, a replication of the Arabian ma’jil regime whose introduction from Yemen in the tenth century is documented. The mesosystems of southeastern Spain and Granada are institutionally similar to oasis-
The agricultural heartland of al-Andalus, that is the campiña (open country) of Córdoba and the Guadalquivir Valley generally, had in the past constituted the wheat-producing area of Roman Baetica, one of the three breadbaskets (along with Sicily and Tunisia) of Rome. Although the data is inferential at best, we can presume that the Muslims grew less wheat than the Roman occupants of the same area had. Even though the lower Guadalquivir was in general not irrigated in Islamic times, much of the unirrigated land was put into tree crops, notably olives. Nevertheless, the Córdoban campiña and various places with the name Fahs (plain), such as Fahs al-Ballut to the north of Córdoba and Fahs Qāmarah, near Colmenar, were famous for their wheat. The Arabs introduced hard wheat (Triticum durum) into Europe: in al-Andalus it was called dārmāq (in Castilian, adārgama). Millet, which had been the staple of the Roman working classes, was replaced by sorghum (Arabic dhura; al-dorra in medieval Castilian) which the Berbers brought from the Sudan. Sorghum played the same social and dietary role as was played in Christian Spain (and Europe generally) by rye; the Muslims also cultivated rye, which they called by its Romance name, shantiyya. The Muslim reshuffling of the cards of cereal culture was no doubt climatically motivated: hard wheat is much more resistant to heat and drought than were the soft varieties it replaced, and sorghum was well suited to the Mediterranean climatic regime of spring rains, followed by a hot, dry summer.

Cereals and irrigated field crops were complemented by vineyards and orchards. The Quranic prohibition of wine drinking did little to stifle the growing of grapes, although some repartimientos (land grants) indicate that vineyards were not as widespread in areas of southern Spain, such as Seville, which were later known for their wines. The Christian and Jewish minorities, of course, constituted a continuing market for wine, and Muslims not only used grapes and raisins in their cuisine, but many drank wine as well. Malagan grapes were greatly admired, as was the qambah variety from the Córdoban campiña.

Roman Spain had been an exporter of olive oil, so the Muslims were by no means innovators in this area. But Andalusi cuisine was almost wholly dependent on olive oil, to the exclusion of animal fats, and the universality of the use of olive oil and olives no doubt explains why they are known by Arabisms—aete, aceituna, from al-zait and al-zaituna—while the tree has a Romance name, olivo. The Aljarafe region to the west of Seville was so densely planted in olive and fig trees that it could be traversed in the shade, and repartimientos suggest that there were two and a half million olive trees in the present province of Seville at the time of the conquest from the Muslims and that it produced five million kilos of olives annually.

Figs were noteworthy for the great number of varieties grown in al-Andalus, including the rayyt or Málaga fig the doñegal, the qütiya (Gothic), and so forth. The repartimiento of Málaga records equal numbers of fig and pomegranate trees, then a second line grouping of plum, apple, quince, lemon, and apricot, and in fewer numbers, lime, orange, peach, and pear. Almonds were also widely grown, due to the universal use of their flour as a thickener in Andalusi cooking. (Andalusi cookbooks, incidentally, are a valuable source of information about what foodstuffs were available in markets; more recipes have survived from al-Andalus than from any other medieval society.)

We know few specifics of stock raising in al-Andalus. Berber mountaineers practiced a mainly pastoral economy, along with arboriculture, and Berbers introduced the merino sheep from Morocco sometime before the fourteenth century.

Early Christian Agriculture

Tenth-century colonization in the Christian kingdoms produced a network of aldeas, which became the characteristic unit of peasant settlement. These were organized in two roughly concentric circles, in common with the morphology of villages all over western Europe. The inner circle was comprised of houses and closed parcels (solares) for private domestic agricultural exploitation. Surrounding this nucleus was an outer circle of fields, forest, or pasture. With the passage of time, the primitive aldea became compacted, due to economic or demographic pressure, with the houses more tightly packed together and the huertas between houses in many cases squeezed out. Surrounding cereal fields and vineyards were also pressed together and something resembling the western European “open field” system emerged, with communal two-course, biennial rotations (año y vez) alternating plantings of winter wheat with fallowness. In areas where local stock raising was particularly strong, a further adaptation was made in the form of cultivo al tercio, which freed more space for fallow grazing.
Three-course rotations, with a spring sowing, could not be introduced under conditions of semi-aridity on light soils where the Roman plow was used. The heavy plow, said to have been introduced by the Suevi, was known only in Galicia. Cereal yields were accordingly very low, three to one and four to one for wheat and barley, respectively, which compares unfavorably with typical northern European yields of five to one and nine to one. Oats were planted increasingly in Catalonia from the first half of the eleventh century. Both the military and agricultural use of horses were directly linked to the incidence of oat cultivation.

Cereal cultivation was complemented by vineyards, arboriculture, and herding. The diffusion of the grape was linked to monasticism and demand for wine resulted in the progressive conversion of wasteland and cereal land into vineyards until the end of the twelfth century. Grapevines became ubiquitous and, in Catalonia, terraced vineyards invaded hill country at the expense of rough pasture. Fruit trees provided an important component of a diet based on inadequate cereal stores. The Basques were associated with the apple tree; as they migrated southward the apple went with them. Figs, pears, cherries, peaches, and plums were also widely grown and, where possible, irrigated. The olive was not widely grown in Christian Spain before the tenth century and only in climatically appropriate zones, such as Catalonia, thereafter.

Irrigation was also widely developed in the Christian kingdoms. Wherever water was diverted for the milling of grain—which was practically everywhere—the diversion channels could be pressed into service for irrigating small gardens. In the early phases of settlement of sparsely populated plains such as the Duero Valley or the Plain of Vic, water as well as land was available for appropriation (presura). In the great age of monastic expansion (the ninth through eleventh centuries), monasteries sought riparian land both for milling and for irrigating domestic gardens. In general, vegetables grown on irrigated parcels were not commercialized in the northern kingdoms to the extent they were in al-Andalus, although by the early eleventh century, Barcelona was surrounded by hortos subreganos that produced vegetables and fruits for the urban market.

As more land was cleared for grain fields, vineyards, or orchards, less was available for the grazing of local herds. Seignorial herds tended to become transhumant while villagers were increasingly excluded from this sector. Monasteries in particular owned large herds—including the Cistercians, who ate no meat. Full transhumance did not emerge until the twelfth century when Catalan monasteries established summer pastures in Cerdanya and when, after the capture of Toledo in 1085, the Tajo Valley was opened to northern herds.

The Later Middle Ages

The process by which a feudalized agricultural system replaced the existing Islamic regimes as the conquest of al-Andalus proceeded has been imperfectly understood until recently. In part this was because the social organization of rural al-Andalus had been so neglected by historians. Now that such organization has been conceptualized, it is possible to make some generalizations concerning the agricultural transition, particularly in the thirteenth century. First, Christian settlement and political control radically altered the alquerías networks or destroyed them completely. In Islamic society, alquerías were minimally subdivided and were farmed by collectivities of individuals—extended families or their successors. Christians did not understand this kind of property regime. When mudéjars (Muslims living under Christian rule) remained in their alquerías there was pressure to establish metes and bounds and to reduce collective holds into individual ones. When Muslims were replaced by Christian settlers, a completely different tenure system was introduced. Peasant settlers were given an allotment, generally no more than nine hectares, which generally included a mixture of cereal land, huerta, and vineyard parcels. Given the extremely high mobility of frontier society and Christian inheritance rules, it took only a few decades to completely transform the agricultural landscape, giving rise to a regime characterized by dispersion of parcels. Cereal cultivation and vineyards were privileged. Feudal rents were typically collected in kind, in grain and in vine. The products of small huertas fell outside this fiscal system and perforce led to an expansion of grain production. That did not mean, however, that irrigation systems fell into desuetude. In general, in places like Valencia, Murcia, and Andalucía, the Muslim systems were kept going, care being taken to learn the distribution and allocation arrangements directly from Muslim irrigators. It was probably as a result of Christian settlement that the huerta macrosystems were formed by a process of the linking up of previously unconnected small alquería channels. This process is documented, for example, in the post-Conquest Ribera del Júcar. Prior to the Conquest alquerías at some distance from the river had been irrigated by springs and small streams. As the river was tapped (Acequia Real del Júcar of the late thirteenth century) and canals dug and extended, the new unified system encompassed the dispersed elements of older alquería systems. A similar process took
place in the plain of Castellón, where, prior to the Conquest, only Borriana and a number of separate al-querías had been irrigated; it may also have taken place in Valencia and Murcia, at least insofar as the extension of those huertas was concerned.

It is interesting to note that, with irrigation, the Christian settlers did not much alter their habitual ways of farming. It became possible, in Valencia for example, to introduce a three-course rotation, with a course of spring crops (oats, peas, beans, and barley). With irrigation it was possible to increase yields of cereals so as to enhance consumption, as well as produce the surplus needed to pay feudal dues. (Once such a surplus was generated, commercialization of the crops in question was inevitably stimulated.) Grapevines were also irrigated in medieval Valencia for the same reasons.

What specific elements of Muslim agriculture did the Christians adopt? In general terms, both the repertory of cultivation techniques and the roster of crops were broadened. Examples of the former are the use in southern Spain of the Berber plow with moldboard (a variant of the standard Roman plow), and the diffusion of most elements of modern harnessing (except for the padded horse collar) from Tripolitania into Europe through Spain and Italy. An example of the latter is the rise of rice as a staple grain, which was only possible in climatically appropriate areas with extensive irrigation.

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ALANS See GERMANIC INVASIONS

ALARCOS, BATTLE OF

The battle of Alarcos (19 July 1195) was a decisive victory for the Almohad caliph Ya’qūb al-Maṃṣūr over the Castilian king Alfonso VIII. Al-Maṃṣūr had mounted expeditions against Portugal in 1190 in retaliation for Portuguese expansion in the Algarve and Castilian expansion into al-Andalus. Castile then sought treaties with Al-Maṃṣūr, but after they expired the Castilians began campaigning around Seville. In retaliation, Al-Maṃṣūr crossed into Spain at Tarifa in June 1195 and took his army on the road to Toledo, camping in the lands around Calatrava.

Prior to the battle of Alarcos, Alfonso VIII had unfriendly relations with the neighboring kingdom of León and its king, his cousin Alfonso IX; in 1194, the Treaty of Tordehumos created an alliance between the two kingdoms. But when Alfonso VIII heard of Al-Maṃṣūr’s advance, he decided not to wait for reinforcements from León. Instead, he rushed from Toledo to the fortress of Alarcos, an unfinished fortification in the vicinity of Calatrava, located to the west of the modern Ciudad Real.

Alfonso engaged the Almohad army prematurely, and the king and a portion of the army were forced to flee to Toledo. Diego López de Haro covered the king’s retreat and surrendered the castle of Alarcos to Al-Maṃṣūr. The Almohads also captured the castle of Calatrava and other fortresses along the road to Toledo. After the battle, though, Al-Maṃṣūr returned to Seville and did not continue his advance toward Toledo. Contingents of the Almohad army raided around Toledo and its hinterlands; this stopped when Alfonso entered into a five-year treaty with Al-Maṃṣūr in 1197.

Battle losses are hard to estimate. Muslim sources provide figures ranging from 30,000 to 300,000 Christian dead versus 500 to 20,000 Muslim dead. The Order of Santiago lost nineteen friars, and numerous associates. The Order of Calatrava lost its home fortress. The bishops of Ávila, Segovia, and Sigüenza were killed.

The blame for the defeat has been assigned to various people: to Pedro Fernández de Castro for betraying Alfonso VIII by turning over his contingent to Al-Maṃṣūr; to Arabs within the Christian population; and even to divine retribution for a fictional affair between Alfonso VIII and a Jewish woman in Toledo. But it seems reasonable to assign the blame for the debacle to Alfonso VIII himself. Alfonso apparently seriously underestimated the number of troops he needed, as well as Al-Maṃṣūr’s abilities, and he engaged Al-Maṃṣūr before the Leonese reinforcements arrived.
The battle of Alarcos was the last great Almohad victory in Spain, and marks the height of Almohad power in the Iberian Peninsula. Alarcos weakened Castile, and its relations with other Iberian kingdoms were damaged when León and Navarre temporarily allied with the Almohads. Al-Mansūr, however, did not follow up on his opportunity to pursue Alfonso VIII and to recapture territory. Castile recovered, and Alfonso VIII reversed the defeat of Alarcos at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa seventeen years later.

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Bibliography


ALBALAT, PERE DE

Albalat died July 1251. Bishop of Lérida 1236–1238, archbishop of Tarragona 1238–1251. A churchman notable for his dedication to the implementation in the Crown of Aragón of the reform program of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Albalat summoned eight provincial assemblies during his fourteen years as archbishop and caused diocesan synods to be held by his suffragans, at which attention was given to legislation concerning clerical concubinage and pluralism, the sacraments (especially matrimony), and the enforcement of monastic discipline. He collaborated with Ramón de Penyafort and was closely attached to the Cistercian house of Poblet. During his pontificate Cistercian and Dominican influences predominated in the Aragóñese hierarchy (between 1243 and 1248 five mendicant bishops were appointed); his first provincial council ordered the solemn celebration of the feast days of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Anthony of Padua. His other principal mentor was Cardinal Jean d’Abbeville, legate to the peninsula 1228–1229, with whom he maintained contact into the 1230s. The so-called Summa septem sacramentorum, which he compiled, was based on the statutes attributed to Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris (d. 1208). First promulgated by him at Barcelona in 1241, the Summa was an unsophisticated work of practical guidance for the clergy that enjoyed considerable influence throughout the province for the remainder of the century. Another side of him was revealed in the course of the Ordinatio ecclesia Valentine, the bitter struggle in which he engaged with Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo for jurisdiction over the recently restored church of Valencia, and in the sometimes uneasy relationship which he maintained with King Jaime I, the “Conqueror.”

PETER LINEHAN

ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE, THE

On the morning of 14 January 1208, just north of Arles, where the Rhône River divides, Pierre of Castelnau—virulent Cistercian denouncer of the Cathar heresy and the papal legate who, less than a year earlier, had excommunicated Raymond VI, count of Toulouse—was brutally murdered by a swiftly thrown lance puncturing his back. The killer was an anonymous horseman who escaped to nearby Beaucaire. Pierre’s quick death was the immediate cause of twenty-one years of intermittent warfare and bloody conquest known as the Albigensian Crusade.

Pope Innocent III immediately accused Raimond VI of Pierre of Castelnau’s murder, and then authorized a crusade, with the same indulgences as an expedition to Palestine, against Raymond and the Cathar (or Albigensian) heretics the count was accused of supporting. Raymond may have been tolerant toward the Cathar holy men and women, known as perfecti and perfectae, and he may have expropriated some church property, but he was also intelligent enough not to jeopardize his power in Languedoc by the impetuous killing of an apostolic legate.

The king of France, Philip Augustus, displayed no apparent interest in the papal holy war—despite the personal entreaties of Innocent III. Philip did, nevertheless, allow five hundred knights to take the cross. Raymond VI endeavored to stop the crusaders by reconciling himself with the Church on 18 June 1209; unfortunately, the crusading army was already on its way, under the leadership of Arnau Amalric, abbot of Citeaux and head of the Cistercian Order. Four days later Raymond took the cross himself and helped redirect the crusaders toward the lands of the Trencavels, vassals of Pedro II of Aragón. The town of Béziers was captured easily, and the entire population allegedly massacred. Apparently reflecting upon such indiscriminate killing, Arnau Amalric is reported to have said, “God will know his own.” Carcassonne, the Trencavel capital, surrendered on 15 August and its viscount, Raymond-Roger, was imprisoned. The crusaders, ignoring the claims of Raymond-Roger’s young son and the feudal authority of the Aragonese crown, appointed Simon de Montfort, a baron from the Ile-de-France and titular Earl of Leicester, as ruler of Carcassonne.

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Raymond VI left the crusading army after Carcassonne, but his excommunication was renewed in a series of Church councils (1209–1211). The papal legates would not listen to any of Raymond’s attempts to reconcile himself; the crusade could now continue into the territories of the Count of Toulouse. At this point, in 1212, Pedro II of Aragón, Raymond’s brother-in-law and the recent victor over the Muslims at Las Navas de Tolosa, placed Toulouse under his protection. On 12 September 1213 the combined armies of Pedro and Raymond, as well as the counts of Foix and Comminges, met Simon de Montfort’s little army outside the fortified village of Muret. Simon was victorious and Pedro died in the battle (with his five-year-old son son Jaime, the future king of Aragón, held captive by Simon until April 1214).

In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council deprived Raymond VI of all his lands. The marquessate of Provence was held in trust for the future Raymond VII, while everything conquered by the crusaders was to be ruled by Simon de Montfort (including the county of Comminges). Despite all this, the war went on for another thirteen years as Raymond VI and his son struggled to regain their lost domains. Eventually, after Simon de Montfort died while besieging Toulouse in 1218—his head crushed by a stone from a catapult worked by young girls and married women—the two Raimonds slowly succeeded in their reconquest. Throughout these years, Philip Augustus remained indifferent to the plight of Simon’s son, Amaury. However, after Raymond VII, Raymond-Roger of Foix, and Raymond Tencavel were all excommunicated in November 1225, Philip’s son, Louis VIII, undertook a royal crusade into Languedoc. The king captured Avignon in 1226 and then proceeded to march toward Toulouse. Louis effortlessly occupied the possessions of the Tencavels along the Aude River, but before he could strengthen his position, the king died on 8 November 1226.

Raymond VII, in the lull after the death of Louis VIII, was offered the chance for peace and he gladly took it in 1229. On 12 April 1229 the Treaty of Paris officially ended the Albigensian Crusade. Yet the spiritual and secular conquest of Languedoc, unleashed so many years earlier by the murder of a papal legate, would continue for at least another four decades. The treaty’s insistence on the pursuit of heresy led not only to the founding of the university in Toulouse but also to the formation of the medieval inquisition. The treaty also stressed that Raymond was now a vassal of the northern French king—emphasized by the obligation of the count’s nine-year-old daughter and heir, Jeanne, to marry a brother of the king—and that the traditional territorial claims of the kings of Aragón within Languedoc, as well as the right to interfere in southern French affairs, would no longer be acceptable. The Aragonese crown finally renounced all ambitions beyond the Pyrenees with the Treaty of Corbeil in 1258 between the French king Louis IX and (the son of Pedro II captured by Simon de Montfort after the battle of Muret almost forty years earlier), Jaime I.

MARK GREGORY PEGG

Bibliography

ALBO, JOSEPH
Aragonese rabbi of the fifteenth century, Albo represented the Jewish community of Daroca at the famous Tortosa Disputation (1413–1414), although he played apparently a minor role and was somewhat inconsistent in his statements. He was a student of the renowned leader of Aragonese-Catalan Jewry, Hasdai Crescas, and as such was certainly greatly influenced by his philosophical magnum opus, Or Adonai (Light of the Lord) and also by his small polemical treatise against Christianity.

Taking his cue from these works, Albo wrote a large work, Sefer ha-Ciqarim (Book of the Principles) on the fundamentals of revealed religion, specifically, of the Jewish religion. Critical of Maimonides for not giving the basis for his own enumeration of thirteen principles of “faith,” Albo reduced these to three: existence of God, belief in revelation, and the doctrine of divine retribution. Yet he similarly failed to prove a basis for these dogmas. Notably lacking is a belief in creation, especially ex nihilo, which Albo held to be a necessary religious belief but not a fundamental dogma. A lack of belief in “dogmas” as supposedly found in the Bible, or an incorrect interpretation of the Bible, did not render one a heretic (as, apparently, did denial of the three fundamentals).

The belief in the messiah, which at the Disputation he had appeared to question altogether, is not to be
considered a fundamental principle but only a binding belief (which nevertheless could not logically be deduced from any of the fundamentals). A major thrust of his argument is anti-Christian polemic. While theoretically admitting the possibility of a plurality of revealed religions, he in fact limited such revelations to those pre-Mosaic figures such as Adam, Noah, and Abraham. Christianity could not be recognized as a legitimate revealed religion because of its denial of the essential unity of God.

Nevertheless, his position on divine attributes, acceptance of positive attributes (in contrast to Maimonides), was directly influenced by Thomas Aquinas. Thus, ironically, Aquinas, who was himself influenced by Maimonides on other matters, became a source for this later Jewish work attacking both Maimonides and Christianity.

In actuality, there is little either original or of profound interest in Albo’s work.

Norman Roth

Bibliography


ALBORNOZ, GIL ALVAREZ CARRILLO DE

Gil de Albornoz was one of the most eminent Spanish churchmen of the fourteenth century. He was born at Cuenca (ca. 1295) and was the son of García de Albornoz. Gil de Albornoz was one of the most eminent Spanish churchmen of the fourteenth century. He was born at Cuenca and was the son of García de Albornoz and Teresa de Luna. Albornoz was educated in Zaragoza under the watchful eye of his influential uncle, Jimeno, who at the time was archbishop there, and under the tutelage of Pedro Egidio, who would later become a deacon at Cuenca and come to administer Albornoz’s household. In 1316 to 1317, Gil de Albornoz enrolled at the University of Toulouse, where he remained for a decade and from where before 1325 he was awarded a doctorate in decretals and canon law. While at Toulouse, he doubtless came into contact with Stephan Aubert.

Gil de Albornoz’s life can be divided into two phases, an early Iberian one and a later Italian period following the accession of Pedro I to the crown of Castile and Albornoz’s voluntary departure from the Iberian Peninsula. Since Albornoz’s exploits in Italy are more amply known and readily accessible in many sources, greater attention will be given here to his achievements in Spain.

Upon returning to Castile from Toulouse in 1327, Gil de Albornoz joined the circle of Alfonso XI and, in addition to his ecclesiastical benefices at Cuenca, held the title of counselor to the king and archdeacon of Calatrava. By 1335 he had participated in an embasssy to the king of Aragón and was actively engaged in the political life of Castile. In 1338, he was named archbishop of Toledo to succeed his uncle Jimeno, who held that position when he died. Albornoz was subsequently given the secular title of canceller de Castilla. It is at this point that he began to intervene vigorously in reforming the kingdom’s judicial administration and in the organization of the armed forces. His active participation in the cortes (parliament) of Castile show him to be a dynamic force in all manner of affairs concerning the governance of the realm. Although Albornoz’s influence in the adoption of the Ordenamiento de Alcalá in 1348 has not been carefully studied, he was doubtless a major participant in drafting and promulgating the new legal code. At the same time, Albornoz is known to have been energetically engaged in Alfonso XI’s military exploits against the Muslims in the south and was named comisario de la cruzada for his efforts. Albornoz was at Alfonso’s side at the Battle of the Salado River (1340), at the siege and capture of Algeciras (1342–1344), and at the siege of Gibraltar until the king’s untimely death from the plague in 1350.

Albornoz’s activity in the Spanish Church was no less forceful than his involvement in secular government. The synods and councils of Toledo in 1339 and 1345 show him to have been especially preoccupied with the moral life of his diocese, attempting to impose order upon the disposition of ecclesiastical property and benefices, the cura pastoralis and administration of the sacraments by the rectors of churches and parishes, and the general reform of the clergy, which was deemed to be in a lamentable state of decadence. Clerical simony and concubinage were two lapses that especially caught Albornoz’s attention, and orders against these practices went out under his name. It is because of this that Albornoz is often associated with Juan Ruiz, the putative author of the Libro de buen amor, whom the Salamanca manuscript of the latter attests was jailed by the bishop for his carnal failings. Quite aside from reputedly policing the celibacy of the clergy in the diocese of Toledo, Albornoz was deeply concerned with the level of their culture, learning, and education. He began his reign as archbishop by ensuring that the edicts of the Council of Valladolid (1322) be strictly observed and that one out of every ten gemen in every deaconry be commissioned to study theology and canon law, prohibiting the ordination of all who could not demonstrate an adequate level of clerical education, “ut nullus nisi litteratus ad clericatum promovetur” (unless literate, do not make him a cleric), according to the Council of Toledo of 1339. Albornoz’s own fidelity to his vows and the requirements of ordination were said by all to have been exemplary.
The death of Alfonso XI led Albornoz to fear disgrace at the hands of Pedro I, the king’s successor. As a result, he withdrew to the papal court at Avignon, where he was made a cardinal in December 1350. His career in the curia was as successful as it had been at the Court of Castile. He was made papal legate and vicar general of the Papal States, helping Pope Innocent VI to control firmly their administration and dominate central Italy politically. Between 1353 and 1360 Albornoz attempted to revive the Angevin-Guelph alliance of the 1320s to counter the power of the lords of Lombardy but, after great sacrifice and expenditure, he failed to pacify the Italian peninsula because of French inability to provide continued support.

Throughout his life Albornoz remained firmly committed to the education of the clergy. He was especially concerned with their preparation in canon law and ecclesiastical administration. As a result, he founded the Collegio di San Clemente, known as the Spanish College, at the University of Bologna. In the will he signed in 1364, he created the foundation to establish the college as the universal heir to his fortune and, in a codicil added in 1368, again made provisions for the disposition of his inheritance, which was to go in its entirety to support twenty-four Spanish students in the course of their studies at the university. By 1369, two years after Albornoz’s death at Viterbo, the College of San Clemente received its first group of students, many of whom went on to become distinguished jurists upon completion of their studies and their return to the Iberian Peninsula. Albornoz’s foundation of the Spanish College at Bologna served as a model for the subsequent development of the colegios mayores in Spanish universities.

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ALBURQUERQUE, JUAN ALFONSO, LORD OF

A Portuguese aristocrat, born to an illegitimate son of King Dinis (1325), Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque arrived in Castile in 1328 as chief chamberlain to María, his second cousin, the Portuguese princess who married Alfonso XI of Castile that same year. He spent most of the rest of his life in Castile. Because of his connections and a most suitable marriage to Isabel de Meneses, whose family was one of Castile’s wealthiest and most influential, he became a formidable presence in the politics of the kingdom.

As chamberlain to Pedro, Alfonso XI’s and María’s only surviving child, Alburquerque oversaw the education of the heir and wielded considerable influence over the young prince. Alburquerque was appointed chief chancellor when Pedro, at sixteen, became king following his father’s death from the plague in 1350 during the Castilian siege of Gibraltar. For the next two years, Alburquerque as first minister was the chief architect of the crown’s policies, many of which contributed to the king’s future reputation and his sobriquet “the Cruel.”

One policy attributable to Alburquerque’s influence was the imprisonment and death of Leonor de Guzmán, Alfonso XI’s favorite and mother of the future Trastámara dynasty. The elimination of Leonor caused the enmity of her numerous children, among them Enrique de Trastámara, and marked the beginning of Pedro’s difficulties that culminated in the Castilian civil war of 1366–1369. Alburquerque presided over the defeat of Alfonso Fernández Coronel, a former vassal of Alfonso XI who opposed Alburquerque’s policies. When Coronel surrendered in 1353 after a two-year siege, he spoke to Alburquerque in words that foreshadowed the first minister’s own fate: “This is Castile, Lord Juan Alfonso; it makes men only to waste them.”

The most costly of his policies, however, was his decision, along with Queen María’s, to negotiate the marriage between Pedro and the French princess, Blanche of Borbón. When Pedro abandoned her two days after the wedding in 1353, likely because of the princess’ inability to pay the agreed-upon dowry, the first minister failed to persuade the king to return to her side. While the marriage was intended to promote good relations between Castile and France, Pedro’s rejection of Blanche served to alienate the French crown, whose participation in Castilian affairs led to Pedro’s eventual defeat by Enrique de Trastámara. It was also in Alburquerque’s household that Pedro met and fell in love with María de Padilla in 1352, a lasting attachment that might also have contributed to Pedro’s reluctance to cohabit with Blanche.

Pedro’s behavior caused considerable turmoil and opposition and unified his enemies. Queen María and Alburquerque were unable to convince him to resume normal relations with Blanche, which served to alienate them from the king. At the same time, the minister’s influence had begun to wane as María de Padilla’s
relative gained ascendancy with Pedro. Alburquerque fled to Portugal and refused to return to Castile even after Pedro summoned him. When he returned, he did so as the ally of Enrique and Fadrique, Pedro’s half-brothers who had temporarily made peace with the king and had been sent in pursuit of the minister. Alburquerque and his pursuers decided to make peace among themselves and march against Pedro instead. On 28 September 1354, Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque, while on campaign, died under mysterious circumstances; it was believed that he was poisoned by an Italian physician in Pedro’s employ. Alburquerque’s allies, who continued their rebellion against Pedro, added the minister’s death to their list of grievances against the king and adopted his corpse as their standard, pledging to parade the body until they could proclaim victory. At this stage of his reign, however, Pedro was able to defeat the conspiracy against him and the rebels eventually disbanded.

Alburquerque and his wife Isabel de Meneses had one son, Martín Gil, whose death in 1365 marked the end of the family line.

CLARA ESTOW

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ALCÁZOVAS, TREATIES OF

When Enrique IV of Castile died (11 December 1474), his sister Isabel and her husband Fernando were proclaimed as rulers of Castile, but a faction among the nobility, with the help of Afonso V of Portugal, upheld the rights to the succession of Juana, the daughter of Enrique and Juana of Portugal. The adherence of the Castilian nobility, with the help of Afonso V of Portugal, upheld the rights to the succession of Juana, the daughter of Enrique and Juana of Portugal. The adherence of the Castilian nobility and of the cities, as well as military victories (Toro, 1 March 1476, La Albufera, 24 February 1479), secured the throne for Isabel and Fernando. Afonso V, urged by his son and heir, João, and by the majority opinion among his courtiers, had to begin the negotiations for peace that culminated in the four Treaties of Alcázovas (4 September 1479). They confirmed the peace of Almeirim (27 January 1432) in all its clauses, promising the mutual restoration of conquests and prisoners and reserving zones of influence in the Atlantic: the Canary Islands for Castile, the Azores and Madeira for Portugal. The Portuguese would have the exclusive right to navigate and occupy lands south of Cape Bojador on the route to Guinea, and the right of conquest in the emirate of Fez, except on the sliver of coastline between Capes Nun and Bojador reserved for Castile. Juana’s situation was also resolved, as she preferred to enter a convent, although during her novitiate year she could still choose another solution—namely, to marry Prince Juan of Castile, the son and heir of Isabel and Fernando; she did not do so. The future marriage of Infanta Isabel, a daughter of the Castilian monarchs, with Afonso, the son and heir of Prince João of Portugal was also proposed. The Infanta would have a dowry of 106,000 doblas. Both she and Juana would remain in the fortress of Moura for two years, as a guarantee that the treaties would be carried out. Juana then made her profession as a nun in the convent of Santa Clara of Coimbra (15 November 1480). Finally, those Castilians who still followed Afonso V were assured of pardon and restitution of property and offices. Thus the war was brought to an end and a very solid plan for friendly relations between Portugal and Castile was outlined.

MIGUEL-ÁNGEL LADERO QUESADA

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ALCALÁ DE HENARES, ORDENAMIENTO OF

Alfonso X determined to try to bring order to the legal chaos of his kingdom and to the widespread anarchy and outrages against justice being committed, and in 1348 at the cortes (parliament) of Alcalá de Henares the new ordenamiento (ordinance; legal compilation) was adopted for uniform use throughout the kingdom. Unlike the Siete Partidas composed by jurists for Alfonso X, the Ordenamiento de Alcalá de Henares was intended to be not a theoretical treatise on law but a practical application for the use of jurists. The code drew upon previous legislation: the Ordenamiento of Villa Real in 1346, and that of Segovia (still unpublished) in 1347, both of which determined primarily judicial procedures for civil and criminal matters, and included also the laws of Alfonso VIII at the cortes of Nájera in 1138, with regard to the rights and duties of the nobility, judges, treason, and so on. The ordenamiento was confirmed by all successive monarchs and continued to play a prominent role in the legislation of the Catholic Monarchs and even beyond.

Various unsatisfactory efforts have been made to identify the legal advisers responsible for the text, with Juan Manuel being a likely candidate and Cardinal Gil de Albornoz a less likely one. The Ordenamiento is also important in the history of the Jews in Spain, for it was the first attempt in Castile to severely restrict their economic activity, not
only with regard to lending money on interest (of importance here is also the so-called pseudo Ordenamiento of Alcalá, said to be merely the preliminary section of the Leyes Nuevas, but in fact it is not; rather, it purports to be a law of Alfonso XI concerning usury), but also in that while recognizing the right of Jews to buy and sell property in the kingdom it sought to impose geographic restrictions on such property as well as restrictions on its value. It may easily be shown that these efforts were without any significant or lasting result, however.

The text of the Ordenamiento has been frequently published; see, for example, Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla, volume I, and Códigos españoles, volume 1.

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Bibliography

ALCAÑICES, TREATY OF
The Treaty of Alcañices (12 September 1297) established the border between Castile and Portugal. During the minority of Fernando IV of Castile (1295–1312), Dinis of Portugal (1279–1325) allied with Jaime II of Aragón (1291–1327) to invade León-Castile and to divide it between Infante Juan and Alfonso de la Cerda. Jaime II planned to take Murcia, and Dinis hoped to expand Portugal’s frontiers into Castile. At the same time Muhammad II of Granada (1273–1302) besieged Tarifa.

The invasion took place in 1296 and succeeded almost according to plan. Jaime successfully captured the major cities in Murcia, and both Juan and Alfonso were proclaimed kings, the former of León, the latter of Castile. However, Tarifa withstood the siege and Dinis, facing a rebellion by his younger brother Afonso, made a separate treaty with Castile in 1297. Under this treaty of Alcañices Castile ceded various villages and castles in the Riba Coa: Sabugal, Castelo Rodrigo, Vila Maior, Castelo Bom, Almeida, Castelo Melhor, Monforte, Olivença, Ouguela, Campo Maior, and San Félix, and received in return Arroche and Aroche. The treaty also arranged for the marriage of Fernando IV with Constança, daughter of Dinis, and of Dinis’s son, the future Afonso IV (1325–1357), with Fernando’s sister Beatriz. The signing of the treaty broke the coalition between Portugal and Aragón, permitting Castile to defeat Aragón and to establish Fernando on the throne. The delineation of the border between Castile and Portugal is considered one of the achievements of Dinis’s reign.

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ALCÁNTARA, ORDER OF
See military orders

ALCHEMY
The history of alchemy in medieval Spain parallels in many respects the development of alchemical theory and practices in the rest of Europe, with two notable differences: (1) alchemy was practiced in the Arabic cultures of al-Andalus long before its introduction into the rest of Europe, and (2) most of the alchemical texts were translated from Arabic to Latin in Toledo in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is possible the translators had contact with known Arabic experts, and the medieval practitioners in Hispanic regions may have been influenced even later by direct contact with Muslim adepts native to the Iberian Peninsula. Toledo and Salamanca became well-known in medieval Europe as centers for the study of magic and occult arts.

Alchemy was not only a scheme for achieving great wealth quickly, but it also became the established scientific
explanation for the formation of metals in the earth. Of lesser importance in the Middle Ages were the spiritual initiations and purifications that the adept needed to undergo for the completion of the great work.

The medical and scientific research of late Greek culture became the basis of Arabic scientific research. The translation of Greek texts into Arabic in the eighth and ninth centuries was followed by intense activity among adepts in Islamic nations, which has lasted until the present day. Records show alchemical practitioners flourished in al-Andalus during the reign of Al-Hakam II (961–967). Especially noteworthy among the writers in medieval Spain was the astronomer Maslamah Ibn Ahmad al-Majríṭī (first half of eleventh century), to whom an alchemical treatise, The Sage’s Steps, was attributed. His treatise on magic was translated in 1256 and circulated in Europe as Picatrix. His disciple Ibn Bishrūn also practiced alchemy.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Toledo became one of the most important centers for the translation and diffusion of Arabic scientific and medical writings to Christian Europe. Numerous scholars came from northern Europe to translate the texts from Arabic to Latin. This cultural bridge to the rest of Europe made Spain noteworthy as a center for the study of occult sciences.

The two names most often associated with alchemy in medieval Spain are the Catalans Raimon Llull (ca. 1232–1315) and Arnau de Vilanova (1235?–1313). That either of these prolific writers was the author of the symbolical alchemical treatises attributed to them is still doubted. Llull, who in his authentic works denies the possibility of transforming one metal into another, is a specially difficult case, since his great works on science, designed to convert Arabs to Christianity, became the basis of magic and alchemical thought in the Renaissance and later. The most important treatises ascribed to Llull are the Clavicula (Little Key) and Testamentum. A host of treatises have been attributed to Arnau de Vilanova, the most influential being Semita Semitae (The Path of Paths) and Rosarium philosophorum (The Rosary of the Philosophers).

In Castile, important figures associated with alchemy were Alfonso el Sabio, and in the fifteenth century Enrique de Villena, and Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo. Attributed to Alfonso el Sabio is the Libro del Tesoro (Book of Treasure) and to Enrique de Villena the answer to the Carta de los veinte sabios cordoveses (Letter from the Twenty Sages of Córdoba); both texts in Luanco’s La Alquimia en España. Alfonso Carrillo left no writings, but his obsession with alchemy was reported by Hernando de Pulgar.

Possibly writers ascribed their alchemical treatises to various famous medieval figures such as Llull, Alfonso el Sabio, Arnau de Vilanova, and St. Thomas Aquinas to avoid prosecution by the Church, which had taken an active role in prohibiting alchemical transmutations. Even though the attributions of many of the Spanish treatises are of doubtful authenticity, the treatises themselves were well read and very influential. The numerous medieval alchemical texts found in Spain describe the secret processes and recipes with the same types of highly symbolic and coded language typical of alchemical treatises in the rest of Europe.

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Alexander of Macedon | See libro de al-exandre

Alfaquí | See law, muslim

Alfarrobeira, Battle of

In which the former regent of Portugal, Dom Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, met his death at the hands of the royal army of the boy-king Afonso V, manipulated by Pedro’s half-brother Afonso, Duke of Bragança. The Alfarrobeira is a stream near Alverca twenty miles north of Lisbon, and the battle was fought on 20 May 1449. Dom Pedro’s brother King Duarte had died in September 1438, his heir Afonso V being only six years old. The regency of his widow was abrogated as a woman and a Castilian, and when Pedro replaced her with the consent of the cortes (parliament), she fled to Castile and appealed to her family. Pedro’s costly intervention in Castile lost him the support of the towns, and the marriage of his daughter to the king and appointment of his son, also Pedro, to the constableship, which Bragança regarded as hereditary in his family, the most powerful in Portugal. When Afonso V reached his majority in January 1448, he prolonged his regency, but was at length obliged to relinquish it. When the crown demanded a review of rewards by and to Pedro, the former regent was faced with the choice between resistance and spoliation. His counselors, meeting at Coimbra, favored conciliation, but his long-time crony Alvaro Díaz de Almada, Count of Avranches, recommended a heroic defense of honor. They may have hoped for support from Lisbon, toward which they marched. They faced overwhelming odds,
and Pedro was killed by an arrow to the heart, Avranches dying soon after.

The case is analyzed in great detail by H. Vaquero Moreno in *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira*, which shows that Pedro’s 480 known supporters were adherents from the duchy of Coimbra and his forty-five nobles, disposing of the supposition that he had remained the leader of the bourgeoisie. His tragic end arose from his chivalrous ideals and from the influence of Alvaro Diaz, who mistakenly thought that he could and should exercise the authority of his powerful father, Juan I. H. V. Livermore

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**ALFONSO DE LA CERDA**

Alfonso de la Cerda, (1271–1334?) oldest son of Fernando de la Cerda and Blanche of France, grandson of Alfonso X (1252–1284), became Alfonso X’s legal heir when his father died suddenly in August 1275. Alfonso X acknowledged his second son, Sancho, as his heir in the cortes (parliament) of 1276, but a faction led by Juan Núñez de Lara supported Alfonso de la Cerda’s claim. In January 1277 Blanche and Queen Violante brought Alfonso and his younger brother Fernando, known as the Infantes de la Cerda, to Aragón for safety. Violante’s brother, Pedro III of Aragón (1276–1285), later imprisoned the two boys at Sancho’s request. Alfonso X disinherited Sancho in 1282 and recognized Alfonso de la Cerda as his heir, but Sancho seized the entire kingdom when the king died in 1284. Four years later Alfonso de Aragón (1285–1291) released Alfonso de la Cerda and had him proclaimed king of Castile in Jaca. The Aragonese invaded Castile to support Alfonso and to obtain Murcia, but when this failed Alfonso went to France in a futile attempt to seek aid there. Not until Sancho died in 1295, leaving as king a technically illegitimate minor (Fernando IV, 1295–1312) did Alfonso’s claim seem feasible to foreign monarchs. Alfonso invaded Castile with Aragonese help and was crowned king of Castile at Jaén in 1296, but the Aragonese withdrew and the papal declaration of Fernando’s legitimacy in 1301 forced Alfonso to quit his claims. Alfonso unsuccessfully reasserted his rights again when Fernando IV died in 1312. He finally renounced his claims in 1331, when he took an oath of fealty to Alfonso XI of Castile (1312–1350) and received several lordships in return.

Alfonso de la Cerda married Mafalda de Narbona. Their children were Luis de la Cerda, Juan Alfonso de la Cerda, Alfonso de España, Margarita de la Cerda, Inés de la Cerda, and Maria de la Cerda. Alfonso’s date of death is uncertain; it was either 1333 or 1334. He and his wife were buried in the monastery of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, which they founded in the town of Gibraleón.

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**ALFONSO DE TOLEDO**

Mid-fifteenth-century author of the *Invencionario*, a catalog of discoverers finished around 1467 and dedicated to Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo. According to autobiographical references gleaned from the *Invencionario*, the author was born in Toledo, resided in Cuenca, held the degree of Bachiller en Decretos, and had earlier compiled an *Espejo de las Historias* (now lost) for the Bishop of Cuenca.

The *Invencionario* is evidently the earliest example of heuremata literature in any of the medieval vernacular languages of western Europe. In two books of ten títulos each, Alfonso de Toledo purports to list the discoverers (inventores) of things necessary for humankind’s well-being, temporal (book 1) as well as spiritual (book 2). Book 1 discusses the discoverers of letters; kingdoms and kings; laws; cities; marriage; bread, wine, and meat; clothing; arms and martial arts; music and games; medicine; astrology; and other arts. Book 2 deals with the remedies for original sin; faith; prayer; offerings; fasting; priests and sacrifices; feast days; martyrs and religions; places of worship; and penance. There are frequent (and often interesting) amplifications and digressions.

The *Invencionario* is written in the Latinate style widely cultivated in fifteenth-century Castilian prose.
In its intent and organizational plan it resembles the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (one of Alfonso’s primary *auctortates*). The author also drew extensively from the writings of church historians, biblical commentators, and specialists in canon law, documenting his sources with particular care.

Though now nearly forgotten, the work must have circulated widely in its time; at least fourteen manuscript versions survived to the eighteenth century, and twelve are extant today.

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ALFONSO I, KING OF ARAGÓN

Alfonso I of Aragón, el Batallador, was born (ca. 1073) to Sancho Ramírez, king of Aragón (reigned 1064–1094), and Felicia of Roucy. He established a reputation for military prowess, commanding the Aragonese vanguard at the Battle of Alcoraz (1096) and fighting alongside El Cid in the Battle of Bairen (1097). After his brother’s unexpected death without descent in 1104, he continued the Aragonese offensive against the Muslims with substantial success. When Alfonso VI of Castile, having lost his only son in battle, sought a husband for his daughter, the heiress Urraca, his choice fell upon Alfonso of Aragón as the most able candidate.

Alfonso VI of Castile died 30 June 1118, and Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón were married in the autumn of the same year. The marriage conditions provided for joint rule of the realms of each, and provided for the succession of their descent to the united realms. The arrangement might have led to an early unification of Christian Spain, but there were many opponents to the marriage and little compatibility between the royal couple. Alfonso fought to establish his authority both over the lands of León-Castile and his wife, but finally abandoned his efforts. In about 1114, he repudiated Urraca and turned his attention increasingly to Aragonese affairs and the work of reconquest.

Gathering many French friends and relatives to his cause, he laid siege to Zaragoza, which capitulated on 18 December 1118. Tudela followed in February 1119, and Tarazona shortly after. Alfonso then marched on Calatayud and decisively defeated the Muslims in the battle of Cutanda, 17 June 1120. He then devoted himself to the difficult task of organizing and populating the extensive territories he had acquired. From September 1124 to about May 1125, he undertook a massive raid through Valencia, Murcia, Córdoba, and Granada, and succeeded in leading a large number of Mozarabs back to Aragón. In June 1127, he concluded a treaty with Alfonso VII of León-Castile at Támara, recognizing the young king’s hereditary rights and freeing himself for new conquests.

He conquered Molina in December 1128 and attacked Valencia in spring 1129, at which time he defeated the Muslims in the battle of Cullera. From October 1130 to October 1131, he engaged in an unexplained and unsuccessful siege of Bayonne, where he issued his testament, leaving his realms to the crusading orders of the Temple, Hospital, and Holy Sepulcher. He undertook the siege of Fraga in the summer of 1133, and suffered a disastrous defeat there on 17 July 1134. Alfonso survived the battle and attempted to regroup his forces, but to no avail. He fell ill, died on 7 September 1134, and was buried at Monteearagon, near Huesca. His brother, Ramiro el Monje, was immediately proclaimed king, and the kingdom that Alfonso had built began to disintegrate.

Alfonso’s accomplishments were many. He greatly increased Aragón’s power, expanded its territories, populated its lands, and inspired its armies with the spirit of the Crusade. Many refused to believe that he had died, and legends soon sprang up that he would return someday to lead the Aragonese to victories again.

LYNN H. NELSON

**Bibliography**


ALFONSO II, KING OF ARAGÓN

The future Alfonso II of Aragón (Alfons I of Catalonia) known as “el Casto,” was born in March 1157 to Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona (1131–1162), and Petronilla, heiress to the kingdom of Aragón. His father died on 7 August 1162, and Alfonso was proclaimed Count of Barcelona on 24 February 1163. Petronilla renounced her royal dignity in favor of her son on 18 June 1164, and Alfonso was crowned king of Aragón at Zaragoza on 11 November 1164. The Crown of Aragón was formally established with this union of Aragón and Catalonia. Although by
the terms of his father’s will Alfonso was under the guardianship of Henry II of England, effective administration of the realm was in the able hands of Guillermo Ramón de Moncada and Guillem Torroja.

With the death of Ramón Berenguer III, Count of Provence, in 1166, the Aragonese leaders seized the opportunity to reclaim the main branch of the House of Barcelona sovereignty over Provence. By so doing they entered into conflict with Raymond V, Count of Toulouse, husband of the heiress of Provence. Alfonso was to remain embroiled in the tumultuous politics of the Midi for the next thirty years. These concerns generally dictated Alfonso’s peninsular policies, and some historians would argue that he sacrificed advantages in the peninsula in order to advance his trans-Pyrenean interests.

In late 1173, Guillem de Moncada and Petronilla died, and Alfonso began to rule directly. In January 1174, he married Sancha of Castile and began to contemplate the conquest of the Muslim kingdom of Valencia. This venture was frustrated by war with Sancho IV of Navarre, however, and Alfonso began to draw even closer to Castile. In March 1179, Alfonso of Aragón and Alfonso VIII of Castile met at Cazorla and entered into a treaty in which they allied against Navarre and in which Alfonso of Aragón agreed that Murcia should be part of the Castilian zone of reconquest. By 1185, his peninsular frontiers were reasonably secure, and he undertook the solidification of his position in the Midi. He took Provence under his direct rule, and brought Béarn, Béziers, Bigorre, and Carcassone into alliance or vassalage.

In 1189, his situation changed unfavorably. Alfonso of Castile entered into an alliance with Frederick Barbarossa, who contemplated returning the county of Provence to direct homage to the Holy Roman Empire, a policy that was to continue under Emperor Henry VI. Alfonso of Aragón broke with Castile and, by 1191, had brought Navarre, León, and Portugal into an anti-Castilian alliance. The Almohad invasion and the defeat of Castilian forces in the Battle of Alarcos (1195) prompted the pope to appeal for Christian unity in the face of this perceived new Muslim menace. During a celebrated pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (late 1195–early 1196), Alfonso brought about such unity and laid plans for a crusade against the invaders. His design failed, however. While traveling to his possessions in the Midi, he fell ill, and died at Perpignan 25 April 1096 at the age of forty.

During the reign of Alfonso II, the union of Aragón and Catalonia was established, and the institutions of the Crown of Aragón developed. At the time of his death, the Crown of Aragón was close to becoming a Pyrenean state, interposed between the great powers of France and Castile. In the Iberian Peninsula, it had begun to exercise a role of real leadership among the Christian states. These were substantial accomplishments, but they vanished in the aftermath of the intervention of Pedro II in the Albigensian Crusade and his defeat and death in the Battle of Muret (1213). The reputation of Alfonso II has suffered by the squandering of the opportunities he created.

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Bibliography


ALFONSO III, KING OF ARAGÓN

King of Aragón and Valencia (born, 1236; ruled 1285–1291), son of Pedro III “the Great” and Constanza of Hohenstaufen, Alfonso spent most of his short reign contending, largely successfully, with the political implications of the territorial expansion of the crown begun during the reign of his grandfather, Jaime I (1213–1276), and continued by his father. He inherited not only the peninsular Aragonese territories of Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia but also papal censure resulting from the seizure of Sicily, his mother’s legacy, which his brother and successor, Jaime, inherited and ruled. As if this were not enough, he also inherited disgruntled barons who complained that Pedro’s royalist reforms had fundamentally changed the constitution of Aragonese government. Alfonso came to the throne at a moment of political instability. He was in Mallorca at his father’s death, in the process of completing the annexation of Mallorca to the Aragonese crown (Ibiza and Minorca followed soon after), and immediately upon his return, in April 1286, was crowned in Zaragoza. His first concern was to pacify the coalition of nobles, newly united with key towns, who had received concessions from Pedro III in 1283 and were determined to negotiate a greater role in royal government. Rather than risk civil war, and believing that Mediterranean expansion mattered more than royal prerogatives, Alfonso made peace with his subjects. In 1287 he granted them the privilege of convoking an annual assembly and pledged to uphold certain key legal protections. He then turned his attention to the problem of Sicily and faced a formidable alliance of hostile Angevins—led by Charles of Valois, who had been deprived of Sicily and in retaliation was designated papal candidate for the Aragonese throne—and their allies, Pope Martin IV and King Philippe IV of France. The political situation, already complicated, worsened
after 1288 when King Sancho IV of Castile allied with France against Alfonso; the Infantes de la Cerda (Castilian princes) from Sancho’s first marriage, and Charles of Salerno, the king of Naples and son of Charles of Valois, were caught in the middle of the fracas and taken as hostages. Warfare erupted along the border between Castile and Aragón. Alfonso realized the necessity of detaching Aragonese interests from direct involvement in Sicily and agreed at Tarascón, mediated by Edward I of England, to make peace with the Angevins, the pope, and the French. Both sides compromised: the pope agreed to lift his censure and revoke his donation of the kingdom to Charles of Valois; in return, Alfonso agreed to withdraw all support for his brother in Sicily and pledge loyalty to the pope. As part of an alliance with England, Alfonso agreed to marry Edward’s daughter Eleanor, but his death just a few months later, in June 1291, rendered both that marriage and the treaty inoperative. He left no heirs, although he may have had an illegitimate son, but the extent of his achievement and recognition is indicated by their association with him.

Certainly the king himself promoted such traditions, if he did not actually compose the earliest version of the chronicles, as has been asserted. He took pains to reassociate the kingdom with the growing shrine of Santiago at Compostela. There he had the old church of Alfonso II (791–842) razed and a more splendid one erected. He built a new palace in the royal city of Oviedo. The king also commissioned a distinctive art in architecture and jewelry, the latter being represented by the magnificent “Cross of Victory” of Oviedo.

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**ALFONSO III, KING OF ASTURIAS**

The long reign of Alfonso III (866–910) marks the most brilliant period of the Asturian realm. Taking advantage of the contemporary weakness of Muslim Andalusia, Alfonso continued the work of his father, Ordoño I (850–866), in the repopulation of the northern half of the Duero River basin, founding Zamora and Toro on its banks. Farther east, Burgos was founded in 884 and control over Álava was maintained despite Basque revolts. On the western frontier, the Christian repopulation was pushed south from southern Galicia with foundations at Braga, Oporto, Viseu, and even Coimbra. The king raided as far south as the lands of Badajoz and Mérida.

All of this growth occurred despite serious internal stress at one time or another. At the very beginning of his reign Alfonso had had to take refuge in Castile when a Count Froila of Galicia had briefly claimed to succeed Ordoño. He also had to face a conspiracy of his brother, Vermudo, who was taken and blinded but nevertheless subsequently staged a rebellion in Astorga that endured for roughly seven years and attracted Muslim support.

In fact, Alfonso’s successes were such that he seems to have inspired his own, official history. As we now have them, there are three chronicles of the cycle of Alfonso III. One of them derives from Oviedo and the other two from the Navarrese see of Roda and the Navarrese monastery of Albelda; all of them stand in the same tradition; that is, they make the monarchy of Asturias the lineal descendant of the vanished Visigothic kingdom of the sixth and seventh centuries whose destiny it is to reclaim Iberia from the Muslims. In fact, these chronicles are also quite closely associated with those materials jointly described as the *Prophetic Chronicle*. The latter predicted the complete expulsion of the Muslims to occur in 884. These traditions likely antedate the reign of Alfonso himself, but the extent of his achievement and recognition is indicated by their association with him.

Certainly the king himself promoted such traditions, if he did not actually compose the earliest version of the chronicles, as has been asserted. He took pains to reassociate the kingdom with the growing shrine church of Santiago at Compostela. There he had the old church of Alfonso II (791–842) razed and a more splendid one erected. He built a new palace in the royal city of Oviedo. The king also commissioned a distinctive art in architecture and jewelry, the latter being represented by the magnificent “Cross of Victory” of Oviedo.

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**ALFONSO IV, KING OF ARAGÓN**

King Alfonso IV of Aragón and Valencia (born 1299; ruled 1327–1336), known as “the Benign,” was the second son of Jaime II and Blanca of Naples. He was named his father’s successor when his elder brother Jaime repudiated his bride on his wedding day, renounced his right to succession, and joined a monastic military order. Alfonso was an able replacement, however, and well suited for governance. In 1322, as a young prince, his father sent him to Sardinia with a force of roughly fifteen thousand Catalans and Aragonese to bring the island under Aragonese control. He successfully fended off opposition from the Genoese, but the threat continued for decades and thwarted
his plans to annex Corsica. His personal reign began with abundant optimism and an opulent coronation on Easter Sunday 1328, and he gained his reputation for benevolence partly from his good sense in remaining outside the chaotic fray of politics on the Iberian Peninsula and focusing his attentions on protecting the frontiers, aiding Castile in the defense of the Strait of Gibraltar, and protecting Aragonese privileges in Sardinia. Nevertheless, all of this was overshadowed by his own ill health and the long-term consequences of the death of his first wife, Teresa d’Entença, just before the death of his father. In 1329 he married Leonor of Castile, the woman spurned by his elder brother Jaime. The marriage was intended to cement an alliance of Castile and Aragon in order to fight the Muslims in Granada, but it resulted in an intense and bitter rivalry between his eldest son and heir, Pedro (later Pedro IV, the Ceremonious), and Leonor over her desire to endow her own sons, Fernando and Juan, at the expense of Pedro. To please his wife, Alfonso was obliged to sidestep the act of union, enacted at the cortes (parliament) of Tarragona in 1319, that prohibited alienation of royal patrimony. He created the marquisate of Tortosa for Fernando, and later added Alicante, Elche, Orihuela, Albarracín, and other towns in Valencia, an action that enraged the Valencians, who vociferously protested the partition of the realms, arguing that it left them vulnerable to attack from Castile. He later revoked this act, noting that such royal handedness was not in keeping with Aragonese kingship and governance. Both the conflict with Castile and bitter antagonism between Leonor and Pedro continued beyond Alfonso’s death in 1336, however, and ended with Pedro ordering the execution of Fernando in 1363.

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Bibliography


ALFONSO IX, KING OF LEÓN

Son of Fernando II and the Portuguese infanta (princess) Urraca, daughter of Afonso I Henriques, whose marriage had subsequently been annulled by papal authority. The seventeen-year-old heir acceded to the throne in January 1088. Threatened on the one side by the claims of his stepmother, Urraca López de Haro, for her own child, and on the other by the ambitions of his cousin, Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214), Alfonso took the novel step of summoning to the royal curia in León in April 1188 not only the usual prelates and nobles but also men chosen by some of the towns of the kingdom to speak in their behalf. The cortes (parliament) of León that resulted are usually credited, therefore, as being the first known medieval parliament. In that meeting in return for its support, Alfonso agreed not to make war or peace without consultation and to himself obey the laws of the realm. In subsequent cortes at Benavente in 1202 he agreed not to issue a new coinage for a period of seven years in return for a grant in aid.

While immediately provoked by the succession crisis of 1188, the novel inclusion of burgher representatives of the towns in the cortes of the realm is a measure of the stature they had achieved in the course of the twelfth century. Overseas trade in important quantities was now reaching the northern coast of Iberia through Gijón and La Coruña. The new king would find almost constant occupation in the adjudication of conflicts between town councils and bishops or abbots in Sahagún, in Lugo, and in Tuy. He was also to be kept busy reworking or granting fueros (privileges) to town councils in Castroverde, Sanabria, Mansilla, Oviedo, Zamora, and Toro in the north and to Salamanca, Cáceres, and Alcántara in the south. In 1204 cortes at León made town councils responsible for the maintenance of public order in their surrounding countryside.

But despite the support of the cortes in 1188, Alfonso found himself forced to attend his uncle’s curia at Carrión de los Condes in June 1188 where Alfonso VIII personally knighted his cousin and exacted his homage in return. The new king determined to escape from this subjection and in 1191 found an ally in Sancho I of Portugal (1185–1211) whose daughter, Teresa, he married that same year. The two kings then joined further with Alfonso II of Aragón-Barcelona (1162–1196) in a general anti-Castilian alliance, Alfonso IX going so far as to conclude a truce with the Muslim Muwâdhid. The papacy reacted strongly against the ensuing war of Christian against Christian in the Iberian Peninsula and the papal legate Cardinal Gregory forced Alfonso to separate from his cousin, Teresa of Portugal. The kings of Castile and León then agreed in 1194 to a treaty at Tordehumos by which León would be reunited with Castile if Alfonso IX should die without heirs.

When in July 1195 Alfonso VIII of Castile was defeated in a great battle at Alarcos by the Muwâdhid caliph, Abû Yusuf Ya’qûb, Alfonso of León reacted
in 1196 by invading Castile with the aid of some troops furnished by the Muslim. Pope Celestine III excommunicated him. Nevertheless, a solution was provided by Eleanor, wife of Alfonso VIII, who arranged the marriage of their daughter, Berenguela, to Alfonso IX of León in Valladolid in 1197. With the bride, as dowry, went the border territories in dispute between the two monarchs. However, this new marriage between cousins would also be declared null and the principals excommunicated by Pope Innocent III. Nevertheless, the royal match was maintained until 1204 in the face of papal objections. By that time it had produced four children, including the Fernando, who would succeed first to Castile (1217–1252) and then to León as well (1230–1252).

The dissolution of the marriage reopened the border question between León and Castile and kept bad feeling alive amid marching and countermarching interspersed with truces. The result was that León would remain aloof from the great Castilian victory that would lead to the eventual fall of the Muwāhhid Empire in Iberia at Las Navas de Tolosa in July 1212. Alfonso IX was busy on the Portuguese border, where he defeated the forces of their new king, Afonso II (1211–1223), at Valdevez in 1211. During the Castilian campaign itself the Leonese king seized several border fortresses while the Castilians were occupied in the south. Only in November 1212 did the kings of Castile, León, and Portugal sign a truce at Coimbra by which they agreed to cooperate against the Muslims. In the following year Alfonso IX proceeded to the definitive reconquest of Alcántara.

In 1214 Alfonso VIII died, leaving an eleven-year-old son, Enrique, as heir. The next three years saw a continuing struggle to manipulate his person and government in which the contestants were his older sister, Berenguela; Count Alvaro Núñez de Lara; and Alfonso IX of León. No faction managed to gain a decisive advantage, and then the young king died in a domestic accident in 1217. Before Alfonso IX could learn of Enrique's death, agents of Berenguela traveled to the court of the Leonese king and secured the latter's permission to allow his own son by Berenguela, Fernando, to travel to Castile to visit his mother and his cousin. Once Fernando reached Castile, Berenguela hastily arranged a cortes in Valladolid in July 1217, in which she ceded her own rights to the throne in favor of her son. Fernando III (1217–1252) was accepted there as the new king of Castile and a tardy invasion by Alfonso IX was unable to overturn that settlement. Nevertheless, skirmishes and conspiracies continued until definitive peace was established in 1220 between the Leonese and the Castilians. A peace was also agreed during that same year between León and Portugal, which had been struggling along the line of the Miño River.

Without threat or great prospects in the north, Alfonso IX was now to turn his attentions to the reconquest. There the Order of Alcántara took Valencia de Alcántara south of the Tajo in 1221, from which position in the northwest they could threaten the whole valley of the Middle Guadiana River from Mérida to Badajoz. Beginning in 1222 Alfonso IX began annual attacks on Cáceres, whose control led the approach from the northeast to those two cities. Each year he returned to the attack but failed to meet his objective. Then, in January 1224, the Muwāhhid caliph al-Mu'tasim died and Muslim power in al-Andalus became increasingly fragmented as one contender after another sought control in Iberia or Morocco. Finally, in 1227, Cáceres fell to Alfonso IX. By 1230 that king was ready for a siege of Mérida. That undertaking called forth a relief army led by Ibn Hūd, former governor of Murcia and then the leader of the Muslim south, but it was defeated soundly at Alange, southeast of the city, and Mérida surrendered in March. The victorious army now moved downstream, where Badajoz promptly surrendered to it as well.

The whole of the upper and middle valleys of the Guadiana was now in Christian hands, but Alfonso IX died on 24 September 1230 while on his way to Santiago de Compostela to offer thanks for his late victories. He was interred in that cathedral. When Fernando III of Castile heard of his father's death he asserted his claim to the kingdom of León. His two half-sisters, born of Alfonso's first marriage to Teresa of Portugal, contested his claim but again his sister Berenguela arranged a settlement with Teresa at Benavente (on 11 December 1230), in which the infantes surrendered their claims in return for generous pensions. As a result, León and Castile were permanently reunited.

BERNARD F. REILLY

Bibliography


ALFONSO V, KING OF ARAGÓN, THE MAGNANIMOUS

Born 1396, the eldest son of Fernando of Antequera and Leonor de Alburquerque, Alfonso V passed much of his childhood in the court of his uncle, Enrique III of Castile. Fernando, Victor of Antequera (1410), core-
ALFONSO V, KING OF ARAGÓN, THE MAGNANIMOUS

gent of Castile from 1406, and from 1412 (Compro-
mise of Caspe) King of Aragón, became the boy’s hero, a
model of knightly prowess and kingly virtue. An
abiding thirst for adventure, deep piety, and a passion
for hunting all derived from that paternal source.

Fernando’s brief reign in Aragón (1412–1416), besides
grounding Alfonso in the arts of government, introduced him to the constitutional pretensions and Mediter-
nanean concerns of his future subjects. Castile remained nonetheless a vital element in the family’s
dynastic and political calculations, as evidenced by his marriage to María of Castile (1415), a match that
proved loveless and barren. Thrust by his father’s fatal
illness (1415–1416) into the center of affairs, Alfonso
found himself confronting the antipope Benedict XIII
and Sigismund, King of the Romans, in a meeting
called at Perpignan to end the Schism. In this, his first
great test of political judgment, he opted for the Coun-
cil of Constance, yet took care to keep Benedict in
reserve as a bargaining counter in dealings with the
restored authority of Rome.

On 2 April 1416 Alfonso became King of Aragón.
Looking around for warlike ventures that had hitherto
excluded him, he saw Sicily and Sardinia restive under
Aragonese domination, Genoa challenging Catalan as-
pirations in Corsica, and Castile chafing at the over-
whelming Antequera presence. His subjects, however,
especially the Catalans and Valencians, opposed all
foreign projects for they mistrusted their new Castilian
dynasty and were resolved to bind it in constitutional
fetters. In the succeeding four-year contest of wills he
won the upper hand thanks largely to clerical and Cas-
tilian subventions, then sailed in high spirits for Italian
shores.

Touching first at Sardinia, he subdued that island
without difficulty, but in his next objective—Cors-
sica—encountered a desperate Genovese defense.
Frustrated there, he moved on to Naples in the guise
of champion and adopted heir of Giovanna against
Louis III of Anjou whom Pope Martin V, suzerain of
the capital on 2 June 1442 all resistance crumbled.

Yet again, Genoa’s fear of a Catalan stranglehold on
the western Mediterranean snatched away appar-
ently certain victory. In a battle off Ponza (5 August
1435) its fleet not only destroyed an overconfident
enemy but took Alfonso, two brothers, and a host of
nobles as prisoners. Hauled, albeit courteously, to Mi-
lan—Genoa’s overlord—Alfonso looked to all the
world a beaten man. Yet by a veritable coup de théâtre
he transformed his captor, the volatile Visconti duke,
into a devoted ally. Together they plotted a condomin-
ium over Italy, and early in 1436 Alfonso was once
more pursuing his conquest of Naples. Dogged opposi-
tion from the papacy, Genoa, and René of Anjou de-
layed victory for another six years until with the fall
of the capital on 2 June 1442 all resistance crumbled.
A great triumph had crowned decades of unremitting
persistence.

Alfonso now faced a choice between exploiting
his Italian victory and returning to Spain, where do-

Juan and a party of Castilian nobles to maneuver him
into an intervention (1425) that freed another brother,
Enrique, from captivity and briefly restored Antequera
dominance. Within two years the brothers were again
at odds, and Alfonso found himself once more driven
to invade Castile. Álvaro Luna countered devastatingly
by throwing the Antequera estates to his wavering ad-
herents; a mere handful stirred to support Alfonso, Cat-
alonia denounced the operation, and rebellion threat-
ened in Aragón. His frontiers menaced by vastly
superior Castilian forces, Alfonso was compelled to
seek a truce that left the Antequera hold upon Castile
broken and his own reputation battered. Small wonder
that he developed an aversion to further involvement
in Castile and seized upon an invitation from the anti-
Angevin faction in Naples to prepare another Italian
expedition. It cost many substantial concessions to the
ruling classes of Catalonia before he could sail again
in 1432, leaving his wife and Juan as regents in that
province and Aragón, respectively.

Uncertain how matters stood in Naples, he
alighted first in Sicily, then essayed a punitive raid
against Tunisia that demonstrated his naval power and
crusading credentials but deepened the hostility of that
Muslim state. An attempt to force the issue in Naples
by a show of strength at Ischia (1435) having come to
nothing, he had to retire once again to Sicily and wait
for the unfolding of events. At this juncture pressure
from his brothers threatened to draw him back to Spa,
where renewed war loomed with Castile. Orders for
return had already been given when news that first
Louis of Anjou, then Giovanna, had died transformed
his prospects. Supported by all his brothers, he made
for the mainland to claim his inheritance.

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on the western Mediterranean snatched away appar-
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mestic problems and Castilian complications contin-
ued to fester. While always proclaiming his intention to return, he chose instead to spend the rest of his life in Italy, where he enjoyed more unfettered authority, allowing international opportunities, and stimulating a cultural environment. Already he had gathered there his three children—all illegitimate—and proclaimed his only son, Ferdinando, heir to Naples. Wholeheartedly he threw himself into the strife of Italy, seeking to establish a virtual protectorate over the papal states, reduce Genoa to subservience, make good his claim upon Corsica, and secure, despite Venice, a hold upon the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Failure to find a dependable ally frustrated all these ambitions in some measure. Most galling of all was the about-face of his former chancellor, Alfonso Borja, who, once planted on the papal throne as Calixtus III (1455), turned from servitor into implacable foe.

More successfully, Alfonso exploited the commercial potential of his conquest, encouraging Catalans and Valencians to follow royal example. From Flanders to Alexandria royal vessels plied their trade as he wove schemes to integrate his states into an economic community.

Art and learning also fascinated him. From early youth he developed a taste for music and books; later he cultivated interests in architecture, painting, and sculpture. In his maturity these resulted in a library, a musical establishment, and a royal palace (Castelnuovo, Naples) to rival any in Europe. Under his patronage Italian and Spanish men of arts and letters brought the Renaissance to life in southern Italy and sowed its seed in Spain.

Ambitious, inscrutable, politically shrewd, and an indefatigable administrator, Alfonso V devoted himself conscientiously to his duty in the conviction that royal authority divinely ordained better served the common good than did the play of private interest. In war he displayed tenacity, courage, and a sense of mission rather than brilliant generalship. Sobriety marked his behavior as man and king, save for the occasional display of magnificence, and his autumnal passion for Lucrezia d’Alagno, a young Neapolitan.

He died on 27 June 1458, leaving Naples to his son and his other dominions to his brother Juan.

ALFONSO V, KING OF LEO´N

When Vermudo II died in 999 he left his five-year-old son, Alfonso V (999–1028), in most difficult circumstances. The great vizier of the Córdoban caliphate, Al-Mansūr, was at the height of his power. He had taken and sacked Barcelona in 987, León and Zamora in 988, and most recently Santiago de Compostela in 997, destroying there the church built by Alfonso III and carrying off its bells to decorate the mosque in Córdoba. Vermudo II sought a five-year truce before he died, and Al-Mansūr himself died in 1002 but his son, ‘Abd al-Malik (reigned 1002–1008) kept up the policy of raids against the north until his early death.

That latter event coincided with the beginning of the personal rule of Alfonso V in 1008. His mother, the queen mother Elvira, and the Galician count Menendo González had had to bear the brunt of the Muslim assault during his minority. The death of ‘Abd al-Malik also precipitated the abrupt decline of the caliphate and Muslim Andalusia so that the threat from that quarter was effectively removed. What would concern Alfonso V most was the growing ascendancy of Sancho García el mayor of Navarre (1000–1035).

Alfonso managed to maintain his own independence of action during his lifetime but found it politic to marry Urraca, the sister of the Navarrese King Sancho. Still, he was unable to forestall the increasing influence of Sancho in Castile, traditionally a county of the Leonese kingdom. The Navarrese contrived his own marriage with the sister of its count, García Sánchez (1017–1029), and would claim the county for himself after the murder of the count in 1029.

The Leonese monarch would be chiefly remembered for the council of the realm held at León in 1017, which took measures to restore the regular government of the kingdom and of that rebuilt city. He did prove as well to be quite capable in taking advantage of the contemporary Muslim weakness to restore the fortunes of León. In 1028 he was conducting a siege of Muslim Viseu in the north of Portugal when he was killed by an arrow.

His early death left an eleven-year-old son, Vermudo III (reigned 1028–1037), to succeed him in a realm actually ruled by the queen mother Urraca, Sancho of Navarre’s sister.

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ALFONSO VI, KING OF LEÓN-CASTILE

The second son of Fernando I, King of León-Castile (1037–1065), he was born about 1037. On the death of Fernando I the kingdom was divided between Alfonso and his two brothers. Sancho, the eldest, received the kingdom of Castile and the overlordship of the tributary Christian kingdom of Navarre as well as that of the Muslim ta’ifa (party kingdom) of Zaragoza. García, the youngest, was awarded Galicia-Portugal and the tributary Muslim kingdom of Badajoz. To Alfonso went Asturias, León, parts of the Bierzo and the Sorian highlands, and the tributary ta’ifa of Toledo. The division did not last long. In 1071 Alfonso took control of the lands of García and in 1072 was himself defeated in battle and dispossessed briefly by his brother Sancho in 1072. After a short term of exile in Toledo, Alfonso returned after the assassination of Sancho, outside the walls of Zamora in September 1072, and now became the ruler of the reconstituted kingdom of his father. When García returned from exile in Badajoz in 1073, Alfonso had him imprisoned until the former’s death in March 1090.

The kingdom of León-Castile grew under Alfonso VI to be the greatest realm of the peninsula, Christian or Muslim. The major step in this process was the conquest of the ta’ifa of Toledo, which formally surrendered on 25 May 1085. With that success, the southern boundary of the kingdom was carried from the north bank of the Duero River to the north bank of the Tajo River. It enabled Alfonso to carry out the repopulation of the northern meseta (plateau) between the Duero and the Guadarrama Mountains unhindered and to begin that of the southern meseta between the Guadarrama and the Tajo. For a brief time the kingdom even included the old Toledan lands south of the Tajo and north of the Sierra Morena. Moreover, on the assassination of the king of Navarre, his cousin Sancho García IV (1054–1076), Alfonso participated with the King of Aragón, his cousin Sancho Ramírez I (1063–1094), in the partition of Navarre. León-Castile’s share was most of the upper Rioja along the Ebro River.

The surrender of Toledo to Alfonso VI in 1085 was followed by his installation of the former Muslim ruler there, Al-Qadir, in the ta’ifa of Valencia in the east as his tributary. Since the other Muslim kings in Iberia, from Zaragoza through Granada, Seville, and Badajoz, were also his tributaries, the Leonese was virtually master of the entire peninsula. Under the circumstances, the Muslim rulers of the south appealed to the Murabit emir, Yusuf Ibn Tashfin of Morocco, for protection. The Murabit were a Berber fundamentalist sect who from midcentury had been gradually overrunning Morocco and by this date controlled an empire stretching from the southern Sahara to the Mediterranean with its capital at the newly built Marrakesh.

In 1086 in response to the appeal of the Muslims of Andalusia, the Murabit crossed the Strait of Gibraltar. They advanced to the neighborhood of Badajoz where, with their Andalusian allies, they defeated the army of Alfonso VI at Zallāqah on 23 October 1086. Although Alfonso and much of his army escaped, he was to spend the remainder of his life battling to defend his realm against the Murabit.

In the aftermath of Zallāqah, the fundamentalist Murabit were to depose, one by one, the rulers of the Iberian ta’ifas whom they considered unfaithful to the Qur’an because of their imposition of illegal taxes on the faithful; their use of alcohol, music, and poetry; and their payment of tribute to Alfonso VI, an infidel, above all. Gradually Muslim Iberia became the province of a North African empire. Yusuf annexed Granada in 1090, Seville in 1091, and Badajoz in 1094. Valencia eluded him until 1102 when it was conquered by the Castilian adventurer Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, usually called El Cid, who held it until his death in 1099. Zaragoza remained independent until 1110, by which time both Alfonso VI and Yusuf Ibn Tashfin were dead. The Leonese monarch was the major Murabit opponent in all of this and defended the independence of the ta’ifas as best he could. Yet by his death in 1109, he had been forced back to the line of the Tajo and it was unclear if even the north bank of that river and the city of Toledo itself could be held.

At the same time, León-Castile was entering into a much closer relationship with Europe north of the Pyrenees. Fernando I had sealed a pact of friendship with the great Burgundian monastery of Cluny and agreed to subsidize that house in the amount of 1,000 gold dinars per annum. Alfonso VI would double that census and, in addition, begin the process of granting possession and authority over Leonese royal monasteries to the French house. By the end of his reign the Cluniac province in his kingdom counted better than a half-dozen houses. This cooperation with Cluny was joined to a similar policy of close ties with the Roman church. At the urging of Pope Gregory VII, Alfonso agreed to see that the Roman liturgical ritual replaced the Mozarabic one. In return he received the support of Rome for the restoration of the metropolitan sees of Braga and Toledo, the bishoprics of Salamanca, Segovia, Osma, Burgos, and Coimbra, and the recognition of the older royal creation at Oviedo. The former Cluniac monk Bernard was recognized by Pope Urban II as archbishop of Toledo in 1088, and that archbishop and his king and patron would fill up most of the new sees created with reforming French Cluniac monks.
These processes were accompanied by a rapid growth of the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela by the peoples of western Europe. This also meant the infusion of the new Romanesque art, the Carolingian script, a more rigorous Latin, and a variety of other French manners into León-Castile. The great Romanesque cathedral at Santiago de Compostela, begun in 1076, is the most monumental example of this phenomenon. Most larger towns, even Toledo in the extreme south, would come to have their barrio (quarter) of French artisans and merchants as a side effect of the pilgrimage but there was no significant immigration of French nobles such as would shortly take place in Aragón.

In that respect, the most significant development was the marriage by Alfonso VI to a succession of foreign brides for his queens as he sought both a male heir and the prestige of an international match for its effect in the peninsula. Inés of Aquitaine (1074–1077), Constance of Burgundy (1078–1093), Berta of Lombardy (1095–1100), Elizabeth of France (1100–1106), and Béatrice of France (1108–1109) were such brides. On the other hand, Alfonso’s only known son, Sancho Alfónsez (10947–1108), was the son of the Muslim concubine Zaida, who became his wife in 1106 and died shortly thereafter.

The Burgundian alliance was also to be reflected in the marriage of Alfonso’s daughter by Constance, Urraca, to Count Raymond of Burgundy who became Count of Galicia-Portugal and probably heir apparent in 1088. That match was followed by a similar marriage of a daughter by the Asturian noblewoman Jimena Muñoz, Teresa, to Raymond’s cousin, Count Henri of Burgundy in 1096. Henri thus became Count of Portugal. The son of Raymond and Urraca was to become Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile (1126–1157). The son of Henri and Teresa was to become Afonso I of Portugal (1128–1185). In the lifetime of Alfonso VI the two counts were to become chief figures at his court and administrators and defenders of the west during the campaigning season. Another daughter, Elvira, born of Jimena Muñoz, was married to Count Raymond of Toulouse by 1094 and subsequently bore him a son in the Holy Land, Alfonso Jordán, who himself later became Count of Toulouse.

In the spring of 1108 Alfonso VI was still engaged in defending his realm from the attacks of the Murābit emirs of Morocco. On 29 May 1108 at the fortress of Uclés, about thirty kilometers south of the Tajo, one of his armies was routed by the enemy and his only son, Sancho Alfónsez, was killed. To solve the succession crisis the king turned to his daughter, Urraca (1109–1126), whose husband Raymond of Burgundy had died in November 1107. But he also provided for her future marriage to her cousin, Alfonso I, el Batallador, of Aragón (1104–1134), so as to provide for the military safety of the kingdom. Alfonso VI himself was seeing to those defenses at Toledo when he died on 1 July 1109, at the age of seventy-two. He was buried at the royal monastery of Sahagún on 21 July 1109.

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Bibliography


ALFONSO VII, KING OF LEÓN-CASTILE

Born on 1 March 1105 to the Infanta Urraca and Count Henri of Burgundy, the child was early to have a political influence. After his mother’s accession to the crown of León-Castile the boy became a pawn in the hands of his powerful guardians, Bishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela and Count Pedro Froilaz of Galicia, in their opposition to the queen’s policies. That game was not ended until Urraca associated her young son with herself in 1116, made him the titular ruler of Toledo and the lands south of the Duero River, and largely separated him from his prior mentors.

Upon his mother’s death on 8 March 1126, he became Alfonso VII but had to face a wide variety of problems in the early years of his reign. One of these was the emerging kingdom of Portugal. Once a frontier county of León-Castile, the territory had enjoyed practical independence since the death of his grandfather, Alfonso VI (1065–1109). By 1126 his aunt, Teresa, who ruled there had adopted the title “queen” from 1117. When Teresa’s own son, Afonso Henriques, forced her into exile in 1128, he affected the title “Infans” initially but by 1140 had come to call himself “Rex Portugalensis.” His Leonese cousin fought two border wars with him in 1137 and 1140–1141 to forestall what was happening, but after the second of them the latter had to recognize Afonso I of Portugal (1128–1185) as king, if a vassal of León-Castile.

A second problem was to establish himself at home against the nobility of the realm. The chief threat was furnished by the house of the Lara counts of Castile and Asturias de Santillana, under Pedro and Rodrigo González, respectively. Count Pedro had been the third husband of Queen Urraca and the father of at least two children by her. The Lara thus represented
a real threat and the Lara counts fomented a series of conspiracies and finally a rebellion in 1130 before their power was broken in that year. The same year had also seen an independent revolt by the magnate Diego Peláez in Asturias de Oviedo that recurred intermittently until 1134, by which time all internal resistance was at an end.

While coping with these two as best he could, Alfonso VII also had to deal with the problem of another stepfather, Alfonso I of Aragón (1104–1134). The Aragonese monarch had been married to Queen Urraca between 1109 and 1112. The marriage was consanguineous, founded on the opposition of the papacy, the nobility of the realm, and its inability to produce a child. But Alfonso I had fought a war with Urraca between 1113 and 1116 to retain his title to León-Castile and still in 1126 held the Rioja, the Sorian highlands, eastern Castile, and a salient reaching west into León as far as Carrión de los Condes. Between 1127 and 1131, Alfonso VII waged a series of campaigns against his stepfather that resulted in the liberation of all of this territory up to the borders of the Rioja.

Alfonso I of Aragón had largely been preoccupied by the consolidation of his hold on the lands of the taifa (party) kingdom of Zaragoza, which had fallen to him in December 1118 and had roughly quadrupled his prior realm in size and population. Now a Murabit counterattack inflicted a crushing defeat on him at Fraga on 17 July 1134, and Alfonso died on 7 September 1134, probably of wounds suffered there. The makeshift kingdom of Aragón now began to disintegrate. Ramiro II of Aragón (1134–1137) never was able to make his authority felt everywhere. To the northeast, García Ramírez IV (1134–1150) resurrected the former kingdom of Navarre out of its ruins. Alfonso VII seized the opportunity to reclaim the Rioja and the Sorian highlands, and attempted to annex the district around Zaragoza and Tarazona on the Middle Ebro. A three-cornered war erupted that lasted until 1142.

By 1137 Alfonso VII was forced to allow Count Ramón Berenguer of Barcelona (1131–1162) to rule in Aragón and the territories of Zaragoza. The count had been his brother-in-law since 1127, and had become the son-in-law of Ramiro II of Aragón in 1137 by marriage to the latter’s daughter, Petronilla. Now Ramón Berenguer became the ruler of the kingdom of Aragón-Catalonia, although he did homage to Alfonso VII for Zaragoza. The Leonese king had also made peace with García Ramírez of Navarre in 1140, and that king did homage as well. With these rulers as his vassals, Alfonso now arranged his own coronation as “emperor” in the city of León on Pentecost, 26 May 1135.

Although the details of his domestic policy are not well understood, he kept a firm hand on the church of the realm. In the Council of Carrión in February 1130, for instance, he had the bishops of León, Oviedo, and Salamanca deposed and replaced by his own candidates. Alfonso also actively pursued the repopulation of the valley of the Tajo River at the same time as he pushed its frontiers south against the weakening Muslim foe. From the time when peace had been achieved with Navarre and Portugal by 1142, Alfonso VII’s policy was bent on securing a coalition of the Christian powers against the Murabí Empire in the Iberian Peninsula. That Muslim empire was already being cannibalized in North Africa by the growing successes of the new, fundamentalist Muwaḥhid movement and was rife with revolt in Andalusia. In 1146, Alfonso laid siege to Córdoba itself and forced its ruler to become his vassal. The following year, at the head of a force that included a fleet from Genoa, the Aragonese under Ramón Berenguer, and the the Navarrese under García Ramírez, Alfonso captured the Mediterranean port of Almería in the southeast after outrunning most of Upper Andalusia.

Meanwhile, Afonso I of Portugal had taken San-tarém in a surprise attack that March and, joined by a Flemish and English fleet bound for Palestine and the Second Crusade there, that monarch captured Lisbon in October 1147. Portions of that crusading army joined Ramón Berenguer and the Genoese fleet in 1148 to take Tortosa. In 1149, the Aragonese king took Lérida. In short, the northern coalition had permanently freed the basin of the Tajo in Portugal, and that of the Ebro in Aragón-Catalonia from the grip of Islam.

In subsequent years, Alfonso VII was unable to keep his allies in the field against the growing power of the Muwaḥhid Empire, which had now mastered all of Morocco and Algeria in North Africa and was increasingly active in Andalusia. While the Portuguese and the Aragonese-Catalanian kingdoms would retain their gains of the period, Alfonso VII himself would meet his death from exhaustion at Las Fresnedas just north of the Sierra Morena on 21 August 1157. He was returning from an unsuccessful attempt to force the lifting of a Muwaḥhid siege of Almería. That town fell again into Muslim hands, as would all of Upper Andalusia eventually.

After his death, Alfonso’s León-Castile was divided into two kingdoms. His oldest son, Sancho III (1157–1158), would rule Old and New Castile, the Rioja, and the Basque country. His younger son, Fernando II (1157–1188), obtained León, Galicia, and Extremadura.

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Bibliography

ALFONSO VIII, KING OF CASTILE
Alfonso VIII (1155–1214; king of Castile, 1158–1214) was the son of Sancho III of Castile and Blanche of Navarre, grandson of Alfonso VII of León-Castile. Among the main points of Alfonso’s long reign are the battles of Alarcos (1195) and Las Navas de Tolosa (1212); the siege of Cuenca (1177) and the granting of its fuero (privileges); and, together with his consort, Eleanor, the foundation of the monastery of Las Huelgas.

Alfonso’s Minority
Alfonso’s reign began inauspiciously. Orphaned by the death of his father, Alfonso’s minority was marked by unrest and civil war. In his will Sancho III had divided the regency and the tutelage of the king between the noble families of Lara and Castro. The Laras forced the Castros to surrender Alfonso to them, and a civil war broke out between the two families. The Castros invited Alfonso’s uncle, Fernando II of León, to intervene in the matter. Fernando II garrisoned his troops in Toledo and collected its revenues until 1166. He acted as Alfonso’s tutor, although he never gained custody of Alfonso himself. In 1166 the Castilian bishops intervened and threw their support behind Alfonso VIII and the Laras. Alfonso and his regent regained Toledo and defeated the Castros in a series of campaigns that lasted from 1166 until 1168.

Alfonso’s Reign
The end of Alfonso’s minority in 1169 was marked by a curia in Burgos, which reviewed Castile’s alliances with the other peninsular kingdoms. Alfonso’s relations with other kings in the Iberian Peninsula varied, depending upon the relative strengths and weaknesses of the peninsular kingdoms. He maintained peaceful relations with his uncle, Fernando II, and he established friendly relations with Alfonso II of Aragón, making a pact with him in Sahagún in 1168. Sancho VI of Navarre, however, had invaded the Rioja and issued fueros there in 1164. Seeking an alliance outside the peninsula in order to regain these territor-
ies, the young king held a curia in Burgos in 1169–1170 that selected Eleanor, daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, as a prospective consort for the king. The marriage took place in 1170. Eleanor had been chosen as a prospective spouse in order to gain Henry II’s support for the recovery of Castilian lands from Navarre; portions of Eleanor’s dower consisted of the parts of Castile occupied by Sancho VI. Castile began to recover its lands in the Rioja in 1170–1179, and went to war with Navarre in 1173. Alfonso VIII and Sancho IV agreed to arbitration before Henry II in 1176–1179, who found in favor of Alfonso VIII.

Relations with the Almohads
The Almohads had occupied most of the towns of al-Andalus in the 1160s, and by 1172 they were campaigning in the vicinity of Toledo, harassing Huete and Talavera. During this period Alfonso VIII entrusted most of the defense and resettlement of the Toledo frontier to the military religious orders of Santiago and Calatrava. In 1177 Castile, León, and Aragón agreed to the Treaty of Tarazona, in which they planned their campaigns against the Muslims. As a consequence of this treaty, Alfonso undertook the siege of Cuenca, a naturally fortified city east of Toledo located on Castile’s border with Valencia. Although no contemporary narrative account of the siege survives, other evidence suggests that the siege sapped the resources of both Alfonso and the Castilian nobility. Alfonso captured the city of Cuenca, marking his first major military victory. He established a bishopric there, and Cuenca formed Castile’s nucleus of repopulation for the La Mancha area. The major legal development of Alfonso VIII’s reign was the implementation and granting of the Fuero of Cuenca, a systematic municipal law that became a model for later fueros.

Prelude to Alarcos
With the Treaty of Cazorla (1179), Alfonso VIII and Alfonso II agreed upon a division of the Muslim territories in the peninsula between Castile and Aragón. Aragón would expand in the territories to its south: Valencia, Játiva, Bier, Denia, and Calpe; Castile had free play in all the lands beyond. But after Cazorla, relations cooled between Castile and Aragón, and in 1190 Alfonso II joined forces with Sancho VI of Navarre against Castile. Meanwhile, Fernando II of León died in 1188, and Alfonso VIII tried to gain ascendancy over the new king, his cousin Alfonso IX. At the Curia of Carrión (1188), Alfonso VIII knighted Alfonso IX, who in return paid him homage and fealty. This act
ultimately caused Alfonso IX to resent Alfonso VIII. León joined with Aragón and Portugal in a pact against Alfonso VIII, although the Treaty of Tordehumos (1194) patched up a temporary peace between León and Castile.

### Alarcos

Al-Mansūr, the Almohad caliph, proclaimed a holy war in retaliation against the Christians in June 1195. That summer he arrived in the vicinity of Alarcos, where Alfonso VIII rushed to meet him. The fortress of Alarcos was still uncompleted, and Alfonso initiated the engagement before expected Leonese reinforcements arrived. His impetuosity lost the battle; Alarcos was a major victory for the Almohads. Alfonso VIII fled with the remnants of his army to Toledo, while Al-Mansūr captured the fortresses on the road to Toledo, including Calatrava, and ravaged Toledo’s hinterlands. He did not, however, pursue his victory, and returned to Seville. Alfonso VIII obtained a treaty from the Almohads in 1197.

### Aftermath of Alarcos

The defeat at Alarcos caused a crisis in Christian Spain. Alfonso II of Aragón attempted to promote peace among the Christian kings against the Almohads, but he died in 1196. Sancho VII of Navarre resumed attacks upon the Rioja, and Alfonso IX continued to attack Castile, claiming certain castles on the Castilian-Leonese border. Alfonso VIII’s wife, Eleanor, proposed a marriage alliance between Alfonso IX and her daughter, Berenguela. The marriage took place in 1197, and the disputed castles were settled on Berenguela. But since the couple were cousins the pope forced them to separate, and they did so in 1204. The Treaty of Cabréros (1206) ended the marriage between Alfonso IX and Berenguela but recognized their son, Fernando, as Alfonso IX’s heir. Berenguela and her two sons returned to Alfonso VIII’s court. The Treaty of Valladolid (1209) settled the property issues raised by the annulment of the marriage.

### Northern Campaigns

The treaty with the Almohads and the alliance with León enabled Alfonso to concentrate on the Navarrese incursions and to campaign in the Basque provinces of Guipúzcoa and Alava. He sought assistance from his brother-in-law, John of England, in 1199, and in 1200 he and Eleanor agreed to the marriage of their second daughter, Blanche, to Philip Augustus’s heir, the future Louis VIII, as part of the treaty between England and France. But John and Philip Augustus resumed their fight, and John made a treaty with Sancho VII of Navarre. In turn, Alfonso VIII and Philip Augustus entered into alliance. Eventually, the kings of Castile, Navarre, and Aragón entered into a concord in 1204, and Alfonso VIII obtained the lands disputed with Navarre by treaty in 1207.

### Gascony

Though Part of Eleanor’s dowry, John refused to surrender Gascony after the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1204. At the risk of war with Navarre and England, Alfonso campaigned in Gascony, but despite some initial success he was unable to secure Bayonne. Castile did not drop its claims to Gascony until the marriage of Eleanor of Castile to Edward I in 1254.

### Prelude to Las Navas

Meanwhile, Pope Innocent III urged the bishops of the Iberian Peninsula to encourage the monarchs there to patch up their quarrels and resume the Reconquest. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo, took a leading role in urging Alfonso to wage a crusade against the Almohads. The treaty with the Almohads was running out, and Alfonso’s settlement of Moya in 1209 helped precipitate matters. Pedro II of Aragón began capturing cities in Valencia, and Alfonso VIII’s heir, Fernando, dedicated himself to crusade.

### Las Navas

In response to Christian raids and incursions, the Almohad caliph, Al-Nāṣir (called Miramamolín by the Christians), entered the peninsula and took the road to Toledo in 1211. He besieged the castle of Salvatierra, the home of the Order of Calatrava after Alarcos. The castle did not surrender until the end of the summer, and Al-Nāṣir returned to Córdoba to resume his campaigns the following year. This gave the Christians time to assemble an army in Toledo, consisting of Castilians, Leonese, Navarrese, Aragonese, and French troops, who left after the recapture of Calatrava. When the army set out it was led by three kings, Alfonso VIII, Pedro II, and Sancho VII. The battle took place on 16 July 1212, and it marked a major victory for the Christian forces. Alfonso VIII and his daughter, Berenguela, sent reports of the battle to Innocent III and Blanche of Castile, and the trophies from the battle were distributed over Christian Spain. The victory of Las Navas destroyed Almohad power in Spain and enabled the advance of the Christians in the thirteenth century.
Succession

Alfonso and Eleanor had ten children: Berenguela (1180–1246), who was proclaimed Alfonso’s heir at the curia of Carrión in 1188 and who was first betrothed to Conrad of Germany, but married her cousin, Alfonso IX of León; Sancho (1181); Sanche (1182–1184); Urraca (1186–1220), who married Alfonso II of Portugal in 1208; Blanche (1188–1252), who married Louis VIII of France in 1199; Fernando (1189–1211); Mafalda (–1204); Leonor (?–?), who was briefly married to Jaime the Conqueror; Constanza (?–1243); and Enrique (1204–1215), later Enrique II. Despite his numerous progeny, Alfonso’s succession was clouded by the death of his eldest surviving son, Fernando, during the campaigns prior to Las Navas. Fernando had been unmarried, and Alfonso’s other surviving son, Enrique, was ten years old when Alfonso died. Queen Eleanor, who had been named in Alfonso’s will as Enrique’s regent, only survived her spouse by one month. Enrique II’s minority, like his father’s, was marred by civil war. But Enrique died in 1215, and the thronedevolved to his sister, Alfonso’s oldest daughter, Berenguela. Berenguela stood aside in favor of her son, Fernando III.

Burial

Alfonso VIII and Eleanor had jointly founded the Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos and endowed it with numerous privileges and properties. The complex included a hospital and convent. It also served as a royal necropolis, and the pair were buried there in a joint tomb.

Bibliography

and cannot be doubted. Alfonso’s greatest labor in this area are the Cantigas de Santa María, of which there are two manuscripts that contain miniatures. The first is the so-called Códice rico (Escorial T.I.1 and Biblioteca Nazionale, Firenze Ms. B.R.20) and the Códice princesp, also referred to as de los músicos (Escorial B.I.2). The latter embraces forty-one miniatures, and although it is a work of secondary artistic merit has great historical, archeological, and musicological value. The miniatures in it show musical instruments in great detail while the text offers musical annotations that have permitted the reconstruction of the instruments and the reproduction of the music in modern times.

In contrast to his contemporary French and English monarchs, Alfonso did not occupy himself with the decoration of religious and liturgical books and psalters with miniatures, although some attempts have been made to tie his work to the Parisian tradition. While St. Louis was entirely compatible with the Church, which heaped its blessings upon him, Alfonso was much less so. The iconography of the Códice rico of the Cantigas portrays the Spanish king in diverse guises and poses: as a troubadour, with Christ and the Virgin occupying in a manner unprecedented anywhere a space normally reserved for saints or members of the clergy, lecturing to followers, or reciting poetry in public. His scientific works (Lapidario, Libros del saber de astronomía, Manuscrito astrológico vaticano) all have ties to pagan astrology, under interdiction by both the Church and the papacy, while his Libro de ajedrez (Escorial T.I.6), which the king recommends in the prologue for both leisure and the sharpening of wits, was proscribed by St. Louis in France.

When compared to St. Louis, who publicly praised the Bible Moralíse, or the Bolognese Bibles based on the Vulgate, all with moralized commentaries and interpretations, Alfonso sought a direct translation of the Bible even from Hebrew sources. He sought to carry out more literal interpretations of it, too, when he incorporated parts of it, along with classical and Arabic sources, into his General estoria.

The miniatures in Alfonso’s works have been compared by Domínguez Rodríguez with De arte venandi cum avibus and De balneis puteolanis from the south of Italy by King Manfred, the successor of Frederick II of Sicily. Both Manfred and Alfonso most likely found common ground in Byzantine and Islamic sources and antecedents. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal has also pointed out the similarity of many Alfonsoine miniatures to those from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, an observation that surely deserves further investigation.

Alfonso’s second greatest illuminated work after the Cantigas is his Lapidario. Each of these books was designed to be exhibited on a book stand and they are the only extant works comparable to the Bibles Moralíse and the Bolognese Bibles, the greatest works of miniatures of the thirteenth century in Europe. The miniatures in the remaining Alfonsine books are of lesser quality and are not independent of the text, having been placed at the end of chapters as illustrations of content. However, the Estoria de España (Escorial Y.I.2) is of note for its portrayal of the heros and monuments of antiquity, done with a distinct sensibility that eschews the traditional Gothic way of representing them. The manuscripts of Alfonso’s Primera partida (British Library Ms. Add. 20,787) and the Libro de los juegos de ajedrez, dados y tablas (Escorial T.I.6) are also of note for the number of miniatures they contain. In contrast, the Vatican manuscript of the General estoria (Ms. Urb. Lat. 539), the fourth and only original Alfonsine part of this work to be preserved, contains only one miniature.

The sole surviving contemporary portraits of Alfonso are the ones that appear in his illuminated manuscripts, identified by their placement as frontispieces or in the narrative prologues of the works. At the same time, there are several portrayals of the king as a troubadour or as the recipient of a miracle in the Cantigas. He is recognizable in the latter by means of his clothing and the heraldic images on it. Later images contained in works such as the later fourteenth-century Cartula rio de Tojo Outos (Arch. Hist. Nacional, Ms. 1.302), where he appears with Doña Violante, cannot be considered faithful images of the king. In the frontispieces of his works, Alfonso is generally portrayed as an author, sitting on his throne, right hand and index finger extended upright, dictating to his scribes who are sitting on the floor around him as courtiers listen and observe. These images imply the king’s active participation in the creation of these works or their prologues.

He is depicted in this way in the Cantigas, the General estoria, the Estoria de España, and the Libro de los juegos. Aristotle, who appears as a bearded sage in oriental garb surrounded by his disciples, is portrayed as the author of the Lapidario. In the latter, an image of Alfonso may be found in the first chapter receiving the book from its kneeling translator. Finally, the manuscript of the Primera partida offers three successive portraits of the king: one as the legislating sovereign with closed book in one hand and drawn sword in the other; another as a scholar dictating to his scribes; and a final one kneeling, looking up toward God in an act of reversion, with the book in his hands, an image that sustains Alfonso’s absolutism and the notion that the king’s legislative power comes from on high.

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ALFONSO X, EL SABIO, KING OF CASTILE AND LEÓN, HISTORICAL WORKS

In 1274 the Alfonsine scriptorium abandoned work on the Estoria de España, a project that had occupied it for some years. By 1280 the same group had resumed work on its other great historical project, the General estoria, and managed to carry the text to where it ends in the modern edition. Neither composition was ever completed. The narrative of the General estoria runs up through the life of the Virgin Mary, while that of the Estoria de España, in its definitive form, goes only to about the year 800, although certain drafts and fragments do cover more recent periods. The unfinished state of the Spanish history may have something to do with the fact that the royal patron, Alfonso, was obliged to abandon his claim to the imperial throne: there is evidence that as the work was originally planned, he was to appear as the heir to both the Gothic
royal line and the imperial, and that when the claim failed, the king had little desire to see the project through. Both works are compilations, vast mosaics of texts from older authors. In this sense the General estoria and the Estoria de España are not greatly different from dozens of other historical productions of the Middle Ages, both in Latin and in vernaculars. What sets the Alfonsine histories apart from their fellows, however, is the fact that the compilers modified and manipulated their sources so as to give the definitive text a distinctive shape, and to make it yield themes and emphases that were alien to this older material. To all appearances, the compilers’ work was done in three stages. First, the source texts were translated entirely, Orosius’s Histories, Josephus’s Antiquities. One such version has actually survived, a Castilian prose translation of Lucan’s Pharsalia. Second came the cutting and pasting: long stretches of text were planned, and it was determined that one bit of Eutropius was to be placed here, and another of Orosius there. Finally, there was the polishing process. The prose style of the separate bits was made uniform, the pieces themselves were linked together logically, and incompatibilities between the source texts were in some cases resolved, but in others explained or simply pointed out. The translations themselves often wound up amplifying their originals heavily: this is a feature the two histories have in common with other vernacular compilations, like the French Fet des romains or the Orose en français.

The organizing principle of the General estoria is, of course, chronology; this ground plan comes to it from the Chronic canones of Eusebius and Jerome, a virtual calendar of past events that coordinates biblical history with the nonbiblical. Chronic canones constitutes the backbone of the General estoria, and the narratives from other sources make up its other members. The work’s biblical history depends heavily on Flavius Josephus’s Antiquitides of the Jews and Comestor’s Historia scholastica as well as the Bible itself, although certain Qu’rānic elements are not absent. Nonbiblical material comes from an astonishing variety of sources, ancient and medieval texts as unlike as Lucan’s Pharsalia, covering the civil war, and a version of the Historia de preliis for the story of Alexander the Great. A curiously demythologized and Euhemerized version of Ovid’s Metamorphoses gives us much of the early history of the race. One should emphasize that the compilers make little distinction between biblical history and nonbiblical: both seem to have the same status, and the pair join to form a master narrative that is uniformly authoritative.

The General estoria is a spectacular achievement, in many ways unique in the Middle Ages. Its scope is broad. Its early portions present a highly original account of the progress of the human species from barbarism to civilization, in civil life, in material culture, in learning, and even in religion. Many of its conceptions are built around two large themes that are by no means uniquely Alfonsine: the translatio studii and the translatio imperii. The first as presented by the General estoria tells of the patriarch Abraham, liberal artist, natural philosopher, and monotheist, who passes on his lore to the Egyptians, whence it in turn goes on to the Greeks, Romans, and Franks. The second theme involves a purely human Jupiter, first universal emper. Once again, Greeks, Romans, and Franks are seen as his successors; Frederick II, Alfonso’s immediate predecessor on the imperial throne, is mentioned explicitly in this connection. One should make it clear that in forming all of these large conceptions the compilers are not wholly disrespectful of their sources. Hints, so to speak, in Josephus and others flower into these astonishing patterns of thought in the new text. The Estoria de España has its own characteristic layout, quite different from that of the General estoria. We are given in succession an account of each of the dynasties and nations that ruled the Iberian Peninsula: Greeks, Romans, Franks, Goths. The second theme domination, curiously, is seen as simply an episode in the Gothic period. In this sense, the Alfonsines follow a long line of earlier historians who present the kings of the Reconquest as Goths, in the full and literal meaning of the word successors of Tulga and Reccesvinth. The sections of the Estoria de España that are most fully developed are the Roman, and as we have seen, the Gothic. The former is divided into two parts, before and after Julius Caesar’s assumption of the office of emperor (medievals generally regarded him as the first in the line). The account of the Republican period consists largely of episodes in Roman history that bear directly on Spain and its fortunes. The Second Punic War, for example, is treated extensively. The climax of the whole section is the long sequence on the rivalry and bloody war between Pompey and Julius Caesar. This text, heavily dependent on Lucan, figures largely in the Estoria de España not only because of the large role played by Spain in the history of the time, but because in the mind of the compilers it offers a lesson in statecraft: the community will not survive for if there are two powerful leaders on the scene. One would add that moral and political lessons are an important feature of both Alfonsine histories. The second part of the Roman section is simply an imperial history, with little focus on Spain or Spanish things.
In 1906, Ramón Menéndez Pidal published a long text he called Primera crónica general. Something more than half of the work consists of the incomplete Estoria de España as I have described it. The rest is a narrative of Spanish history into the reign of Fernando III of Castile. This curious production contains the provisional material mentioned above, the drafts and fragments that in one way or another are related to the original project of a general history of Spain. One feature of this text is that it includes prosified versions of Castilian cantares de gesta. Some of these are important for the whole narrative in that they recount episodes in the early history of Castile that do not appear in the Latin chronicles the compilers otherwise depend on. The story of the formation of this large unit is too complicated to set forth in any detail. The oldest portions consist of two long sections that date from 1289, that is to say, in the reign of Sancho IV. This is the closest in time of composition to that of the Estoria de España, but even in this material there are strains that are patently un-Alfonsine. But as it happens, there does exist an independent chronicle that is nowadays believed to be very early and to fairly well reflect the plans and intentions of the compilers of the Estoria de España—the Crónica de veinte reyes, a work that covers the long period from Fruela II to Fernando III. Different as it is (in varying degrees) from the Primera crónica, the general likeness of the two texts over long stretches assures us that the latter preserves no small amount of Alfonsine substance. Primera crónica does not do badly. Certain of its episodes are fashioned with an art and wit that can properly be called Alfonsine. One is the narrative of the division of the kingdom by Fernando I and the generation of warfare that follows. Another is the narrative of El Cid, down to the victory over the Count of Barcelona.

Long stretches of the Estoria de España, in both the completed part and the provisional, become traditional from its own time down to the sixteenth century. It survives in dozens of differing recensions, further crónicas generales, histories of the kings of Castile, and in particular chronicles of El Cid, Fernán González, and others.

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ALFONSO X, EL SABIO, KING OF CASTILE AND LEÓN, LAW

A major contribution to Hispanic civilization is the body of law given form and organization during the early years of Alfonso X’s reign (1252–1284). The need for new codification became apparent following extensive territorial conquests under Alfonso VIII and Fernando III and attendant political, demographic, and economic dislocations. Finding inspirational models in the unitary character perceived in the kingdom of Toledo and in Visigothic law, in the increasing contact with new legal ideas from Italy (notably Bologna), in familiarity with Justinian’s legislation, and in recent examples (Valencia and Aragón) of a European trend toward new codification, Fernando III and his son, Alfonso X, conceived of a legislative plan that the father’s death left the son to complete and execute.

Royal legislation during Alfonso’s reign consists of three codes of general legislation and categories of special legislation. Of the codes, the Espéculo (in five, possibly seven, books redacted 1252–1255) was addressed to royal judges throughout Castile and contains the first systematic, detailed Hispanic treatment of the royal administration of justice. The Fuero Real (in four books, 1252–1255) contained more simply stated dispositions and was granted to specific municipalities (concejos) to whose needs it was directed. The Siete Partidas (in seven books, 1256–1265) made up a comprehensive code and veritable juridical encyclopedia. (The Setenario, self-described as an ethical guide prepared for educating heirs to the throne, at times has been included, erroneously, among the codes.) No manuscript from the Alfonsine chancery containing the text of these codes is known to exist, and the present titles are post-Alfonsine. These facts have led commentators to raise questions about textual accuracy, dating, completion, promulgation, and juridical relationships. The Espéculo probably was operative from 1255 to 1272 (although some say it was never promulgated); as did the Setenario, it served in the preparation of the Siete Partidas. The Fuero Real was operative in those municipalities from the date in the period 1255–1272, when it was granted (in some cases petition produced its abrogation by the king before the last
ALFONSO X, EL SABIO, KING OF CASTILE AND LEÓN, LAW

named date) and continued to be observed by some towns after 1272; in 1348 it became a part of general Castilian law. The Siete Partidas were first declared operative in 1348 as suppletory law, but the code’s influence grew rapidly, given impetus by the appearance (1555) of the printed Gregorio López edition.

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Bibliography


ALFONSO X, EL SABIO, KING OF CASTILE AND LEÓN, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF CANTIGAS

The Escorial Codex B.I.2 (or E¹), also referred to as Códice de los músicos, contains the famous forty-one miniatures preceding the musical notations of each of alfonso’s cantigas de loor. They depict a total of seventy-eight instrumentalists (juglares, shown mainly in pairs, six of whom perform alone [nos. 100, 180, 200, 290, 350, and 400]). Discounting duplications, the varied instruments they hold comprise thirty-five in number and represent but a sampling of the wind, stringed, and percussion instruments that were in use at the time. It is reasonable to assume that they were among the more popular instruments known to the court artists. About half are of Arabic origin (see below, preceded by an asterisk).

The largest group is the stringed instruments (chordophones), comprising fifteen distinct types from among the forty shown, drawn from (a) the lute family: baldosa (similar to the vihuela de mano; a seven-stringed long-necked lute)(120), cítola (two-stringed long-necked lute)(130), guitarra latina (four-stringed plucked) (1/r, 10/r, 150), *guitarra morisca (20/r, 150), *lúd (in Arabic, al ud)(30, 170/r), *rabé or rebec (three-stringed mandura or plucked rebec) (90), *rabé morisco or rebab (bowed two-stringed, Arabic rabab)(110, 170/l), vihuela de arco (fidula; bowed fiddle)(1/l, 10/l, 20/l, 100), vihuela de pénola (three-stringed long-necked lute, with plectrum) (140), *viola arábiga (bowed oval-shaped fiddle, shown with three and four strings its actual identity is problematic)(210), and zanfona (cinfonia, hurdy-gurdy; a three-stringed mechanically bowed fiddle) (160); (b) the zither family: *canon entero (Arabic qanīn) (wing-shaped and rectangular (70 and 80, respectively), cedra or cítara (290), *medio canon (trapezoidal)(50), and *rota medieval (triangular-shaped)(40); and (c) the harp family: arpa gótica (380).

Next follow the winds (aerophones), representing thirteen distinct types among the thirty-two depicted. These include (a) a natural horn: corneta curva (with a mouthpiece; perhaps with finger holes)(270); (b) trumpets: *trompa árabe, añafil or trompeta recta (Arabic, al-nafir)(320, 360); (c) single-reed instruments:
launeddas (from Sardinia; triple-piped, one pipe of which functions as a drone)(60); (d) double-reed: *al-bogón (large shawm with extended bell)(300/l), caramillo (small shawm)(340/l), *alboque (Arabic, al-buq) (shawm, forerunner of the dalzaina)(310, 330/l, 340/r, 390), chorus or chorón (bladder pipe with chanter, shown with and without drones (250 and 230, respectively), gaita or cornamusa (bagpipe with chanter and drone)(350), and odrecillo (small bagpipe with chanter, shown with and without drones)(280 and 260, respectively); (e) flutes: *flauta traverse (transverse flute; it has been linked to the *axe baba morisca); (Arabic al-shabbaba) (240) and *flautilla (three-holed whistle-flageolet or pipe)(370); and (f) organ: organo portátil (portative organ with bellows)(200). The aero-phones exhibited in Cantigas de loor 220 and 360 are enigmatic. The former, described by some as a *flauta doble or doble chirímia, was studied by Torres, who linked it with the launeddas and suggested that its semicircular portion functions as a bellows. The latter, exhibiting two instrumentalists, each blowing two straight trumpets at the same time, appears somewhat questionable.

Finally the percussion instruments constitute four distinct types among the eight depicted: (a) struck idiophones: campanas or carillón (bell chimes, struck on rim and manipulated by internal clappers)(180 and 400, respectively), *cimbaldos or platillos (cymbals) (190), and rejoletas (a precursor of the castanets)(330/r); (b) membranophones: *tambor de doble cono (Arabic, darabukka; single-headed hour glass-shaped drum)(300/r), and tamboril or tamborete (small cylindrical drum), shown as played in conjunction with the flautilla (370). The combination of pipe and tabor can be traced to the thirteenth century.

Among the more recent studies concerning B.I.2, Álvarez suggests that the musical miniatures were drawn by seven distinct hands: (1) nos. 1–40; (2) 60–80, 360–400; (3) 120–70, 290, 300, and 340; (4) 210–250, 320, and 350; (5) 50, 90–110, 190–200, 280, and 330; (6) 180 and 310; and (7) 260 and 270. Martínez and Le Vot discuss the same miniatures from the standpoint of their visual presentations (symmetry, parallelism, etc.), which may account for the inaccurate manner certain instruments were shown to be played; notice, for example, the hand positions among the wind players. In terms of detail, one must also consider the artist’s personal familiarity with the instruments he depicted, as well as his sense of perspective and proportion.

Escorial Codex T.I.1 (or E²) duplicates ten of the aforementioned instruments, among which the vihuelas de arco (Prólogo, Cantigas 8 and 14, and Cantiga de loor 120) and the atafiles (Cantigas 62, 165, and 185) play a prominent role. The *atabal (Ar. naqqara) (kettledrum), a pair of which can be seen in Cantiga 165, is the only addition. A comparison of its Prólogo with Cantiga de loor 1 (in B.I.2), reveals distinct artistic versions of the king supervising a rehearsal in progress. In the former he is flanked on his right by a scribe and three juglares; on his left by a scribe and four choristers. In the latter, to his right are four choristers and two juglares; to his left a scribe, three choristers, and two juglares. The latter miniature is significant in that one of the choristers is holding a text, implying the role of soloist. The juglares employed at the court were indeed proficient musicians who not only provided heterophonic accompaniments but were also adept in adding improvised preludes, interludes, and postludes to the performances.

Codex T.I.1 also bears testimony to two other ensembles that were utilized for performance: the first, distinctly Arabic (Cantiga de loor 100), comprising a rabé morisco, laud, canon medio, rota medieval, and cimbals, with what appears to be a chorus singing behind them; the second, consisting of a vihuela de arco, alboque, rota medieval, and two canons (entero and medio) includes dancers and possibly singers.

Many of the above instruments were included among the thirty-seven mentioned in the Libro de buen amor.

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ALFONSO X, EL SABIO, KING OF CASTILE AND LEÓN, MUSIC OF CANTIGAS

Higinio Anglés’s monumental study and transcription of the Cantigas de Santa Maria (Barcelona, 1943–1964) provided, for the first time, easy access to the combined repertoires of the three musical codices (Toledo, T.I.1, and B.I.2), thus promoting worldwide interest in their performance. Despite its shortcomings,
this indispensable guide must be consulted for subsequent research.

Of the various figures adduced by scholars for the total number of cantigas melodies (narratives and loors alike), 413 is accurate and includes 403 tunes from Codex B.I.2, plus ten additional tunes for the Fiestas de Jesucristo from the Toledo Codex. In Codex B.I.2, seven texts and tunes are repeated (165 = 395, 187 = 394, 192 = 397, 267 = 373, 289 = 396, 295 = 388, 349 = 397), while one cantiga and two Fiestas de loor de Santa Maria share their melodies with other cantigas (213 = 377, FSM 2 = 340 and FSM 6 = 210, respectively). Lacking music are cantigas 298, 365, 401 (Piticon), and 402. In the case of 401, its melody can be found in the Toledo and T.I.1 codices. Of the 193 Cantigas texts in Codex T.I.1, all but two (nos. 113 and 146) carry the same melodies as those in B.I.2. The Toledo Codex comprises 128 melodies, 104 and 118 of which are duplicated in T.I.1 and B.I.2, respectively. In the Toledo, only the refrains and single strophes bear musical notation, whereas additional strophes have been notated in the Escorial codices. The Florentine Codex, MS Banco Rari 20, was prepared to incorporate music, but unfortunately its musical staves remained bare.

Two melodic styles can be readily identified from the notation: syllabic (basically one tone per textual syllable) and neumatic (wherein compound and ligated neumes feature prominently, comprising two to five tones or more per textual syllable). The notational values (longa–breve) of the Escorial Codices were halved in the Toledo (breve–semibreve), considered by Anglés to be the least perfect of the three manuscripts. Whereas the neumes depict the melodic progressions of each tune with great precision, it is their rhythmic interpretation that has provoked much controversy, particularly those in the neumatic style. Anglés considered the Escorial Codices to be fully notated in mensural notation, reflecting both strict modal (particularly trochaic, iambic, and dactylic) and mixed modal rhythms. Among the nonmodal, he discovered that binary rhythms surpass the ternary, and that combinations of both exist. In his view, the single neumes of the Toledo Codex carried mensural values, while the compound and ligated neumes did not. With regard to Anglés’s transcriptions, H. van der Werf found that he adhered as often to the medieval rules of mensural notation as he departed from them and that the Escorial Codices were decidedly nonmensural. Furthermore, van der Werf suggested that the Cantigas should be rendered in a declamatory rhythm to best reflect the textual accents that were not fully articulated in Anglés’s transcriptions.

Among the forms in the Cantigas repertory, the rondel types (comprising the formes-fixes) of late medieval French poetry predominate. Of these the virelai is most conspicuous. Anglés listed its occurrence in 368 instances (88 percent of the collection) and recently G. V. Huseby extended the count to 382 (92 percent). The ballade and rondeau follow, with five occurrences each. Inasmuch as Anglés’s analysis of the remaining forms were somewhat questionable, a more recent accounting includes such genres as canciones (songs) with refrain, hymns, sequences, and a cantiga de amigo (song of love).

The virelai’s primacy not only reflected the high esteem which it held at Alfonso’s court, but shows that it was clearly intended as a vehicle for disseminating the Marian narratives and lyrical texts. Comprising an estribillo (refrain), mudanza (strophe), and vuelta (continuation of strophe sung to the melody of the refrain), the virelai aptly suits a rendition alternating between soloist and chorus, with the latter merely reiterating the refrain text. Although the virelais appear as tripartite melodies (wherein repetition and contrast can be depicted simply as ABA, and in such variant forms as AA BBAA, AB BBAB, AB CCAB, etc.), closer study reveals that common melodic formulas were shared by a number of them. Moreover, the mudanza was normally notated in a higher range than the estribillo, exhibiting an arch-like contour.

The predominance of the zajal’s (Sp. zéjel) metrical form in association with the virelai (about 360 occurrences) has led to two diametrically-opposed arguments concerning virelai’s origin—either from the south (Andalusia), from whence the zajal influenced the northern form, or vice-versa. A mutually independent genesis has also been proposed. Still, the crucial factor is the lack of musical documentation from Muslim sources.

The following diagram illustrates a fundamental difference between the virelai and zajal, musically (upper case) and metrically (rhyme scheme, lower case):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Virelai</th>
<th>Zajal (Cantiga 86)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Estribillo</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A a</td>
<td>A a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B a</td>
<td>A’ b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mudanza</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B b</td>
<td>A’ b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A b</td>
<td>A” b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vuelta</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A’ a</td>
<td>B a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example: [Ar. Matla]
In the Cantigas corpus, musical counterparts for the zajal (like that in Cantiga 86, shown above) can also be found in Cantigas 61, 80, 96, 102, 111, 168, 299, and 320.

The melodic origins of the Cantigas have been traced to three traditions: court (troubadouresque), popular, and liturgical. Nearly thirty of the tunes have been partially linked to preexistent melodies. Cantiga de loor 340 (see fig. 1) furnishes an excellent example of a tune contrafact that can be traced to the famous alba “Reis glorios” by Giraut de Bornelh (ca. 1173–1220) and upon which Cadenet (fl. 1204–1235) based his “S’anc fue belha ni presada.”

Other musicologists who have contributed significantly to Cantigas research are Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, Manuel P. Ferreira, Gerardo V. Huseby, José María Llorens Cisteró, and Zoltán Falvy.

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ALFONSO X, EL SABIO, KING OF CASTILE AND LEÓN, POETRY

Alfonso X (1221–1284) spent his early years, like his father before him, in Galicia before going to court. The dominant lyric voice in the western two-thirds of the Iberian Peninsula for poets of all languages was Galician-Portuguese from approximately 1180 to 1325. Alfonso’s early years coincided with the Albigensian persecutions in France, which increased the presence of Occitan (or Provenzal) poets in the courts of Iberia. Thus, both Galician-Portuguese and Occitan poets (and members of their entourages) were frequently to be heard entertaining in the courts ruled over by Alfonso VII, Alfonso VIII, Jaime I (Alfonso’s father-in-law), and Fernando III. Since Alfonso X was accustomed to singers and composers all his life, and praised his father for these talents in his Setenario, it is not surprising that this young prince, so drawn to letters in general, and remembered even now as an “emperor of culture,” should have himself become a poet.

Alfonso is responsible, first, for a small body of profane poetry, some forty-six poems in all. From the main genres associated with Galician-Portuguese verse (cantigas d’escarnho e de maldizer; cantigas d’amor; cantigas d’amigo) almost all his production falls into the first category of mostly satirical verse: there is one composition (“Senhora, por amor Deus”)—the only one in Castilian—that seems to be about love. The remaining poems present a gallery of types, rich and varied satires of cowards, prostitutes (he was one of many poets to extol the “virtues” of one María Balteira), fops, bad poets, lascivious prelates, promise breakers, and more. The language is direct, vivid, and unflinching in its realism. A small number of the compositions (four) are tensons, dialogues between two poetic personae, one created by Alfonso and one by another poet. The tone established is nearly always only semiserious; the ludic, mocking voice pokes holes in the facade of well-known types (often individuals are named) while offering, at the same time, a celebration of the poetic virtuosity on display in the medieval Galician-Portuguese cancioneiros.

Alfonso is best known, however, for his Cantigas de Santa María. These were composed in a span extending from about 1250 to 1280 and almost certainly involved poets other than Alfonso. An early form (the Toledo manuscript) contains a core of one hundred poems, arranged in decades of nine narrations of the Virgin Mary’s miraculous interventions in human af-
fairs plus one praise song or loor. There are two introductory poems, one with a third-person voice telling us that Alfonso was the maker of these poems, the second using a first-person approach and narrating how difficult is the task of ever praising Mary sufficiently. In this prologue poem, the tone is set by a poetic persona who, casting aside all other women, adopts the troubadour stance of supplicant before his Lady, promising to serve her alone. The voice of this poetic persona is then interwoven into the collection as it grows, in various stages, to comprise forty-two decades of miracle-plus-praise song, with small additional bodies of poems dedicated to the feasts of Mary and the feasts of her son.

Justly, the Cantigas de Santa María has been described as the aesthetic Bible of the thirteenth century. While the Toledo manuscript has one presentation miniature depicting Alfonso surrounded by scribes and musicians in the act of composition, as well as musical transcriptions of the melodies, two other expanded editions are more lavishly illustrated and musicated. One, in two parts (located in El Escorial and Florence) contains lavish miniatures, some sixteen hundred in all, that opens windows on virtually all aspects of Alfonso’s world. The musical transcription is extensive but, as with the miniatures, begins to be more sporadic toward the end of what remains an incomplete undertaking. The remaining MS, also in El Escorial, contains forty-two miniatures of musicians of both sexes and, doubtless, the three religious groups (Christians, Moors, and Jews) present at court. A majority of the cantigas are variants of the zéjel with refrain (AA bbba AA ccca, etc.) but musically show an affinity with the French virelai form.

The Cantigas contain miracle narrations that were conscientiously culled from sources in both Latin and the vernaculars that circulated widely throughout Europe and other areas of the peninsula (Montserrat in Catalonia, Terena in Portugal, Puerto de Santa María in Andalusia). But perhaps more significant is the presence of Alfonso in the collection. Many miracle accounts tell of cures for his parents, of favors Mary performs for other family members, of special rewards that Alfonso’s great devotion and loyalty to Mary bring (there are several cures, many favors granted in battle). In the end, the royal presence blends with the notion of the poetic persona in service to his liege lady, the service being—at least in part—this very compilation, intended also to foment the praises of Mary to others who have witnessed how she has rewarded his service. Alfonso also had himself depicted frequently, in the miniatures that accompany the loores, in various postures of praise of Mary, throughout the liturgical year. Alfonso, like all sinners that appear in this vast compilation, is equal in Mary’s human-yet-divine presence.

There is, ultimately, a sense, most marked in cantiga 409, of all humanity celebrating, hands joined, singing and dancing, the hope that Mary brings of salvation from sin. It may be inferred that the Cantigas de Santa María were intended not as yet one more Marian compilation, but as an unsurpassingly rich evocation of her universal presence as felt in the life of the peninsula and, especially, in the spiritual and political affairs of its compiler.

Joseph T. Snow

Bibliography


Alfonso X, king of León-Castile (1252–1284), the son of Fernando III and Beatrice of Swabia, was born on 23 November 1221 in Toledo and is known as El Sabio, the wise or the learned. His first task was to complete the colonization of Seville and the recently reconquered territory in Andalusia. An ambitious ruler, he also tried to assert his supremacy over neighboring Christian territories. He quarreled with Alfonso III of Portugal over lands east of the Guadiana River and the Algarve, but reached a preliminary settlement in 1253 by arranging the marriage of his illegitimate daughter, Beatriz, to the Portuguese ruler. When Alfonso X demanded that Thibault II, the new king of Navarre, become his vassal, the Navarrese appealed for help to Jaime I of Aragón. As a consequence, Alfonso X had to give up his attempt to subjugate Navarre in 1256. He also had alleged rights to Gascony, but yielded them in 1254 to his sister Leonor and her husband Edward, the son and heir of Henry III of England.

Advancing claims to the Holy Roman Empire derived from his mother Beatrice, daughter of Emperor Philip of Swabia, Alfonso X was elected in 1257 in opposition to Richard of Cornwall. He incurred great expenses in a vain effort to win recognition, but he was unable to persuade the majority of the Germans and several popes to acknowledge him.

Alfonso X also planned an invasion of Morocco to deprive the Moors of easy access to the peninsula,
but his African crusade accomplished nothing more than the plundering of Sale, a town on the Atlantic coast, in 1260. In order to broaden Castilian access to the sea, he developed Cádiz and the nearby Puerto de Niebla in 1262. When he demanded the surrender of Gibraltar and Tarifa, his vassal, Ibn al-Ahmar, King of Granada, refused, because he realized that this would make it difficult for Morocco to aid Granada against Castile.

Threatened by Castilian expansion, Ibn al-Ahmar in the spring of 1264 stirred up rebellion among the Mudejars or Muslims subject to Castilian rule in Andalusia and Murcia. Alfonso X took steps to contain the revolt in Andalusia, while appealing for help to his father-in-law, Jaime I of Aragon, who subdued Murcia by early 1266. Jerez, the last rebel stronghold in Andalusia, capitulated in October. As a result of the rebellion, the king expelled the Muslims from the recaptured towns and brought in Christian settlers. The suppression of the revolt was completed when Ibn al-Ahmar resumed payment of a yearly tribute to Castile in 1267. In that same year, Alfonso X, in return for Afonso III’s assistance in crushing the revolt, yielded all rights in the Algarve and agreed to a delimitation of the frontier with Portugal along the Guadiana River to the Atlantic Ocean.

Although tranquility was restored, Alfonso X soon encountered strong domestic opposition because of his innovations in law and taxation. Intent on achieving greater juridical uniformity, he drew upon Roman law in preparing the Espéculo de las Leyes (known in its later redaction as the Siete Partidas), intended as the law of the royal court, and the Fuero Real, a code of municipal law. The nobles accused him of denying them the right to be judged by their peers in accordance with their customs, and the townsmen were distressed by frequent imposition of extraordinary taxes.

Under the leadership of the king’s brother Felipe, the nobles confronted the king during the cortes (parliament) of Burgos in 1272. By confirming traditional customs, he modified his plan for a uniform body of law, but as compensation, the towns granted him a tax levy every year for “the affair of the empire.” Despite his efforts at accommodation many of the nobles went into exile to Granada, but were finally persuaded to return to royal service in 1274. With his realm at peace, Alfonso X then journeyed to Beaufica in southern France, where in May 1275 he vainly tried to convince Pope Gregory X to recognize him as Holy Roman Emperor. Thereafter Alfonso X could not realistically expect to satisfy his imperial ambitions.

During his absence, Abū Yūsuf, the Marinid emir of Morocco, invaded Castile. The king’s son and heir, Fernando de la Cerda, died suddenly en route to the frontier in 1275, and Abū Yūsuf routed the Castilian forces. At that point, Alfonso X’s second son, Sancho, reorganized the defense, cutting Marinid communications with Morocco. A truce was arrived at, but Abū Yūsuf invaded again in 1277. Avoiding a battlefield encounter, Alfonso X blockaded Algeciras in 1278, but had to give it up early in 1279. In spite of the Moroccan threat, Castile emerged from this crisis without a loss of territory.

Meanwhile, the death of his oldest son in 1275 presented Alfonso X with a serious juridical problem. Fernando de la Cerda’s eldest child, Alfonso, could claim recognition as heir to the throne, but Sancho appealed to the older custom that gave preference to a king’s surviving sons. After much debate, the king in the cortes of Burgos in 1276 acknowledged Sancho. Fearing for the safety of her two sons, Fernando de la Cerda’s widow, Blanche, accompanied by Queen Violante, took them in 1278 to the court of Violante’s brother, Pedro III of Aragón, who kept them in protective custody.

Philip III of France, the uncle of the two boys, pressured Alfonso X to partition his realm and to establish a vassal kingdom for Alfonso de la Cerda. During the cortes of Seville in 1281, while the people complained that they were being impoverished by the heavy taxes, Sancho, angered by the possibility of losing any portion of the kingdom broke with his father. A public assembly held at Valladolid in April 1282 transferred royal power to Sancho, leaving Alfonso X only the royal title. Abandoned by his family and many of his subjects, the king turned to Abū Yūsuf, the Marinid emir, who invaded Castile again. As many of Sancho’s supporters renewed their allegiance to the king, a vain attempt at reconciliation was made, but in his last will Alfonso X disinherited his son. The king died at Seville on 4 April 1284 and was buried in the cathedral.

Despite the unhappy end to his reign Alfonso X was one of the greatest medieval kings of Castile, and his impact on the development of Spanish law and institutions was lasting.

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Bibliography


ALFONSO X, EL SABIO, KING OF CASTILE AND LEÓN, SCIENCE

Alfonso X had already begun his career as a great medieval Maecenas two years prior to ascending to the throne of Castile and León, if the date provided in his
Lapidario is accurate. Although date and form of this work pose some, as yet, unresolved problems, it is certain that the Lapidario incorporates one aspect of the medieval discipline that the learned monarch must have held most dearly—astronomy and astrology. To categorize Alfonso’s interest in astrology as marginal is inaccurate and anachronistic since the two in Alfonso’s usage were essentially, although not entirely, synonymous. When Alfonso did distinguish between the two, more often than not astronomía meant “astrology” and vice versa. Thus, to emphasize a distinction between what is today the science of astronomy and the art (at best) of astrology is counterproductive, for astrology was virtually applied astronomy. If astronomy enabled one to calculate the positions of heavenly bodies, astrology allowed one to interpret the significance of a particular configuration. Alfonso makes amply clear in the writings he sponsored that God had placed the stars and planets in the heavens so that the intelligent man, his “omne entendudo,” might exploit them to attain his goals. A modern analogue to astrology is radar. Just as it would be foolish, if not suicidal, for a pilot to eschew its use, so was it for a medieval king to shun astrology.

Thus, it is not surprising that eight of thirteen different titles that Alfonso sponsored pertain exclusively to Alfonsoine science. These are: Lapidario (ca. 1250), Tablas alfonsiés (1252), Libro compild en los iudizios de las estrellas (1254), Libro de las cruces (1259), the so-called Picatrix (ca. 1250s), Canones de Albateni (ca. 1250s), Libro del saber de astrología (1276–1277; most commonly and erroneously known as Libros del saber de astronomía), and Libro de las formas et de las ymagenes (1276–1279). These eight titles expand to twenty-seven if we realize that two of these codices are anthologies. The Canones de Albateni in fact contains four treatises—Canones de Albateni, Tablas de Azarquiel, and Tratado del quadrante sennero. The Libro del saber de astrología comprises sixteen titles: Libro de las estrellas del ochoau cielo (1256), Libro de la espera (1259), Capítulo pora fazer armillas en la espera, Libro del astrolabio re- dondo, Libro del astrolabio llano, Libro de la lamina universal, Libro de la acafeha (1255 second half, or 1256 first half), Libro de las armillas, Libro de las siete planetas, Libro del quadrante, Libro de la piedra de la sombra, Libro del relogio del agua, Libro del relogio del argent vivo, Libro del relogio de la candela, Libro del palacio de las horas, and Libro del atacir. The three followed by parenthetical dates were originally commissioned as indicated.

Noteworthy is that only two of the works, Libro del saber and Libro de las formas, were compiled in the 1270s. Also noteworthy is that the remaining six titles hale from the 1250s and were predominantly astrological. The Lapidario treats the magico-medicinal properties of stones. The Picatrix concerns talismanic magic. The Iudizios and Cruzes treat judicial astrology, the latter specifically as it pertains to a king—providing information such as the most propitious time to wage war, for example. Even astronomical tables had an astrological function—ease of prediction, that is, knowing the arrangement of the heavenly configurations not only without having to actually sight them, but especially beforehand. Astrology, thus, while serving Alfonso’s practical purposes, on a larger scale, provided a powerful motive for the very basis of empirical science—observation.

Alfonso may have conceived of his final two science treatises, the Libro del saber and the Libro de las formas, as complementary anthologies—the former on the construction and use of instruments of astronomical observation and mensuration, the latter on practical astrological applications. Judging from the limited information retrievable from the fourteen-folio fragment, all that remains of the Formas, it is safe to say that it, like the Libro del saber, incorporates versions, possibly revised, of works compiled originally in the 1250s.

Ironically, Alfonso X owes his recognition in science to his Tablas alfonsiés, a work whose translation into Latin greatly enhanced its diffusion, whose interest lies in its application to astrological reckonings, and whose text does not survive, as do all his other science treatises, in a codex produced in his royal scriptorium.

Anthony J. Cárcenas

Bibliography


Alfonso XI, king of Castile and León

Alfonso XI, king of Castile and León (1312–1350), the son of Fernando IV and Constanza of Portugal, was born at Toro on 13 August 1311. On his father’s untimely death he succeeded to the throne at the age of slightly more than one year. His minority, lasting thirteen years, was a time of terrible stress, as the king’s relatives vied for control of the regency. As a measure of the disorder, the towns, anxious to defend their liberties and to uphold the king’s authority, revived the associations or hermandades that they had
formed in similar times of crisis in the late thirteenth century. When the cortes (parliament) of Palencia assembled in 1313 to determine who should act as regent, some members recognized the king’s great-uncle, Juan, while others accepted the king’s grandmother, María de Molina, and her son, Pedro. After the death of Queen Constanza, who had custody of her son, María de Molina emerged as the principal champion of royal authority and guardian of the king. The contending regents eventually agreed to a unified regency in the cortes of Burgos in 1315, in which the herman-dades played an influential role. Confusion and turmoil continued, however, as discontented persons worked toward their own advantage. As some measure of tranquility was established, infantes Pedro and Juan planned a joint campaign against the kingdom of Gra- nada, but in 1319 both men died suddenly. Immediately the struggle for the regency resumed.

Once again, various members of the royal family, including Juan, son of the deceased Infante Juan, Felipe, brother of Infante Pedro, and Juan Manuel, a grandson of Fernando III and a figure famous in the history of Castilian literature, demanded a place in the regency. María de Molina tried to maintain some degree of order, but her death in 1321 removed the last restraint. As the self-proclaimed regents effectively divided the realm among themselves, law and order broke down entirely.

When Alfonso XI reached the age of fourteen in 1325 he boldly declared his minority at an end and called for the resignation of the three regents. Though still inexperienced, he thwarted their ambitions to control him, executing his cousin, Juan, and breaking his engagement to the daughter of Juan Manuel, who had expected that the marriage would enable him to dominate the king. Instead, Alfonso XI in 1328 married María, daughter of Afonso IV of Portugal, who pledged to join him in war against the Moors. Juan Manuel, considering himself betrayed, fled to Aragón but renewed his allegiance in 1329; thereafter his relationship with the king was always uncertain. When Alfonso de la Cerda acknowledged the king, pledging homage and fealty in 1331, a chapter in the long dynastic dispute stemming from the reign of Alfonso X was closed.

With his realm comparatively at peace, Alfonso XI, aided by Aragón and Portugal, planned to resume the war of reconquest. He seized several fortresses on the western frontier of the kingdom of Granada in 1327 and 1330, prompting Muhammad IV to appeal to the Marinids in Morocco for help. Responding with enthusiasm, the Moroccans laid siege to Gibraltar and captured it at the end of five months in June 1333. Alfonso XI vainly tried to relieve the garrison and to recover the fortress after it capitulated, but he was distracted by continued discontent among the nobility and tense relations with his Christian neighbors. By inviting the Marinids into his kingdom, Muhammad IV angered the Granadan nobility, who feared Moroccan domination; they assassinated their king and elevated his brother, Yūsuf I. Soon later, Castile, Morocco, and Granada agreed to a truce.

While Alfonso IV of Aragón was irritated by Alfonso XI’s presumption in military affairs, Afonso IV of Portugal was becoming outright hostile and conspired with Juan Manuel against the king of Castile. The Portuguese monarch believed that Alfonso XI, by openly flaunting his relationship with Leonor de Guzmán, the mother of his several illegitimate children, was dishonoring the queen, María of Portugal. Desultory warfare between Castile and Portugal followed, but Portuguese efforts to persuade Alfonso IV of Aragón to enter an alliance against Alfonso XI were of no avail.

As the truce with the Moors drew to a close, the Christian rulers realized that they were all threatened by the possibility of a new Moroccan offensive, and decided to set their own quarrels aside for the time being as they planned for a common defense of the peninsula. Although the Castilian and Aragonese fleet won a victory over the Moroccans in the straits in 1339, they were unable to prevent the sultan, Abū-l-Hasan, from invading Spain with a substantial army in the spring of 1340. Aided by Yūsuf I of Granada, he began the siege of Tarifa in June. Gathering his forces, Alfonso XI appealed to the pope for crusading indulgences and financial assistance. Warriors from the other peninsular realms and from northern European countries, hoping to distinguish themselves in a crusade, came to lend their support. Once again, Pedro IV of Aragón sent a fleet, while Afonso IV personally commanded Portuguese troops who joined the host.

Warned of the advancing Christian army, the Moors abandoned the siege of Tarifa and prepared to give battle on the banks of the nearby River Salado. Blessing the Christian soldiers, Gil de Albornoz, the archbishop of Toledo, assured Alfonso XI that victory awaited him and urged him to go forth without fear. In the ensuing conflict, which took place on 30 October 1340, Afonso IV and the Portuguese drove the Granadan troops from the battlefield while Alfonso XI dispersed the Moroccans. The thorough Christian victory delivered a decisive blow to Moroccan aspirations to dominate the peninsula. Christian Spain was liberated once and for all from the threat of invasion from Mo-
Alcalá de Benzayde, Rute, Priego, Benamejí, and financial support of his crusade. In 1341 he seized of war to the pope, he pleaded for continued spiritual XI intended to continue the war. Sending the trophies of France, and with ships supplied by Portugal, Aragón, and Genoa, he began the siege of Algeciras, one of the principal points of entry into the peninsula. Once again, he was joined by foreign soldiers, including Philip d'Evreux, king of Navarre, who died in 1343, the count of Foix, and the Earls of Derby and Salisbury. In November 1343 Alfonso XI gained a decisive victory over the Moroccan and Granadan forces on the river Palmones, eliminating any possibility of relief for Algeciras. With the permission of the emir of Morocco, the defenders surrendered Algeciras on 26 March 1344.

The reaching of a truce gave the king an opportunity to replenish his treasury and to prepare for the resumption of hostilities. As the Marinids still held Gibraltar, the king lay siege to that fortress in August 1349. The Black Death, the great plague that devastated western Europe, ravaged his camp, however, and he fell victim to it, dying on 27 March 1350 at the age of thirty-nine.

Aside from his military labors, Alfonso XI took steps to strengthen the monarchy by imposing stricter and more direct control on the towns by sending corregidores or royal administrators to control their affairs. He also resolved much of the confusion in the administration of justice by the Ordinance of Alcalá enacted in the cortes of Alcalá de Henares in 1348. Fearful of the cortes, which met frequently during his minority, he convened that assembly in full only three times during his major, but otherwise preferred to convene partial assemblies, thus effectively dividing the estates, while getting what he wanted in taxes. His principal innovation in taxation was the introduction in the years 1342–1345 of the alcabala, a sales tax that became the most important source of revenue for the crown thereafter.

Alfonso XI had two legitimate sons, Fernando, who died as an infant in 1333, and Pedro, born on 30 August 1334, who succeeded him. He also had ten illegitimate children by Leonor de Guzmán; the most important of them was Enrique of Trastámara, who after overthrowing Pedro gained the throne as Enrique II (1369–1379).

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Bibliography


Alfonso, Infante of Castile

Born in 1453, Alfonso was the son of Juan II of Castile and his second wife, Isabel of Portugal, the brother of Isabel the Catholic, and the half-brother of Enrique IV. Since he died in 1468 at age fourteen, he remains a shadowy figure whose importance was due to the way in which he was used as a pawn in the political disturbances that plagued Castile. That rebellious nobles could manipulate him is to be explained by several factors. It was argued, for example, that as long as Enrique IV remained childless Alfonso was heir to the throne. And when Enrique IV’s second wife, Juana of Portugal, did give birth to a daughter it was claimed that the child’s father was not the king, but Beltrán de la Cueva (hence, she was often referred to as Juana la Beltraneja), and that Alfonso was still heir to the throne. Moreover, whatever the truth about the many accusations leveled against Enrique IV, the young Alfonso could be presented as an “honest” alternative to a king who was alleged to be morally, sexually, and religiously corrupt. Matters came to a head when the rebel nobility sent a list of grievances and demands for reform to the king in 1464. The latter at first accepted these, but then retracted. There followed the famous Sentencia of Medina del Campo of 1465, a purportedly “neutral” attempt at reform, and the infamous deposition in effigy of Enrique IV, known as the Farce of Ávila, that took place on 5 June of the same year. A large platform was erected outside the walls of Ávila and a wooden statue of Enrique IV, decked out with the symbols of royalty, was placed on a throne. The leading rebels, who included such powerful men as Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo; Juan Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, Alvaro de Stúñiga, Count of Plasencia; Gómez de Solís, Master of Alcántara; Rodrigo Pimentel. Count of Benavente; and Rodrigo Manrique, Count of Paredes, then proceeded to strip the statue of its symbols, and after the deposition in effigy had been carried out Alfonso was taken up on to the platform and proclaimed king. But of course Enrique IV and his supporters denounced the Farce of Ávila, and the two rival kings plunged Castile into anarchy. Just over three years later Alfonso unexpectedly died on 5 July 1468 at Cardeñoso, a village near Ávila.

Alfonso may have died of the plague or he may have been poisoned. There had been an epidemic in the region, but there was some cause to believe in the
theory of poisoning. Although his supporters were said to be grief stricken, it was also noted that those who had been manipulating Alfonso were finding that he was less malleable than his half-brother: hence the suspicion that they “dispatched” Alfonso in order once again to control the kingdom through the pliant Enrique IV. There is some evidence that Alfonso had been starting to display qualities that were not those of a “pawn” but rather those that his sister Isabel would later display on the chessboard of Castilian politics as queen. Nevertheless he had been manipulated, and there were many who grieved the death of Alfonso “the Innocent.”

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Bibliography

ALHAMBRA

Citadel and palace dominating Granada from the south and comprising the most extensive remains of a medieval Islamic palace anywhere. It contains a virtual encyclopedia of Nasrid architecture and decoration in glazed tile, carved and painted stucco, and wood, and is particularly notable for a group of superb mugarnas (stalactite) vaults. As early as the ninth century a citadel on the site was called al-hamra‘ (the red), probably because of the reddish color of its walls. In the eleventh century it was linked with the town’s defenses to the north, and between 1052 and 1056 Yusuf Ibn Naghrallah, the Jewish vizier to the Zirid rulers of Granada, built his palace there. Two centuries later, the Nasrid sultan Muhammad I (r. 1230–1272) made the Alhambra his residence and over the next two centuries his descendants continued to enlarge and embellish it. Most of the Alhambra is due to Nasrid patronage, particularly by Yusuf I (r. 1333–1354) and Muhammad V (r. 1354–1391, with interruptions), though Charles V (r. 1516–1556) added a palace in the Renaissance style, and Felipe V (r. 1700–1746) Italianized some rooms. The site subsequently fell into ruin, but it was rediscovered in the early nineteenth century by the Romantics, to whom are owed the names by which its parts are commonly known.

The Alhambra is contained with a walled enclosure (740 by 220 meters) punctuated with twenty-three towers and gates. At its western end is the Alcazaba (in Arabic al-qaṣaba, fortress); to the east are the remains of several palaces, a mosque, baths, and an industrial zone with a mint, tanneries, and ovens. Across a ravine to the east of the enclosure are the palace and gardens of the generalife (in Arabic, ḥan al-ʿarif, gardens of the overseer). The alcazaba, the oldest part, is a double-walled fortress of solid and vaulted towers containing barracks, cisterns, baths, houses, storerooms, and a dungeon. Access from the north was controlled by the Armas gate; access from the south was controlled by the Gate of Justice (in Arabic, sharīʿa, erroneously for shuwayyaʿa, esplanade), decorated with carved stone, cut brick, marble, and glazed tile. The Puerta del Vino, framed with ceramic spandrels and stucco panels, is a ceremonial portal to the main street of the royal quarter.

The core of the Alhambra, the so-called Casa Real Vieja (to distinguish it from the addition of Charles V), consists of several palaces arranged along the northern curtain wall and incorporating several of its towers. The palaces follow the traditions of palace design in the western Islamic world, with rooms arranged symmetrically around rectangular courts. One entered the Palace of the Myrtles from the large square facing the Alcazaba and passed through the first court, whose foundations indicate that it had an oratory and minaret, into the second, or Machuca, court. Only its northern portico and a tower survive; from it passages lead to a dwelling, another oratory, and the facade of the Mexuar (in Arabic, mashhar, place of the royal audience), the present public entrance. From the Mexuar, a rectangular room with a flat roof supported on six columns, one passes through a narrow doorway into the Cuarto Dorado, whose plain lateral walls emphasize and illuminate the splendid carved stucco facade at its south. This internal facade, crowned by windows allowing women to watch the activities unobserved and a mu-
garnas cornice supporting deep eaves, presents the visitor with two identical doors: that on the right leads back to the Mashwar, while the other leads to a bent passage to the Court of the Myrtles. The court (36.6 by 23.5 meters) contains a long pool bordered by low hedges. Doors along the long walls open to rooms for the sovereign’s wives, service areas, and the palace bath. At either end porticoes of seven arches on slender marble columns protect lavish tile and stucco decoration on the walls. A door in the center of the the northern portico opens to the Sala de la Barca, with a magnificent joined wooden ceiling, which was once the sovereign’s bed- and sitting room. Beyond is the Hall of the Ambassadors, a large (11.3-meter) square room contained within one of the massive towers of the enclosure walls. Deep alcoves in its walls overlook the city; the one opposite the entrance is the most richly decorated, and the poem inscribed on its walls indicates that it was the throne recess. The floor and walls are superbly decorated with tile and carved plaster; the ceiling, composed of many thousands of individual wooden elements joined into a pyramidal vault, depicts a starry sky and probably symbolizes the seven heavens of Paradise.

The area to the south of the Comares court was modified when Charles V constructed his palace there, but a street once led from the Mexuar past the royal mausoleum (rawda), a square building with a central lantern, to the Palace of the Lions. One passed from its entrance through a bent passage to the relatively intimate Court of the Lions (28.5 by 15.7 meters). An arcade supported on slender columns arranged singly or in groups of two, three, and four surrounds the court and the kiosks projecting at either end. At its center a fountain with twelve white marble lions (probably preserved from Yusuf Ibn Naghrallah’s palace) spout around an elevated polygonal basin inscribed with a poem by the Andalusian poet Ibn Zamrak (1333–ca. 1393). To the south is the square hall of the Abencer- rajes; squinches support a stellate drum and superb mugarnas vault, which also represent the dome of heaven. On the east of the court is the Hall of the Kings: alternately square and rectangular spaces with subsidiary side chambers separated by elaborate mugarnas arches and covered with painted and mugarnas vaults. To the north of the court is the Hall of the Two Sisters, a square hall with alcoves on its ground and first floors. Mugarnas squinches support an octagonal drum with eight paired windows and another superb mugarnas vault. From the hall one passes through another vaulted room to the exquisitely decorated belvedere of Lin- daraxa overlooking the gardens below. Other palatial remains within the walls but outside the Casa Real Vieja include the Peinador tower, the Torre de la Cau- tiva, and the Partial palace.

ALHANDEGA, BATTLE OF

In 939 the Leonese king, Ramiro II (930–951) had been harassing and threatening the frontier possession of the caliphate of Córdoba for seven years. In 939 the Caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III (912–961) resolved that the Leonese monarch must be punished severely and himself undertook the leadership of a strong army that marched north, reaching the banks of the Duero River near Simancas. There it encountered the army of Ramiro II, who had been reinforced with troops furnished by the Navarrese and Count Fernán González of Castile (923–970).
On 1 September a battle ensued that resulted in a resounding victory for Ramiro II. A large portion of the Muslim army was cut down, its camp captured, and 'Abd al-Rahmán’s official Qur’an and the caliph’s ceremonial gold coat of mail formed part of the booty. The caliph himself escaped along with a substantial portion of his troops and returned to Córdoba. There he is said to have crucified three hundred officers of his cavalry for their cowardice. 'Abd al-Rahmán did not himself subsequently campaign against Ramiro II.

The battle seemingly takes its name from a field fortification built and utilized successfully by the Leonese at Albendiego near Simancas.

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Bibliography

ALJAMA
Aljama (rarely alfama) is a Spanish word derived from Arabic al-jami'a, “community.” Many writers erroneously assume it refers exclusively to a Jewish community, but this is not in fact correct, for it refers to either a Muslim or Jewish community, and must therefore be qualified by one or the other adjective. The term may be either abstract, “the (Muslim or Jewish) community,” or specific, referring to a particular community in a town or city and its physical neighborhood (judería), in later medieval usage, or morería.

The Muslim aljama was originally rather loosely organized, but became increasingly bureaucratic over the centuries. Officials included the judges (religious and secular; almost indistinguishably the faqih or qāḍī), with various minor magistrates, and the Sahib al-Shurtqa, often erroneously translated as “chief of police” but in fact was a court administrator who also gave punishments (the term passed into medieval Spanish as zavasorda, merely a civil judge; Jews also held this post). There were also various market officials and supervisors of weights and measures, prices, and so on.

The Jewish aljama was organized around an elected council, that could range from a simple “seven good men” to thirty or more. These were responsible for ordinances, tax assessments, and the like. Adelantados, or muqaddamim, were elected officials who carried out the actual daily administration. There were also special commissioners (berurim) to supervise and even adjudicate such matters as morals and the schools. There were also judges to handle all internal affairs of Jewish law.

Salaried officials sometimes included these judges, teachers of children, scribes, and sometimes the slaughterers of meat. Rabbis, generally, were not salaried until later. Many Jewish aljamas had hospitals and/or charitable houses for the poor and elderly (almosnas) that were supported by taxes imposed by the Jewish council.

NORMAN ROTH

Bibliography

ALJAMIADO LITERATURE

Literature written in Spanish but employing the Arabic alphabet. The term derives from aljamia (in Arabic, al-'ajamyya), meaning “foreign language”, “Romance language” in Spanish Arabic. Examples are extant from the fourteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, showing that this literature was cultivated by both Mudéjares and Moriscos. Continued use of the Arabic alphabet even after knowledge of the language itself was forgotten testifies to the Muslims’ reverence for any manifestation of a tongue they considered holy. Also conventionally included in Aljamiado are the writings, in the Latin alphabet, of Spanish Moriscos exiled to North Africa after 1609.

The language of Aljamiado is almost exclusively Castilian, though many texts show a greater or lesser admixture of Aragonese. (The existence of a true Portuguese Aljamiado has been disproved.) Texts in Castilian or Valencian dialects are very rare, because although those regions had a large Muslim population it was for the most part Arabic-speaking. The Muslims of Castile and Aragón, more thinly spread within a Christian-dominated society, lost their Arabic fairly early, as is attested by the many surviving laments of authors and scribes. Nonetheless the texts contain many Arabic elements in the form of syntactic and semantic calques: la isla de al Andalus (the Iberian Peninsula; in Arabic, jažira, meaning both “peninsula” and “island”); ensañóse ensañamiento grande, in imitation of the Arabic cognate accusative: yá es a ti en que creas con Allah? (“Have you [the will] to believe in God?”) Likewise, vocabulary is borrowed freely and often adjusted to Spanish morphology: halegar (to create), in Arabic, khālaka; el alhichante (the pilgrim [to Mecca]), in Arabic, al-hājj; los almalaques (the angels), in Arabic (singular), al-malak. (Not coincidentally, all these terms are of Islamic import.)

Over two hundred Aljamiado manuscripts survive today; many of these were discovered inside the walls of houses in former Morisco villages of northeastern Spain, where the inhabitants had concealed them before their deportation. The largest such cache came to light in Almonacid de la Sierra (Zaragoza) in 1884,
the most recent in Urrea de Jalón (Zaragoza) in 1984. The principal library collections are those of the Escuela de Estudios Arabes, Biblioteca Nacional, and Real Academia de la Historia, all in Madrid.

Only a handful of names can be attached with certainty to Aljamiado works. The vast majority are anonymous, not only because incipits and explicits have been lost (although of course many have) but because it is a literature that has evolved along collective and traditional lines. The author, rather than making his presence known, submerges his personality into that of the community from which he came and which forms his audience. Some of the stylistic features of Aljamiado, such as the second-person address to the hearers (e.g., y veos aquí que . . .) recall oral and popular forms of transmission.

The Aljamiado corpus contains many items that do not, strictly speaking, fall under the heading of literature. Among these are works of devotion (translations of the Qur’ān, collections of prayers, etc.) and works of superstition (such as charms, amulets, and the casting of horoscopes). But the line between the didactic or pietistic and the literary is not so neatly drawn as in the West: almost all Aljamiado works of the imagination are marked by a strong Islamic cast. The story of the Prophet Joseph (Yūsuf), for instance, which exists in both poetic and prose versions, follows the account in Qur’ān chapter 12, with embellishments taken from exegetical commentaries on the Qur’ān. There are lyric poems in praise of the prophet Muhammad, and a long narrative one describing a pilgrimage to Mecca. Heroic tales and legends almost always turn on the adventures of Islamic heroes, such as the prophet’s early adherents and his son-in-law ʿAlī. Even Alexander the Great appears in the role the Arabs assign him, as Dhīt-al-Karnayn, transformed into a Muslim champion.

As is also clear from the above, the inspiration for this literature is overwhelmingly eastern. Its Mudéjar and Morisco authors did not originate, but continued and embellished, a relatively narrow range of themes. Only one important Aljamiado work has its roots in western Europe (see below).

Prose Narrative

Some of the more extensive works, and those of greatest literary worth, are Rekontamiento del rey Ališandre, the Islamic retelling of the Alexander legend; Leyenda de Yūsuf, of Qur’ānic inspiration; Libro de las batallas, heroic tales of the early days of Islam; and Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana, a version of a popular European novel of chivalry (and as such the only major Aljamiado tale of Western inspiration). The Tafsīra of the Mancebo de Arévalo is at the same time a guide to Islamic practice and the spiritual autobiography of a Morisco. Many short legends have been edited collectively. Some relate the deeds of early Islamic heroes or of biblical characters, others describe the Muslim vision of the afterlife. Collections of moral precepts form another category, as do works of divine and superstition such as Libro de las suertes.

Poetry

The Poema de Yūsuf is a fine example of cuaderna vía in Aljamiado from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries; of the same genre and period is Almadḥa de alabanza al an-nabī Muḥammad. Other poetry, though rising to no great literary heights, also celebrates the prophet and the religion of Islam. Only three or four poets are known by name, most of them from the very end of the period: Muhammad Rabadān (Discurso de la descendencia de Muhammadi, Juan Alfonso Aragonés, and Ibrahim de Bolfad.

It is curious that Aljamiado literature should coincide so precisely in time to the period of literacy maur-ofilía in Spain that produced the romancero morisco and El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa. The romanticized Moor of the latter works could hardly differ more profoundly from the Morisco who was striving to retain his culture in conditions of poverty, persecution, and clandestinity. What the Mudéjares and Moriscos did produce was a literature of preservation rather than of creation, and one closely tied to their feelings of ethnic and religious identity. It speaks in the authentic voice of one of the principal marginalized groups of marginados in the history of Spain.

CONSUELO LÓPEZ-MORILLAS

Bibliography


ALJUBARROTA, BATTLE OF

The Battle of Aljubarrota took place on 14 August 1385, and historians continue to regard it as the decisive battle in the political struggle for the kingdom of Portugal. Fernando I of Portugal had designs on the Castilian throne and schemed unsuccessfully to obtain it. He paid for these ambitions by suffering invasions.
and heavy military defeats at the hands of Pedro the Cruel’s usurping half-brother Enrique II of Trastámara in 1371 and 1372. With thoughts of revenge, Fernando made secret alliance with England. An Anglo-Portuguese force jointly led by King Fernando and the Earl of Cambridge campaigned unsuccessfully (1381–1385) against the armies of Juan I, who had succeeded his father Enrique II on the throne of Castile. The now ailing Fernando ill-advisedly wedded his daughter Beatriz to Juan I by the terms of the ensuing peace treaty, before dying in October 1383. The interregnum that followed his sudden death encouraged the Trastámara monarch to lay a serious claim to the Portuguese throne through his marriage to Fernando’s daughter. He was further encouraged by the fact that the great nobles in Portugal showed little enthusiasm for the exiled illegitimate sons of King Fernando’s father, Pedro I, while at the same time strongly supporting the person and policies of King Fernando’s widow, Doña Leonor Telles. Despite the popular acclamation of Dom João, Master of the Military Order of Avis as, first regent and then king, Juan I was so encouraged by the confused situation in Portugal that he invaded in 1384. After a series of indecisive engagements he besieged Lisbon but was obliged to raise the siege when plague decimated his army. In August of the following year, tempted again by support among the Portuguese nobility and by his own superior military strength, he invaded a second time. As in the previous year, Juan I planned his main attack from the southeast; but meeting stiff resistance, he marched north to Ciudad Rodrigo and after some hesitation, invaded through the Beira, thus approaching Lisbon from the north. His forces numbered some 22,000 men, outnumbering those of the Master of Avis by more than three to one; and yet he suffered a crushing defeat. Chroniclers attribute the Castilian defeat at Aljubarrota principally to the tactics of the Master’s constable, Nunzio Alvares Pereira, who counselled strongly that Dom João’s army, small though it was, should interpose itself between the advancing Castilians and the capital and fight them in a pitched battle; for, he argued, if Lisbon were lost so would the kingdom be. When the Earl of Cambridge’s forces had aided King Fernando in 1381–1382, the Portuguese saw something of the tactics that had given the English the upper hand in France during the Hundred Years’ War. The Portuguese constable adopted these tactics: a heavy reliance upon infantry; the deployment of an exceptionally strong contingent of archers; and the tactic of inducing the enemy’s cavalry to attack a fixed position carefully chosen beforehand by its defenders. The adoption of the third of these tactics is the reason why the Avis army came to be stationed near the village of Aljubarrota on the morning of 14 August 1385.

Aljubarrota is located at 39.34 north latitude and 8.55 west longitude, twenty-four kilometers southwest of Leiria on the main Coimbra-Lisbon road between the towns of Batalha and Alcobaca. The area is situated on a spur of the Serra de Porto de Mós. The countryside is consequently an undulating one of hills and mountain streams. According to the Castilian chronicler López de Ayala, en eye witness and participant, the Trastamaran line of attack lay along a stretch of ground between two brooks that effectively narrowed the Castilians’ vanguard and made it impossible for the right and left flanks to engage the enemy when the two armies met. Moreover, when the Trastamaran forces attacked the Avis position they were thrown into confusion by the steadiness of the Portuguese pikemen and by the concentrated fire of the mixed force of Portuguese crossbowmen and English longbowmen. Sensing impending defeat, King Juan fled the field in the direction of Santarém while his demoralized army disintegrated soon after.

The battle had several long-term results. It put an end to a civil war in which two candidates for the Portuguese throne had fought for two years; one of them, Juan I of Castile, had by no means the weaker claim, which was supported by many Portuguese magnates, some of whom fought on the Trastamaran side throughout the civil war. The slaughter or exile of these Trastamaran Portuguese produced a social revolution in which an old Portuguese nobility was replaced by a new. The battle put an end to serious Castilian claims to the Portuguese throne, confirmed Portuguese independence, and consolidated the reign of João I as well as the dynasty of the House of Avis. Aljubarrota was to have an enormous symbolic value for later Portuguese romantic nationalism that is illustrated by the enormous Abbey of Batalha that was built to commemorate the victory. Finally, the participation of English archers at Aljubarrota gave impetus to the budding Anglo-Portuguese alliance that would be confirmed in the following year by the Treaty of Windsor.

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Bibliography


Very little is known about Felipa de Almada, a fifteenth-century Portuguese poet who was a member of the court of João II. The king was a lover of the arts and endeavored to surround himself with talented people. As one of the most important social graces, poetry was cultivated by many members of his court, including some women. Garcia de Resende’s *Cancioneiro Geral* (Lisboa, 1516) contains short, cryptic verses by women for men to gloss. In the ongoing court poetry competition, women propounded riddles, and men solved them. The only woman who wrote a lengthy poem, however, was Felipa de Almada.

Rather than propounding a riddle, she solves one by scorning her former lover mercilessly: “What I cannot recover, oh world of uneven order, makes me not wish you well nor desire you harm.” All her feelings are gone, and her indifference is total: “I find more pleasure, thus, living in the limbo of your favor, than with the pain of your wretched love.”

Interestingly, of all the women poets of the Iberian Peninsula, only Felipa de Almada assumes an unfamiliar role. Constança de Mallorca and Mayor Arias clearly follow the popular tradition of the Galician “*cantigas de amigo*” (songs of love and friendship). Florencia Pinar, another fifteenth-century *cancionero* poet, assumes an active role in the sense that she solves riddles rather than propounding them. However, she presents herself as the suffering party, the victim of love. Where Florencia speaks of her imprisonment and compares herself to a partridge in a cage, Felipa de Almada proclaims her liberation from love. Her poem is almost the reverse of a *cantiga de amigo*, and coming from a Portuguese woman poet could be read as the intertextual game of a writer who refuses to fit into the local mold. Of course, she does so by adopting a different literary role: that of the disdainful lady of courtly love.

CRISTINA GONZÁLEZ

**Bibliography**


**ALMANZOR** See MANŞUR, AL-

**ALMIZRA (OR ALMIRRA), TREATY OF**

Peace agreement signed between Jaime I of Aragón-Catalonia and the future Alfonso X of Castile (in the name of his father Fernando III) on 26 March 1244 at the captured Islamic castle of that name, presently the Camp de Mirra or El Capet in southern Valencia. The pact did not annul the Cazorla Treaty of 1179 between the two countries, by which respective zones of conquest from the Moors had been finalized. Instead, it worked out discrepancies as to the actual southern border of Valencia, so hotly disputed that war was then imminent between Jaime and Alfonso. After each king had seized towns assigned to the other’s conquest, and especially with both claiming Játiva (then under siege by Jaime) Alfonso asked for a meeting.

Jaime’s party stayed at Almizra castle and town, Alfonso’s in tents at the foot of the hill at Caudete. Stormy arguments nearly aborted this effort at peace until Jaime’s Queen Violante and the Master of Santiago intervened. The two kings “amicably” redrew the border, from the confluence of the Júcar and Cabrilios Rivers down through Ayora, Almansa, and Biar, out to sea above Aguas de Busot. The 1304 treaty of Torrela later annulled Almizra by moving the border south past Orihuela and Alicante; but the Almizra line remained a civil division interior to Valencia until 1707 and the diocesan border to 1957. King Jaime details the bellicose negotiations in seven chapters of his autobiography, and the treaty itself has often been reprinted.

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**Bibliography**


**ALMOHADS**

Following the Almoravids, al-Andalus in the second half of the twelfth century was threatened by a new sect that had emerged in North Africa: the Almohads (unifiers, that is, strict believers in the unity of God; in Arabic, *al-Muwahhidin*). Ibn Túmart, the founder of the sect, objected to the moral laxity of the Berbers of North Africa and declared war against the Almoravid Dynasty, then in control in the Maghrib (North Africa and Muslim Iberia). During these battles he became ill and died (1130). He was succeeded by ‘Abd al-Mu’min, who by 1147 had managed to capture Fez and Marrakesh, the capital of the Almoravids. When Marrakesh was captured, according to one source, the Christian church there was destroyed and a great number of Jews and Christian militia were killed. When ‘Abd al-Mu’min conquered Ifriqiyah (Tunisia) in 1151, he gave the Jews and Christians there the choice of conversion to Islam or death. In 1147 he also sent an expedition to al-Andalus, but the Almohads did not
ALMOHADS firmly establish themselves there until 1163. Abu Ya’qūb Yūsuf was the first Almohad caliph to rule al-Andalus (1163–1184), establishing a dynasty that was to last there until 1227. Almohad rule in al-Andalus, however, would prove difficult from the start.

The Almohad condemnation of the popular Malikite theological-legal school in North Africa led to rebellion against them throughout southern Morocco and along the coast. Although the rebellion was crushed and thousands, even followers of ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, were executed, it left the Almohads a legacy of bitter enemies and deep resentments. As a result of a difficult situation in Morocco, Almohad rule in al-Andalus would always be loose and precarious. Given the deep internal divisions in North Africa, the Almohad rulers of al-Andalus, like Ya’qūb I (1184–1199), Yūsuf’s successor who had taken the title Al-Mansūr (the Victorious), were often obliged to rush back and forth from al-Andalus to Morocco in order to protect their interests. In 1195 when Alfonso VIII of Castile attacked the region of Seville, since it was the nature of the Almohads that only the caliph could lead an expedition to counter a Christian offensive, Ya’qūb, who found himself in Marrakesh, was obliged to hurry to al-Andalus. He met Alfonso’s army at Alarcos, dealing Alfonso what would prove the last great Muslim victory over the Christians in Iberia. Ya’qūb pushed his conquest north and was able to take Guadalajara, Salamanca, and other towns. However, he was unable to exploit his success and was called back to Marrakesh to put down yet another revolt.

Like the Almoravids, the Almohads failed in maintaining their influence in Iberia. Religious zeal could not cement a heterogenous society across a large space. After Ya’qūb’s death in 1199, he was succeeded by weak and even incompetent rulers who could not face the all-too-common revolts and dissension that met their brand of fundamentalism. By 1212, the combined forces of Castile, León, Navarre, and Aragón, along with volunteers and mercenaries from other parts...
of Europe, would deal a crushing defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa to Muhammad (1199–1213), Ya’qūb’s successor. Muhammad had come to Iberia from Morocco with a large army and the hope of containing the revived territorial ambitions of Alfonso VIII. Barely escaping with his life at Las Navas, Muhammad was forced to return back across the Straits of Morocco and leave al-Andalus to his adolescent son, Yusuf II (1213–1223), who would witness the breakdown of Almohad power not only in al-Andalus but finally in the Maghrib as well.

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Bibliography


ALMOHADs

ALMOJARIFE

The term almojarife (correctly, in medieval texts or in Portuguese, almoxarife) derives from Arabic wazir almushrif, which is nevertheless found only in the Mozarabic documents of Toledo, and means, merely, “supervising minister.” In those twelfth- and thirteenth-century documents, this was an official who not only collected taxes but who also served as a judge. However, in general use throughout medieval Spain in all kingdoms it refers to a “tax-farmer,” one who either paid a lump fee for the privilege of collecting taxes or who paid a portion of the allocated taxes to the king in advance and then collected the entire sum, thus making a profit. Usually this post was held by Jews, and every king had several such Jewish almoxarifes, beginning at least with Alfonso VIII for Castile and Pedro I in Aragón-Catalonia (though the title in that kingdom was usually baile; almoxarife is, however, sometimes found).

Such officials were appointed, often for many years, for the taxes of the entire kingdom, but also on a local basis either by the king, the local overlord, and even church officials to administer their taxes. The title of almoxarife mayor (chief tax official of the kingdom) ceased to be used at the end of the fourteenth century; only Yūqūf de Ecija (under Alfonso XI), Samuel ha-Levy (Pedro I), and Joseph Pichó (Enrique II) held the title. While Jews continued to function as almoxarifes throughout the fifteenth century, the post was increasingly given to Christians.

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Bibliography


ALMORAVIDs

The Almoravid (al-Murābiṭūn) Dynasty was founded in North Africa in the early eleventh century. Unlike the later more extreme Almohads, they did not particularly single out Christians and Jews for persecution. However, the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn was invited by the Muslims of al-Andalus to help defend against the invasion of the Castilian king Alfonso VI in 1086. On 23 October of that year, a major battle took place at Zallāqah (Sagrajas, near Badajoz), which turned the tide temporarily against the Christians in their efforts to conquer al-Andalus. Using the opportunity presented them, the Almoravids remained in al-Andalus and took it over from the weaker local rulers, many of whom were forced to flee.

While they were fierce warriors, they were hardly barbarians, as they have sometimes been described. They were often intolerant of philosophical ideas. ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf, who succeeded his father as ruler in 1106, ordered the burning of the works of the mystic philosopher Al-Ghazālī on religious grounds because he disagreed with his views. On the other hand, the Almoravids were not able to eradicate the strong hold of secular studies and literature among the Muslims of al-Andalus, and poetry especially continued to flourish.

While there is a lack of substantial sources, it appears that there was no persecution of Jews either in North Africa or in al-Andalus, at least not in the early years of the dynasty. According to Al-Idrīsī (d. 1162), the Jewish Barghawāta tribe in the region of Marrakesh had a sort of “capital of the South,” the Jewish center of Agmat (Aghmāt). The Almoravids fought the “Judaized” Berbers there in 1059, and their decisive victory marked the decline of the Jewish Berber tribes. In the Responsa of Al-Fāsī, a couple of incidents of Muslim officials stealing property from Jews are reported and this was the period of some of the greatest Jewish scholars: Isaac al-Fāsī, Joseph ibn Saddiq, Judah ibn Ghiyāth and his son Isaac, and of such outstanding poets as Moses ibn Ezra and Judah ha-Levy. It is even possible that one of the poets wrote a poem commemorating the victory of the Almoravid armies against the Christian attacks in Lucena.

The oft-discussed “market regulations” (a manual of laws written by a Muslim judge responsible for the market) of Seville are somewhat misleading as a true indicator of relations between Jews and the Almoravid rulers, or certainly the Muslim population, at the time. According to those largely theoretical laws, Muslims could not massage Christians or Jews in the public baths, nor should a Muslim take care of an animal
owned by a Jew or Christian. Jews were not allowed to slaughter meat for Muslims, although in fact we know they did. The clothing of lepers, libertines (sexually promiscuous people), Jews, or Christians could not be sold without indicating their origin. Christians and Jews were not to dress in the clothing of people of position nor greeted with the customary formula “peace be upon you,” for “the devil has gained mastery over them and has made them forget the remembrance of God. They are the devil’s party, and indeed the devil’s party are the losers.” Both Jews and Christians were to wear distinguishing insignia.

In fact, Jews and Muslims, including the rulers, were increasingly on good terms with each other in al-Andalus. It is thus hard to reconcile the statement of the great scholar, biblical commentator, and poet Abraham ibn Ezra that he was forced to flee Spain because of the “oppressors,” when we have no evidence of any oppression. Indeed, it is possible that this statement refers to the Almohad invasion of 1145, although the Almohads were not firmly established in al-Andalus until at least 1163.

We hear of some isolated instances of Jews who converted to Islam during the Almoravid period in al-Andalus, but these were voluntary conversions. There are few studies of the Almoravid period in general.

NORMAN ROTH

Bibliography


ALVARES PEREIRA, NUN’
Son of Alvaro Gonçalves Pereira, Prior of the Hospitalhers, and Iria Gonçalves do Carvalhal, born in Portugal, most probably at Sernache do Bonjardim, or Flor da Rosa in the Alentejo, in 1360. His life has become legend, and it is difficult to separate fact from fiction as the mythmaking process started in his own lifetime. Trained as a knight, he was a deeply religious man who lived up to the ideals of chivalry, inspired by the adventures of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. In compliance with his father’s wishes, he married Dona Leonor Alvim, a wealthy widow from northern Portugal, becoming a powerful landowner. He began to show his independence of character and his hatred of Castilian intervention in Portuguese affairs at the time of Fernando I’s reign (1365–1383).

During the crisis of the dynastic succession (1383–1385), he gave his support to Dom João, Master of Avis, distinguishing himself as a charismatic leader and a brilliant strategist. By fighting a war of movement at a time when laying siege to a town was the general rule, he changed the fortunes of war. The combined action of the infantry and bowmen proved an unbeatable match to cavalry charges. In this way were won in quick succession the battles that established firmly Portuguese independence. Nun’ Alvares Pereira was made constable or chief general of the Portuguese armies, and granted large donations of land by João I. There was a serious friction between the two men, when Nun’ Alvares distributed this property among officers who had served him well in the war. In 1423, he withdrew from the world, taking the Carmelite habit in the church of Carmo, which he had founded in Lisbon in 1389. Admired as a shining example of patriotism, he died in odor of sanctity in 1431 and was beatified by the Roman Catholic Church in 1918.

LUIS REBELO

ALVAREZ DE VILLASANDINO, ALFONSO
A Castilian poet active from the early 1360s well into the reign of Juan II. Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino was of petty noble birth, and therefore felt entitled to call himself trovador, poet for honor. But as his fortunes declined, he took on the character of a juglar, poet for pay. First and last, he was a man of the court: his writings testify that he was in royal company from the time of Enrique II to the early years of the majority of Juan. His production is large and varied. In the early Trastamara years he wrote in Galician, largely cantigas de amor love poems not greatly different from those of Macias or of the archdeacon of Toro. In later years he abandoned Galician for Castilian, composing along the way poems in a hybrid language, with elements of both. The themes, genres, and style of his production also changed. He continued to write both amorous and devout songs, though the former tended to be more elaborate and varied than his Gallego pieces. His later work is subtler in theme and more complicated in form. And song no longer monopolized his work. There appear dezires (narrative poems) of all sorts—allegorical, occasional, religious, and poems of petition, the last of which rank among his Wittiest and most delightful. The changes that overtake Villasandino’s produc-
tion over time deserve special comment. The older manuals describe him globally as a member of the Galician-Provençal school. The term is misleading. It fits perfectly the early Villasandino, the poet in Galician: at least one body of poetry in Galician or Portuguese is based generally on a set of rules and conventions inherited from those of Provençal song. Villasandino’s later work is a response to social changes and to new currents in taste, but most importantly, it is a reflection of a second wave of Provençal influence in Castilian poetry, this time coming from the teachings of the Consistory of the Gay Science in Toulouse. The immediate source of the doctrine is almost certainly the copies or avatars of that institution, which existed in Barcelona and Valencia in his day. The formal complexity of his later verse, the elaborate metrical schemes, and the difficult rhyming patterns undoubtedly owe their existence to this neo-Provençal strain.

CHARLES F. FRAKER

Bibliography


ALVAREZ GATO, JUAN

Converso (Christian convert) poet born in Madrid ca. 1440. He served at the court of Enrique IV under the patronage of Beltrán de la Cueva. Later Alvarez Gato entered the service of two powerful Castilian converso families, the Arias Dávila and the Mendozas of Guadalajara. Toward the end of his career at court, he became the majordomo of Queen Isabel I. Alvarez Gato was close friends with Fray Hernando de Talavera, the queen’s confessor and archbishop of Granada, with whom he shared a contemplative religious sensibility marked by a sense of doctrinal tolerance. Alvarez Gato died between 1510 and 1512.

Alvarez Gato’s poetry is generally seen as developing in two periods: the first, dominated by profane, amorous verse characterized by hyperbolic religious metaphors and comparisons; and the second, whose tenor is religious and moral, marked by a deep spirituality that leads Alvarez Gato to appropriate and endow popular literary motifs with a religious sense (a style referred to as a lo divino).

E. MICHAEL GERLI

Bibliography


ALVARO, PELAYO

Alvaro Pelayo (Alvaro Pais) (d. 1353), a Portuguese Franciscan, after taking his doctorate in canon law at the University of Bologna and serving in the papal curia, was elevated to the bishopric of Silves in the Algarve in 1333. Conflict over ecclesiastical rights with Alfonso IV of Portugal forced him to withdraw to Seville in 1349, where he later died.

A vigorous author, his principal work is the De planctu ecclesiae, written about 1330 at the request of Pope John XXII, as a defense of the absolute authority of the pope and a counterattack on Marsiglio of Padua, author of the Defensor pacis, and other champions of secular power. In order to achieve its spiritual purpose of leading all men to salvation, the church, in Alvaro’s judgment, had need of a complex hierarchical structure, laws, and property. The pope, as the vicar of Christ, was godlike (qua Deus) in the power and authority that he exercised subject to the constraints of no individual or institution. Endowed with a plenitude of power that included the temporal realm, the pope sanctioned and justified secular rulership. The Holy Roman Emperor was a papal delegate to whom other kings (excepting “the kings of Spain . . . because they have ripped their kingdoms out of the jaws of the enemy”) were subordinated. While Alvaro effectively synthesized old arguments, the ideas that he espoused were coming under increasing challenge from royalist lawyers and even from canonists and theologians who believed that papal authority had been carried to extremes.

Besides his defense of the papal theocracy, Alvaro lamented the abuses that he perceived in all ranks in the church and in Christian society. Those who came under his lash included members of the papal curia; usurers; concubinary clerics; friars guilty of pride, idleness, incontinence, and ambition; and papal inquisitors who condemned victims in order to seize their money for themselves. Peasants, too, were a sinful lot who were unfaithful to their marriage vows and kept themselves from their wives so as not to have children they could not support. Although they attended church, they only entered during the elevation of the mass in order to see the Body of Christ, but not to receive it.

Alvaro also refuted various heresies in his Collyrium fidei contra hereses. His Speculum regum, a mirror for princes written between 1341 and 1344, was dedicated to Alfonso XI of Castile, whom he exhorted to defend the faith against the infidels, to expel the Moors from Spain, and to conquer Africa, because it pertained to the inheritance of the Visigothic kings. Ever the moralist, he castigated kings for failing to seek the counsel of their subjects, for manipulating the coinage to the detriment of the people, and for their
oppression of the church. He argued that it was best to leave a tyrannical king to divine judgment, rather than bring about greater evil by seeking to dethrone him.

JOSHD F. O’CALLAGHAN

Bibliography


ALVARUS, PAULUS

Córdoban laymen, author; mid-ninth century. Very little is known about his life. A reference in one of his letters hints at Jewish ancestry; another suggests Gothic blood. Either or both could, however, have been intended metaphorically given their contexts. His family owned enough land to allow them to use part of it to endow a monastery. Alvarus studied under Abbot Speraindeo at the church of St. Zoylus in Córdoba, where he met and befriended Eulogius. There, among other things, the two developed an interest in poetry, which Alvarus would pursue later in life, composing a number of poems that have survived. The preface to his Vita Eulogii suggests that Alvarus did not follow his friend into the priesthood. He appears to have married and to have lost three of his daughters, though the circumstances are unknown.

Letters to and from a variety of correspondents constitute the bulk of his extant writing. The earliest of these are the four directed to Bodo, a deacon in the Carolingian court who converted to Judaism, adopted the name Eleazar, and moved to Spain. Alvarus’s letters to Bodo-Eleazar predictably attempt to prove that Jesus was the Messiah. Three responses survive, though in fragmentary form. Alvarus also wrote to his former teacher Speraindeo asking him to respond to an outbreak of some unnamed heresy. Alvarus directed another four letters to his friend (and perhaps brother-in-law) John of Seville, another layman, in which he explored the role of rhetoric in Christian education and delved into Christology.

Alvarus’s role in the Córdoban Martyrs’ Movement of the 850s was an auxiliary one. From his cell in the autumn of 851, Eulogius sent drafts of the Memoriale sanctorum and the Documentum martyriale to Alvarus for his comments. The letters that Alvarus wrote in response were subsequently appended to the treatises. We know from Eulogius that Alvarus advised at least one of the would-be martyrs who sought him out for advice. In 854 Alvarus wrote his Indiculus luminosus, the first half of which is a defense of the martyrs, and the second half a novel attempt to portray Muham-

mad as a precursor of Antichrist by interpreting passages from Daniel, Job, and the Apocalypse in light of Alvarus’s knowledge of Islam. Toward the end of the treatise, which seems not to have been completed, is the frequently quoted passage lamenting the fact that Christian youths of the day were more interested in studying Arabic than Latin literature. Finally, sometime after Eulogius’s execution in 859, Alvarus wrote the Vita Eulogii.

The last of Alvarus’s letters indicate that he had suffered from a serious illness and had received penance in anticipation of his death, only to recover. He solicited Bishop Saul of Córdoba to release him from his penitential obligation to refrain from participation in communion, a request that was denied. Alvarus’s Confessio, a lengthy formal prayer for forgiveness of sins, probably also dates from this period. The fact that he is not mentioned in Samson’s Apologeticus (864) and that Alvarus never referred to the controversies that elicited its composition suggests that he died in the early 860s.

KENNETH B. WOLF

Bibliography


AMADÍS DE GAULA

Amadís de Gaula is the Spanish book of chivalry par excellence. Historically, it is most likely the first among the Hispanic chivalric stories related to the matière de Bretagne. The plot is set in a time before Arthur’s reign, since Arthur’s world, after the discovery of the Grail, signified the apocalypse of chivalric adventures and of chivalry itself. It is impossible to summarize the number of interlaced plots and subplots that constitute the chivalric fable, Amadís, a veritable roman fleuve (river of romance). The main plot is based on what may be called the chivalric fable, which can be summarized as follows: the hero is removed by Providence from his royal family and heritage so that he can prove his virtue as a knight, win wealth, fame, and estate, and then recuperate his royal origins. Only after the hero has earned the latter are his origins revealed to him, and his royalty is publicly acknowledged. Amadís tells of Amadís’s ancestry, birth, education, love, and adventures. He is the secret love child of King Périon and Princess Elisena. After his birth, he is set adrift in a basket (à la Moses) and rescued by a knight, Gandales, who educates him along with his own son, Gandalín. Amadís is introduced to King
Lisuarte of Britain and falls in love with Oriana, Lisuarte’s daughter. Amadís dedicates his exploits and existence to Oriana, seeking to conquer her heart as well as the Insola Firme, a kingdom he wishes to vanquish and rule. Amadís’s and Oriana’s clandestine marriage in turn gives rise to a new plot based on the pattern of the chivalric fable. Oriana gives birth to their son, Esplandían, who is kidnapped by a lioness and then educated by Nacimiento the Hermit. Esplandían’s destiny is to master the Empire of Constantinople. The romance narrates many more stories, all neatly interlaced through the use of rhetorical devices used in historiography and in Arthurian prose all over Europe. *Amadís de Gaula* is a microcosm of all the chivalric subjects that will be developed later in the sixteenth-century Spanish romances of chivalry.

The origins of *Amadís* remain uncertain. The only extant complete versions of the romance, all from the sixteenth century, differ from one another and ultimately prove reprints and transformations of the work, as it was originally planned and rewritten in four books by García Rodríguez de Montalvo at the beginning of the sixteenth century. There was in all likelihood an incunabulum first edition of *Amadís* that is now lost, probably printed in 1496. The first extant edition is the one published at Zaragoza by Jorge Coci in 1508. Printed editions notwithstanding, *Amadís de Gaula* had a long existence before its appearance in print. Antonio Rodríguez Moñino brought to light some manuscript fragments from a primitive *Amadís*, probably conceived in three books, in which Esplandían had already appeared. In these, Amadís was killed by his brother, Galaor, and Oriana committed suicide. Evidence indicates that tales and stories about Amadís were very popular from the middle of the fourteenth century on. Avalle Arce has speculated that the first *Amadís* story appeared circa 1290. Research by Cacho Blecua, however, shows that the first version of the story was probably composed during the reign of Alfonso XI, around 1330–1340.

One of the most interesting yet least studied features of the extant *Amadís* is the ideological tension that underlies the notions of chivalry, monarchy, and the discourses of power that accrued in the work during the century and a half of its circulation prior to finally appearing in print. Despite García Rodríguez de Montalvo’s best efforts, he was unable to erase this tension, even as he tried to produce a text whose ethical and political principles reflected his own contemporary values.

J. Rodríguez-Velasco

**Bibliography**


*‘Amirids* See *Manṣūr, al-*

**ANAGNI, TREATY OF**

In 1295 a further attempt, with papal mediation, was made to put an end the War of the Sicilian Vespers, which had been disrupting Italy and the Mediterranean since 1282. Pope Boniface VIII sought to strike an agreement that would strengthen his relations with King Charles II of Naples, for whom he had no great liking (Charles having been the principal support of his unhappy predecessor Celestine V), but whose influence in the Guelph factions throughout Italy made him an essential ally. Charles in the early months of 1295 showed his friendly disposition to the pope by investing Roffredo Caetani, Boniface’s brother, with important estates in southern Italy. King Jaime II of Aragón also made attempts not to antagonize a pope who had already proved himself a figure not to be trifled with; he accepted Boniface’s demand that he should avoid entering into marriage ties with France, which might lead to the creation of a Franco-Angevin access isolating the papacy. He was also keen to arrange the release of his sons, who were hostages in Aragonese hands. The French stabilized the situation further by renouncing all recent claims to the crown of Aragón. A third key figure was Jaime’s lieutenant in Sicily, his younger brother Fadrique, who, although excommunicate, sought a meeting with the pope; Boniface was in a conciliatory enough mood to receive him away from public gaze, and to promise him the hand of Catherine de Courtenay, heiress to the Latin empire of Constantinople, in return for his abandonment of Sicily. Thus the stage was set for an agreement at Anagni, to be cemented by massive grants: a dowry of 75,000 marks when Bianca of Naples would marry Jaime II of Aragón; 6,000 florins for Jaime as the reward for an early cession of Sicily to the house of Anjou. The king of Aragón was, however, urged to recognize the rights of his uncle and namesake, Jaime II of Mallorca, in the lands from which the Aragonese had dislodged the Mallorcan king. Agreement was reached in stages during June 1295, and the treaty has been described as Boniface’s first great diplomatic triumph. The problem that proved impossible to resolve was the cession of Sicily, because Fadrique of Aragón now emerged as the champion of Sicilian independence from the house of Anjou, with the backing of the Sicilian nobles and without the distraction of marrying Catherine de Cour-
tenay (who is said to have argued that a princess without lands should not marry a prince without lands). The treaty resulted therefore in a breach between Fadrique and Jaime II of Aragón, and in new initiatives (including the grant of Sardinia to Jaime in lieu of Sicily).

David S. Abulafia

Bibliography


Anchieta, Juan de

Spanish composer, born Urrestilla or Azpeitia, Guipúzcoa, 1462; died Azpeitia, 30 July 1523. His mother, Urtayzagá, was a close relative of the founder of the Society of Jesus. Queen Isabel on 6 February 1489 appointed him a singing chaplain in her court, which moved constantly (fifteen times between 1491 and 1503), and on 30 August 1493 raised his yearly salary to 30,000 maravedis. In 1495 he became maestro de capilla (music director) in the newly erected household of the crown prince, seventeen-year-old Don Juan (1478–1497). As such he frequently joined the music-loving prince and other selected youths in afternoons spent singing.

Queen Isabel died 26 November 1504, but Anchieta remained in her daughter Doña Juana’s household. With such other court singers as Pierre de la Rue, Alexander Agricola, and Marbriano de Orto, he visited Flanders and from January to April 1506 was in southern England during the return voyage to Spain. After Felipe the Fair’s death he remained Doña Juana’s chaplain, at 45,000 maravedis salary. At age fifty-seven he was pensioned on 15 August 1519 by Charles V, who declared him too old to reside at court but allowed his high salary to continue to be paid until Fernando’s, death, while Anchieta resided wherever he pleased. From 1500 to 1523 he was Rector of San Fernando’s, death, while Anchieta resided wherever

Robert Stevenson

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Anglo-Portuguese Alliance

See João I, King of Portugal; John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster

Animal Fables

St. Isidore explains that the behavior and speech of irrational animals in fables illustrate human behavior (*Etymologies* 1.40). Fables are narrative units customarily independent of moralization; they are heuristic, teaching by example, although in written versions prothymia and epimythia are sometimes added. In discourse, fables, or allusions to them, usually explain or reinforce a statement of a cultural norm.

In remote times in India, Egypt, Syria, and in the Far East, the use of animals in illustrative tales is traceable to a belief in metempsychosis (See “The Rat Maiden,” *Calila e Dimna* 4, motif B601.3). Animal tales told to illustrate an advice to princes form the five books of the Indian *Panchatantra* (third century of the Christian era). Ibn al-Muqaffa’s eighth-century translation circulated widely in the Islamic world. In written form these tales came to the west through translation ordered in the thirteenth century by Alfonso X in *Calila e Dimna*.

In the Western tradition, a body of animal fables had accumulated around the figure of the fabulist Aesop. The first published collection by Demetrius of Phalerum (345–283 b.c.) has not survived. First-century A.D. collections available are: Latin verse by Phaedrus and slightly later Greek verse by Babrius. Avianus
ANIMAL FABLES

(late fourth–early fifth centuries) wrote forty-two fables in elegiac verse based on Babrius, and the various Romulus collections circulating in the Middle Ages relied on Phaedrus. (See Ysopete ystoriado for fifteenth-century Spanish translations.) Aesopic fables are the persuasive tools of the Arcipreste, Don Amor, Trotaconventos, and the various duenças in the fourteenth-century Libro de buen amor. In the Conde Lucanor, out of a total of fifty-one exemplary tales, Patronio uses eleven animal fables, some drawn from Aesop and others from oriental sources, to counsel his master.

Allusions to animal fables in circulation in the oral tradition found their way into sermons. In the twelfth century, Petrus Alphonsi had alluded to three fables associated with the Arabic fabulist Loqman and included four others in the Disciplina Clericalis. The Fabulae or Narratione of Odo of Cheriton (thirteenth century) was the source of the fifteenth-century Libro de los gatos. However, a collection of over four hundred sermonic exempla includes only eighteen animal fables (see Clemente Sánchez de Vercial, Libro de los exemplos por a.b.c.).

HARRIET GOLDBERG

Bibliography


ANTÓNIO OF LISBON, SAINT

Fernando Martins, born in Lisbon ca. 1189, became known under the name of St. António of Lisbon. He attended the school of the Cathedral of Lisbon as acolyte and took religious vows at St. Vincent’s Monastery of regular canons (ca. 1209). From there he moved to the Monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra (ca. 1212) where he completed his intellectual background studying patristic literature, later revealed in his sermons. He was ordained presbyter (ca. 1218) when a small group of Franciscans arrived in Coimbra and shortly after departed to Morocco, where they were martyred. When their relics were taken back to Coimbra (1220), Fernando became a Franciscan friar and adopted the name of António. He wished to follow the martyrs’ steps and went to Morocco, but he eventually settled down in Italy where he lived for some time with hermit friars. In 1222, having preached during the ordainment of several friars, he achieved so great success a that he was asked to give new sermons in places influenced by the Catharist and Albingensian heresies. He continued intensively with this activity in the north of Italy (1222–1224) and the south of France (1224–1227). He became master of the first Franciscan schools of theology in Bologna (1223), Montpellier (1223), and Toulouse (1225), and ran the Convent of Limoges (1226). The general minister Joao Parente appointed him visitor to the northern Italy convents (1227–1230) and itinerant preacher. Padova became the center of his preaching activity, and it was there that he wrote his Sermones dominicales and Sermones festivales. St. António mediated as peacemaker during the dissensions among the Franciscans and during the attacks led by the neighbor cities against Padova. He died on 13 June 1231 and was canonized on 30 May 1232.

JOSÉ MATTOSO

ANTIFEMINIST LITERATURE

With Lilith the evil succubus, and Eve the eternal temptress as models, medieval antifeminist literature portrayed woman as an inducement to sin. She was “confusión del ome e bestia syn furtura” (Espéculo de los legos 62). An ancient Aesopic tale compared the adulterous woman’s insatiability to the hen’s perpetual scratching for seed despite a barn full of grain (Ysopete ystoriado, motif J1908.4). Women dominated and destroyed great men: David, Aristotle, Vergil (Libro de buen amor, Arcipreste de Talavera).

Folktales about female adultery made their way into literature in translations from the Arabic in thirteenth-century Spain (Libro de los engaños y asayamientos de las mugeres; Calila e Dimna). Some had appeared earlier in the twelfth-century Disciplina Clericalis (motifs K1510 through K1544), and were subsequently recounted in the fifteenth century in the Libro de los exemplos por a.b.c., Ysopete ystoriado (1488), and Arcipreste de Talavera (1438).

The audience for which antifeminist works were written is significant. Sermons and treatises intended to encourage and reinforce chastity or clerical celibacy were often explicitly antifeminist. The burned corpse of a woman hanging in a tree elicited the remark: “Oxalá llevasen todos los árbores tal fructo” (Historia de Segundo).

However many sexual exempla about adultery in these treatises might have been told originally to mock their male protagonists rather than to attack women.

Bibliography

That humor inhered to the topic is evidenced by the seriocomic Arcepreste de Talavera, a work directed to both a clerical and a courtly audience. Alfonso Martínez de Toledo calls women avaricious, covetous, envious, inconstant, two-faced, disobedient, overproud, untruthful, garrulous, gossipy, and given to excessive drinking. His jocular retraction expressing mock fear of female retribution puts the lie to his serious intentions. Similarly, Pere Toroellà’s vituperative Maldezir de mujeres (1440) ends with a graceful palinode: “Vos sois la que deshacéis lo que contienen mis versos.” On the other hand, in Luis de Lucena’s Repetición de amores (1497) the author takes seriously his censure of women and of worldly love. Not so in Celestina, where the servant Sempronio delivers a less-than-sincere vehement antifeminist speech as a ploy to deflate Calisto’s courtly posturings about love.

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Bibliography


ANTIPHONER OF LÉON

The Léon Antiphoner is the most important document of Spanish music produced before the Reconquest of Toledo in 1085. A facsimile of the original manuscript was issued at Madrid in 1953. The manuscript, which reaches 306 folios, contains music over every page except those in the preface and calendar. The musical tradition of the Léon Antiphoner may be as old as King Wamba (662); Wamba’s antiphoner is cited in the tradition of the Léon Antiphoner may be as old as King Wamba (662); Wamba’s antiphoner is cited in the Léon (fol. 25r) as its model. The main body was written circa 950, if the dedication to Abbat Ikilanus (917–960) is to be taken seriously. A miniature on the back of the first folio shows a scribe handing the completed antiphoner to the dedicatee. The manuscript contains eighteen other miniatures, that (at fol. 217v) of royal consecration being one of the earliest of its class known. The preface, which includes 130 lines of inflated Latin poetry, bears a much later date: 1069.

This prefatory poem, like many of the chants in the Léon Antiphoner, is ascribed to a definite author: in this case Eugenius III of Toledo. According to our poet, no single individual endowed the Spanish Church with its numerous beautiful chants. On the contrary, many holy men inspired by God made up its dowry. Eugenius’s poem notes that “In that former age many individuals, enjoying a common inspiration, composed chants in honor of the Almighty.’” The poet’s testimony is confirmed by evidence scattered in the margins throughout the main body of the Léon Antiphoner. Marginal ascriptions mention such pre-Conquest fathers as Isidore, Ildephonsus, Julian of Toledo, Rogatus of Baeza, and Balduiquius of Ercávica. The case for their authenticity is strengthened by the fact that the same scribe who jotted the ascriptions copied both text and neumes. However, several of the plurimis sacris virorum to whom chants in the Léon Antiphoner are ascribed were obscure persons, even by Spanish standards.

With his eye ever on the past, our Antiphoner poet complains not only that the threefold division of the choir has died out, but—worse still—that the whole body of singers connexi nunc psallant exules a docmatu (now stand together when singing praises, departing from right tradition). But he hopes for the return of better days, when singers who carefully meditate on every word they sing will win back many wandering minds from vain things.

Throughout the main body of the Léon Antiphoner such performance directions as the following appear: Dicentes voces praeconias (fol. 133); Imponet arcediaconus voce clara hanc antiphonam (fol. 153’); Imponet episcopus hanc antiphonam subtili voce decantando: Ecce venit hora ut dispersangini (fol. 164’); Imponet episcopus voce tremula (fol. 166’). In the first rubric, the deacons giving instruction to an assembly of catechumens (not those to be confirmed, since confirmation in the Mozarabic rite was administered immediately after baptism, and by a priest, not a bishop) are required to sing in a loud town-crier’s voice. In the second, the archdeacon is advised to sing a Palm Sunday antiphon in a clear voice. In the third, the bishop chants an antiphon with words from the Passion narrative—“Behold the hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave me alone” (John xvi. 32)—is enjoined to sing this particular text sotto voce, doubtless for dramatic effect. In the fourth, the bishop who sings Populae meus (“O my people, what have I done unto thee? and wherein have I wearied thee” [Micah vi. 3]) is directed to begin the Improperia with a tremolo in his voice—again, surely with deliberate dramatic intent.

Fortunately, the Léon Antiphoner is preserved in its entirety. Beginning with 17 November, the first day in the Mozarabic church year (St. Acisclus’s Day), it carries through without interruption to the following 17 November, providing certain additional chants at the end for the dedication of a basilica, consecrations of bishops and kings, marriages, the ministry to the sick, and committals. Because it is not mutilated after the fashion of other Mozarabic monuments the liturgi-
ologist can go through it, making a comparative study of “forms” in Mozarabic music. Such a study is the more necessary because certain Mozarabic chant types are uniquely Spanish while others, if not uniquely so, bear names that can cause confusion. For instance, pro-
legendum = introit; psallendum = gradual; laudes = alleluia; sacrificium = offertory; trenos = tract. The two uniquely Spanish chant types would seem to be the preces and the sonó. But sono, like selah in the Hebrew psalms, is a term still too imperfectly understood to permit secure definition.

The León Antiphoner not only contains chants for the entire church year but (unlike modern antiphonaries) for the office as well as mass. Such ramifications of any chant type as the following can therefore be studied: (1) comparative position in the Hours and in the Sacrifice; (2) choice of text —different or the same in the Office and Mass; (3) syllabic versus melismatic treatments of the text; (4) formal structure of the melodies; (5) use of borrowed musical material.

To study the alleluia, the laudes are the only chant type that has been exhaustively studied with just such criteria as the above in mind. As for their place in the eucharistic laudes climactically closed the Mass of the Catechumens. They provided a musical coda to the homily expounding the Gospel for the Day. But if their position made of them an Ite missa est closing the Mass of the Catechumens, they also served as a transition into the Mass of the Faithful.

Though the word alleluia came after the scriptural verse in Office laudes it preceded the verse in Mass laudes. What is more, the scriptural texts of the Mass laudes—though still of a laudatory type—were not invariably chosen from Psalms 148 or 150, or even for that matter from any psalm. The jubilus in the alleluia, to make a further contrast with the Office laudes, came always on the last syllable, the a. In sixty-eight of the seventy-six Mass laudes, the luxuriant melisma on the final a in alleluia was again repeated on the final (or penultimate) syllable of the scriptural verse that follows the alleluia.

Mass laudes, outside Lent, can be grouped according to several well-defined musical types. One of these, the Ecce servus type of laudes melody, appears in masses honoring masculine saints: Andrew, Eugenius, Cucufatus (Cugat), Cyprian, Cosmas, and Damian. Another, the Laudafilia type, appears in masses honoring feminine saints: Eulalia, Justa, and Rufina. A third type, the Lauda Hierusalem, is again dedicated to masculine saints; John the Baptist, Columba, Emilianus. (Twenty-four laudes melodies cannot, however, be classified under types.)

If in the Visigothic liturgy the word alleluia dominates the Mass as well as Office laudes it appears even more frequently elsewhere in the liturgy as an interjection. A study of its use shows that the single word alleluia was considered equally appropriate in an Office for the Dead and an Easter Mass. The alleluia outside laudes was always melismatically treated. Occasionally it stretched to spectacular lengths. Vocalisms in the León Antiphoner reaching such an extravagant number of notes as three-hundred are by no means rare. On the very first page of the facsimile (fol. 29) such a melisma can be seen. The scribe copied it in the outer margin, beginning the neumes at the bottom of the page and carrying them up to the top. In the first hundred leaves the margins of thirty-four pages have been so used.

Obviously neumes that can be written from bottom to top of a page lack any heightened implications; but patterns of neumes occur. In the marginal alleluia copied (at folio 60) the following musical structure can be easily enough detected: AA′, BB′, CC′, D (the vocalism appears here over the second syllable of the word). This same melody recurs elsewhere in the Antiphoner fitted syllabically to a text beginning Sublimius diebus. The melisma that served as a model for the sequence Sublimius diebus (fol. 1′ of the León Antiphoner) forms part of the “Sono” of the office Ad matutinum found at folio 60. Because long melismas of the AA′, BB′, CC′, DD′ type so frequently occur, it is not surprising to find that repeat signs were sometimes used to lighten the labor of copying. In the León Antiphoner a stylized letter d looking like a backward 6 with the ascender crossed (abbreviating denuo or dupliciter) is used 128 times as a repeat sign. The sequence was therefore an established form in Spain a century before Notker Balbulus.

ROBERT STEVENSON

Bibliography
**ARABIC LANGUAGE**

The Muslim invasion of 711 had two broad linguistic consequences for the Ibero-Romance languages. First, it brought the Romance dialects of Hispania in contact with Arabic, thus creating an environment for substantial lexical borrowing and occasional morphological borrowing. Second, the dialectal map of Iberia was radically changed and importance was given to varieties of Romance that otherwise might have remained insignificant.

Against von Wartburg’s claim that the Moors were responsible per negationem for the national and linguistic domains of Portuguese, Castilian, and Catalan, contemporary scholarship no longer sees the invaders and their language as passive onlookers to the development of the Ibero-Romance languages. Between 711 and 718 the Moors established control over approximately three-fourths of the Iberian Peninsula but allowed the survival of Christian enclaves in the north and northwest. The geographical unevenness of the Muslim presence on the peninsula is reflected today in the much weaker influence of Arabic on Galician and Eastern and Northern (French) Catalan than on Castilian, Portuguese, and Western Catalan.

Sociolinguistic tensions ran high among educated speakers of Arabic and Romance, with each side blaming the coexistence of languages for an erosion of native language abilities. Hillenbrand (Jayussi) cites Alvarus, bishop of Córdoba, who in 850 remarked of his coreligionists, “. . . hardly one can write a passable Latin letter to a friend, but innumerable are those who can express themselves in Arabic and can compose poetry in that language with greater ease than the Arabs themselves.” As Harvey reports, toward the end of the cohabitation period, the fifteenth-century mufti (senior clerical exegete of the Qu’ran and the shari’a) al-Wansharisi lamented the loss of distinctive features of Muslim life as a consequence of bilingualism: “One has to be aware of the pervasive effect of their way of life, their language . . . as has occurred in the case of the inhabitants of Ávila and other places, for they have lost their Arabic, and when the Arabic language dies out, so does devotion in it, and there is consequential neglect of worship as expressed in world. . . .” Thus there is significant anxiety on both sides not just about losing language, but also about the inevitable loss of culture in a prolonged situation of bilingualism.

Across the north-central part of the peninsula, the Christian Reconquest seems to have had a devastating effect on the Arabic-speaking Muslim communities; little evidence is available to make strong conclusions about the status of Arabic in the everyday life of those areas. Yet in al-Andalus, the Arab-controlled southern portion of the peninsula, there is abundant evidence of more self-confident and self-assertive Muslim communities. It was to Valencia, for example, that Aragonesine Muslims sent their young men who needed to be trained in Arabic. And though in the Arabic side to Mudéjar, where bilingual Muslims lived under Christian rule, Valencian historical documentation is sparse and suffused by the Romance speech of the incoming conquerors, there was no sign until the early fifteenth century that Arabic was in real danger of being replaced by Castilian there or in Nasrid Granada (i.e., the line of kings, 1232–1492, descended from Yusuf ibn Nasr).

The multilingual nature of al-Andalus cannot by itself explain the host of Arabisms taken into Ibero-Romance, since the forms of Romance spoken bilingually with Arabic in Islamic Iberia (e.g., the Mozarabic dialects of Spain) were not forms of Portuguese, Castilian, or Catalan, but rather independent descendents of spoken Latin that became extinct in the later Middle Ages. Two important factors that motivated the substantial borrowing of Arabic words across Ibero-Romance are the need for names applicable to new concepts that reached north from al-Andalus and the high cultural prestige associated with Arabic in the early Middle Ages.

A very high percentage of Arabisms in Ibero-Romance are nouns. Lapesa’s enthusiastic count of some four thousand Arabisms in Castilian has been reduced to around nine hundred (with derived forms accounting for the apparent total of four thousand. A comparable number is cited for Portuguese; Machado claims exactly 954 Arabisms. For Catalan, Badia and Moll give estimates of around two hundred borrowings. In his book-length study of four hundred Arabisms in Ibero-Romance and Italian, Kieler (1994) found eighty direct borrowings common to Portuguese, Castilian, and Catalan. The following semantic fields show examples of particularly frequent borrowings across Ibero-Romance: (1) plant life: in Portuguese, albroco; in Castilian, albroco; in Catalan, alberce (all meaning apricot); alfarroba; in Castilian, algarroba; in Catalan, garrofa (all meaning carob bean); in Portuguese limão; in Castilian, limón; in Catalan, limona (all meaning lemon); (2) food preparations and seasonings: in Portuguese and Castilian, escabeche (meaning pickling brine); in Catalan, escabetx (meaning vinegar and oil sauce); in Portuguese and Catalan, alcaravia (more commonly in Catalan, comit); in Castilian, alcaravea (meaning caraway seeds); in Portuguese, açúcar; in Castilian, azúcar; in Catalan, sucre (all meaning sugar); (3) agriculture: in Portu-
guese, alcaria; Castilian, alqueria; in Catalan, alqueria (all meaning farmstead); in Portuguese, adua (meaning common irrigation water); in Castilian and Catalan, dula (meaning common pasture); in Portuguese, acéquio, acéquia (meaning irrigation ditch); (4) social organization: in Portuguese, barrio; in Castilian, barrio; in Catalan, barri (all meaning district, neighborhood); in Portuguese, alfama (meaning Jewish quarter); in Castilian, aljama (meaning gathering, quarter); and in Catalan, aljama (meaning Jewish or Arab quarter): in Castilian, arrabal (meaning poor neighborhood); (in Portuguese, arrabalde; and Catalan, raval (both meaning suburb); (5) in armed forces and weapons: in Portuguese, adail (meaning commander); in Castilian, adal (meaning champion); in Catalan, adal (meaning captain, guide); in Portuguese and Castilian, aljava; in Castilian, aljaba (all meaning quiver); in Portuguese and Castilian, almenara; in Catalan, alinara (meaning beacon, signal fire); (6) mathematics and measurements: in Portuguese and Castilian, cifra; in Catalan, xifra (meaning figure, cipher); in Portuguese, fânegua; Castilian, fanega; in Catalan, faneca (all meaning dry measurement [1.58 bushels]); in Portuguese, Castilian, and Catalan, nadir (all meaning nadir, lowest point).

Like many lexical borrowings, these Arabisms were rephonicized to meet the requirements of the various Ibero-Romance sound systems. Lloyd gives two good examples from Old Spanish: (1) the group of Arabic back fricatives—pharyngeal/h/, glottal/h/, and dorsovelar /x/ /x/—came into Old Spanish as labiodental fricative /f/; for example, ḥatta (in Old Spanish, fata, meaning until), al-hadiya (in Old Spanish, alfadía, meaning bribe) al-xumra (in Old Spanish, alfombra, meaning carpet); (2) a few Arabic words beginning with voiceless palatal hushed fricative /ʃ/ /ʃ/ constitute a minor source for the same sibilant in Old Spanish, for example, šah (in Old Spanish, xaque, meaning king [in chess]) sarab (in Old Spanish, xarabe, meaning syrup). Note that these are not examples of Arabic phonemic interference in Romance—no Arabic phonemes were taken wholesale into Ibero-Romance—but rather of how Old Spanish, in these examples, used its existing sound inventory to render foreign sounds in loan words.

Arabic nouns are normally presented with the article al-, regardless of number and gender; this element has generally been incorporated into the lexeme across Ibero-Romance without the determiner value. The article appears less frequently in Catalan than in Castilian and Portuguese, for example, in Portuguese, algodão, in Castilian, algodón; in Catalan, cotó, (all meaning cotton); in Portuguese, and Castilian, albacora; in Catalan, bacora (meaning albacore, tuna). The Arabic relative adjective or nisba suffix /-i/ was also borrowed by Castilian, especially for proper substantives related to Islam and Arabs, for example, in Castilian, marroquí (Moroccan), irani (Iranian), pakistani (Pakistani) but in Portuguese, marroquiano, iraniano, paquistanense, and in Catalan, marroquí (corresponding to the Castilian marroquino), iranià, pakistanès. Finally, the Arabic patronymic ibn was reanalyzed as prefix ben- in the formation of family names such as Benavides and Benígómez.

As for syntactic influences and semantic calques, Corriente (Jayussi 1994, 445–46) rejects widely accepted claims of Arabic influence in paronomastic expressions such as burla burlando (to get something unintentionally) and cala callando (to get something without making a fuss or being noticed), and in the semantic calques infante (son of the king), via Arabic, walad (child, son of the king) and hidalgo (noble), in Portuguese and Old Spanish, fidalg, via Arabic, ibn ad-dunya (son of wealth).


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ARAGÓN, CROWN OF

The Crown of Aragón was a dynastic union of Aragón and the county of Barcelona dating from the betrothal of Petronilla of Aragón and Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona in 1137. Their marriage took place in 1150, their son Alfonso was the first of their descendants to assume the title of king, and their dynasty ruled Aragón, Catalonia, and other lands added to the original nucleus until 1410. The term Crown of Aragón, however, dated only from the later Middle Ages. The union remained personal. The ruler was king in Aragón and count in Barcelona, an arrangement not without risk for the Catalans. But little attention was paid at first to constitutional niceties. Records of fiscal administration in Catalonia show that the ruler was “lord king” there, and not simply count, in the later twelfth century. But it is an even more striking fact that the early monarchs and their courtiers held tenaciously to the joint vision of Petronilla and her husband. The court of Alfonso II included Aragónese and Catalan barons and clerks and the earliest conjoint assemblies of the two (or more) realms, ancestors of the cortes (parliament) of the Crown of Aragón, date from the second half of the twelfth century. In most respects, however, and most notably in the sphere of law and privilege, the monarchs were obliged to treat their peoples distinctly. Hence it is customary to speak of them as “count kings.”

Under the early count-kings (Ramón Berenguer IV, 1131–1162, whose title was “prince” in Aragón; Alfonso II, 1162–1196; and Pedro II, 1196–1213) the union worked well. Neither Aragón nor Catalonia was neglected, both societies prospered and matured, and joint lordship promoted the expansive ambitions that fired later ages of conquest. Ramón Berenguer IV was the dynasty’s first great conqueror. He opened up the frontiers of Catalonia and Aragón for Christian resettlement at the expense of the Moors, annexed Tortosa and Lérida (1148–1149), and encouraged ecclesiastical initiatives. The military Order of the Hospital and Temple were endowed in local commanderies, especially in frontier lands; Cistercian monks established their more austere form of the Benedictine Rule at Poblet and Santes Creus (1150–1153) in Catalonia and later at Veruela and (for nuns) Casbas in Aragón; while the archbishopric of Tarragona was reestablished (1154) with jurisdiction over the sees in both lands. Lay and religious lords encouraged immigration by granting liberal terms of settlements. The later twelfth century was a time of sustained demographic and economic growth and prosperity. There was movement toward frontier lands from the old uplands of Aragón and Catalonia, but settlers came also from north of the Pyrenees and even from England.

Under Alfonso II something of the expansionist fervor was lost. This ruler’s marriage to Sancho of Castile confirmed the vision of a Christian Iberian Peninsula dominated by the two most advantaged crowns. Old understandings with Castile over prospective spheres of Muslim conquest were adjusted in favor of Aragón in the Treaties of Cazorla (1179). Valencia was to be Aragón’s, a designation made just when this Moorish realm seemed an inviting prey. But Alfonso, a cultivated man with interests in southern France, had been brought up to distrust the barons and knights whose harsh lordships, especially in Catalonia, had been a cause of complaint for several decades. His programmatic effort to pacify his lands could only have succeeded if he had satisfied baronial demands for the spoils of aggressive conquest. Lacking the military of his father, Alfonso let pass the opportunity and it was characteristic that when in 1195 he responded to the threat posed by the Muslim victory at Alarcos it was in somewhat pretentious hopes of leading an all-peninsular crusade. Everywhere interests (they can hardly be called “policies”) were more dynastic than territorial. Alliance with the Castilians and Angevins was deployed chiefly in southern France against the perceived threat of an expansionist Capetian monarchy allied with the count of Toulouse. But there was nothing imperialistic about Catalan-Aragonese interests across the Pyrenees. Provence might have remained under a cadet branch of the dynasty had Ramón Berenguer III not been killed (1166) without leaving a male heir; when the boy-king’s advisers seized Provence, an old conflict between Barcelona and Toulouse was renewed. At the came of age Alfonso had to cultivate new allies in Béarn, Bigorre, and Foix to offset the disaffection of his old vassals in lower Occitania; but when the viscount Roger II of Béziers, having become vulnerable to the church’s campaign against heretics, upset the Toulousan hegemony by commending himself to Alfonso, the count-king’s influence in Occitania achieved its maximum success.

Pedro II (Pere I in Catalonia) succeeded his father in Aragón and Catalonia as well as in most of the Occitania suzerainties; his brother inherited Provence, Mil-lau, and Razès. But while the concept of a solely penin-sular union thus survived intact, Pedro was to be at once more ambitious and less successful across the Pyrenees than his father had been. He defied tradition by allying with Raymond VI of Toulouse, married the heiress María of Montpellier in 1204, and then had himself crowned at Rome by Pope Innocent III, to
whom he engaged to pay a tribute of submission. The latter event was staged to enhance the count-king’s prestige among Christian monarchs. It led Pedro’s spectacular role in the united crusading army that crushed the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. But the Aragonese-papal entente failed badly during the Albigensian crisis. Pedro tried to mediate, then worked to secure hegemony over the meridional lords opposed to the crusaders of Simon de Montfort. All these efforts collapsed in the Battle of Muret (12 September 1213). Pedro was killed and his suzerainties over Béziers, and Toulouse destroyed.

Historians have sometimes exaggerated the import of this disaster. In reality, the trans-Pyrenean lands had never formed part of the dynastic patrimony, which remained intact, so that disgruntled barons who remembered Ramón Berenguer IV may have been more relieved than upset when the Pyrenean distraction was removed. The child king, nurtured in a regency representing the pope, the Templars, and Aragonese and Catalan notables, learned early what power he had to gain by renewing the anti-Moorish conquest. Hardened by setbacks and factional opposition, Jaime I (1213–1276) led a well-financed and popular expedition against Mallorca in 1229. Catalans dominated in the conquest and resettlement, but townsmen of Italy and Provence joined in what was labeled a “crusade” and shared in the spoils. Gaining annulment of his mar-
riage to Eleanor of Castile in 1229, Jaime waited until 1235 to marry Iolanda of Hungary with papal approval. Meanwhile, impatient Aragônes barons had forced the king’s hand in Valencia, seizing Morella in 1232. A more urgent (and dangerous) motive for the Valencian conquest arose from the king’s engagement to cede the Balearic Islands and Valencia to the sons of his second marriage.

The conquest of Valencia, projected in cortes at Monzón (1236), was achieved relentlessly in 1237–1238. The Moors were permitted to depart in peace, a guarantee made uneasy by Aragônes hopes for loot. The custom of Aragón had prevailed in charters granted in the early phases of conquest, but settlers from Aragón were far outnumbered by Catalans thereafter; and toward 1239 the king ordered a new territorial custom drawn up for Valencia (the Furs), eclectic and Romanist, first published in Latin and then (1261) in Catalan. Settlers coming chiefly from the plains of Lérida and Urgell remained the minority in a predominantly Mudéjar population. The conquest was virtually completed with the captures of Játiva (1244) and Biar (1245).

With the annexations of Mallorca and Valencia, Jaime I fulfilled the purpose of his forefathers. He had dramatically enlarged the Crown of Aragón in God’s service. But he was no political expansionist, as his later conquest of Murcia on behalf of Castile (1266) was to prove; nor had any public concern for administrative unity overtaken the conception of the royal inheritance as a proprietary condominium. If he reserved the patrimonial realms for his firstborn, Alfonso, when he provided for his second son, Pedro (1241), Jaime seriously proposed, in a second partition occasioned by the birth of a third son (1243), to separate Aragón and Catalonia. This scheme reflected the king’s estrangement from Alfonso, whose Castilian sympathies grew stronger as his ambitions were thwarted.

The conqueror’s success in Spain was countered by setbacks in southern France. Dynastic hopes were dashed by the failure of the counts of Toulouse and Provence to bear male heirs, for the sons of Jaime I were too closely related to the heiresses to compete for their hands with Capetian princes. Despite urgent negotiations to prevent it, Jaime saw Provence pass to Charles of Anjou (1246) and Toulouse to Alphonse of Poitiers (1249). But while some lament was heard for the passing of native dynasties in the Midi, notably from the troubadours, there is no sign that the conqueror viewed the king of France as other than a fellow crusader. With the Treaty of Corbeil (1258) Jaime renounced all his rights in Occitania, save that over Montpellier, while Louis IX gave up his claim to counties of the former Spanish March. To complete the political reversal, which recognized Capetian expansion almost to the Pyrenees, Jaime engaged his daughter Isabel to Philip, the heir to France. On the other hand, his son Pedro’s marriage to Constanza of Hohenstaufen was to open up a new prospect of Mediterranean expansion at the cost of renewed hostility with France.

Like his predecessors, Jaime found it harder to rule in peace than in war. Thought by the Aragônes to favor Catalonia and by the Catalans to favor Castile, he spent his later years negotiating, organizing, and commemorating. No medieval king revealed himself so well to posterity; his Book of Deeds celebrated Jaime’s peoples as well as himself in the glow of their most durable triumphs. The reign was marked by continued institutional growth. Registers of administrative correspondence were inaugurated while new forms of elite delegations pointed the way to the vice regencies of later times. The cortes, becoming an instrument of political influence in Aragón and Catalonia—and occasionally representing both lands, as in 1236—were instituted also in Valencia. Local administration and law were renovated, while religious life drew new sustenance from the spread of Franciscan and Dominican friars.

Pedro III (1276–1285) succeeded his father, as a grown and tried ruler. In dominating early rebellions and seizing dynastic opportunities, he achieved stunning triumphs while misunderstanding the political costs. He tried to neutralize Castile and France by seizing the Infantes de la Cerda, the disinheriteds grandsons of Alfonso X and the sons of Blanche of France. He arranged a truce with Granada and renewed a protectorate over Tunis. His Sicilian ambitions became clear when he prepared fleets for service on the Tunisian coasts in 1281 and 1282; his court had long harbored Hohenstaufen dissidents. When the Sicilians rose against the Angevins (30 March 1282), Pedro readied himself for their call and landed at Trapani to a warm welcome five months later. Having received the Sicilians’ fealty and confirmed their privileges, he drove the Angevin fleet from Calabrian waters.

Never had a realm been so easily annexed to the Crown of Aragón. But it meant war on all fronts: against Charles of Anjou, who first challenged Pedro to single combat (with comically inconsequential results) and then proceeded to orchestrate a papal-Capetian crusade against Aragón; and against the estates of Aragón and Catalonia, which protested that they had not been consulted about the Sicilian business and that they were being taxed unlawfully. In stormy sessions with the Aragônes, Pedro was finally obliged to confirm a comprehensive definition of their privileges (October 1283). Thus originated the “Union” of Aragón, which was to be a constitutional force for decades
followed by Enrique of Trastámara proved worthy ad-
his match in Castile, however, where Pedro the Cruel
1323–1324. 
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Pedro III had won Sicily and pacified and de-
defended his realm, but he had fundamentally altered the
constitution by conceding baronial and municipal au-
tonomy while allowing the power of the estates to be
institutionalized. And it remained to be seen whether
the Aragónese could be reconciled to an expansionist
regime partial to Catalanian interests and whether Sic-
ily could be secured against Angevins, Capetians, and
popes.

These problems clouded the reigns of Alfonso III
(1285–1291), Jaime II (1291–1327), and Alfonso IV
(1327–1326). Alfonso III inherited all the realms ex-
cept Sicily, which passed to his brother Jaime who in
turn gave it as a lieutenancy to his younger brother
Frederick when he (Jaime) succeeded in the main line
in 1291. Settlement with France on terms of an event-
ual recovery of Sicily by the (Angevin) house of Na-
ples was reached in 1302 but never effected. Jaime II
acted with both energy and caution on all his frontiers,
extending Catalan influence throughout the Mediterra-
anean, and presiding over general prosperity and
growth. In 1302 Catalan mercenaries idled by the end
of the Sicilian wars agreed to aid the Byzantine em-
peror against the Turks in return for concessions that
led to their settlement in Greece. After 1311 the Catalan
duchies of Athens and Neopatria became depend-
ent on Sicily with the customs of Catalonia; but these
colonies were never more than a precarious outpost of
the Crown of Aragón (1311–1388). As for Sardinia,
which had been ceded by the pope in 1297 in compen-
sation for the renunciation of Sicily, Jaime II entrusted
its conquest to his son Alfonso, who carried it out in
1323–1324.

The Crown of Aragón attained its apogee as a
federative state during the long reign of Pedro IV (Pere
III in Catalonia, 1336–1387). He reintegrated Mallorca
in the dynastic polity and imposed himself on the Ara-
gónese by force, effectively undoing the union. He met
his match in Castile, however, where Pedro the Cruel
followed by Enrique of Trastámara proved worthy ad-
versaries with superior resources. In 1375 Pedro IV
settled on terms of the territorial integrity of Aragón
while ceding his claims to Molina and Murcia. In a

ARAGÓN, CROWN OF

Thereafter; the office of Justicia, with power to mediate
between the king and the Aragónese, dates also from
this time. A similar settlement with the Catalans was
reached in a great cortes of Barcelona in December
1283. But the hurt ran deep as war loomed with France.
When Philip III invaded through the eastern Pyrenees
in 1285, Pedro had difficulty mobilizing the defensive
and naval forces, which prevailed to drive out the
French (October 1285). Within weeks all the protago-
nists—Philip III, Charles of Anjou, Pope Martin IV,
and Pedro himself—were dead.

Pedro III had won Sicily and pacified and de-
defended his realm, but he had fundamentally altered the
constitution by conceding baronial and municipal au-
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These problems clouded the reigns of Alfonso III
(1285–1291), Jaime II (1291–1327), and Alfonso IV
(1327–1326). Alfonso III inherited all the realms ex-
cept Sicily, which passed to his brother Jaime who in
turn gave it as a lieutenancy to his younger brother
Frederick when he (Jaime) succeeded in the main line
in 1291. Settlement with France on terms of an event-
ual recovery of Sicily by the (Angevin) house of Na-
ples was reached in 1302 but never effected. Jaime II
acted with both energy and caution on all his frontiers,
extending Catalan influence throughout the Mediterra-
anean, and presiding over general prosperity and
growth. In 1302 Catalan mercenaries idled by the end
of the Sicilian wars agreed to aid the Byzantine em-
peror against the Turks in return for concessions that
led to their settlement in Greece. After 1311 the Catalan
duchies of Athens and Neopatria became depend-
ent on Sicily with the customs of Catalonia; but these
colonies were never more than a precarious outpost of
the Crown of Aragón (1311–1388). As for Sardinia,
which had been ceded by the pope in 1297 in compen-
sation for the renunciation of Sicily, Jaime II entrusted
its conquest to his son Alfonso, who carried it out in
1323–1324.

The Crown of Aragón attained its apogee as a
federative state during the long reign of Pedro IV (Pere
III in Catalonia, 1336–1387). He reintegrated Mallorca
in the dynastic polity and imposed himself on the Ara-
gónese by force, effectively undoing the union. He met
his match in Castile, however, where Pedro the Cruel
followed by Enrique of Trastámara proved worthy ad-
versaries with superior resources. In 1375 Pedro IV
settled on terms of the territorial integrity of Aragón
while ceding his claims to Molina and Murcia. In a

further agreement of unforeseen importance, the In-
fanta Leonora of Aragón was betrothed to Juan of Tras-
támara.

These events confirmed the federation’s Medi-
erranean destiny, though it was not an easy one. Jaime IV
made a desperate attempt to recover his ousted father’s
title to Mallorca in 1374. Sardinia remained turbulent,
a prey to Genoese ambitions. The Sicilians for their part
had come to think of the Catalan dynasty as foreign. 
Pedro failed to persuade his son to marry the heiress to
Sicily, although she finally married the son of Pedro’s
second son, Martin, who in 1380 assumed viceregal
powers in Sicily. When in the same year the Catalan
duchies submitted to him, Pedro had achieved domina-
tion of a vastly extended Crown of Aragón, but at high
cost, for the cortes of the old realms had wrung major
concessions to their autonomy for their grants of sub-
sidy. Moreover, the acquired lands remained restive: the
duchies in Greece were lost in 1388, and Pedro’s sons
Juan I (1387–1395) and Martín I (1395–1410) were se-
verely challenged in Mallorca, Sardinia, and Sicily.

Martin’s death without heirs in 1410 brought the
dynastic line to an end. Among contenders for the
crown, the favorite in Catalonia was Jaime of Urgell,
a direct descendant of Jaime II. But Jaime antagonized
the Aragónese, opening the way for the candidacy of
Fernando of Antequera, grandson of Pedro IV and
uncle of the king of Castile. In 1412 electors chosen
by parliaments in the peninsular realms met at Caspe
and decided in favor of Fernando. Jaime rebelled, but
was soon captured and imprisoned.

It was a fateful turning point, the dynastic ratifica-
tion of Castile’s demographic and military superiority.
Fernando and his sons ruling after him—Alfonso V
(Alfons IV in Catalonia), 1416–1458, and Juan II,
1458–1479—were Castilians in real and constant dan-
ger of losing touch with their subjects. Meeting resis-
tence in Catalonia and Aragón, Alfonso V clung to
power in Sicily and Sardinia and aspired to the succes-
sion in Naples, which he conquered only after years of
negotiations and fighting in 1443. There he remained,
leaving Catalonia to be ruled by his wife and other
realms by viceroys. Seeking to create in Naples a dy-
nastic preserve for his illegitimate son Fernando, Al-
fonso made some effort to revive Hohenstaufen admin-
istrative efficiency while patronizing literature, music,
and theology and drawing heavily on revenues from
Sicily and Catalonia.

Hopes for the best gave way to despair in the pen-
insula. Aragón bore the financial brunt of Prince Juan’s
self-serving yet futile conflicts in Castile. Mallorca
was set back by renewed war with Genoa and agrarian
disorder. Only Valencia seemed relatively free of the
social unrest and economic dislocation that afflicted the other realms, Catalonia above all. Lacking firm direction, the cortes had fallen prey to searing antagonisms among the estates themselves and against royal agents trying to recover alienated patrimony. King Alfonso began by siding with the old aristocracy, but as their financial support dwindled he revived an old royal program of agrarian reform. This was to aggravate a smoldering conflict between landlords and peasants in Old Catalonia, where one of the most repressive modes of lordship in western Europe had survived. Moreover, royal efforts to undermine patrician dominations in the towns caused trouble from the 1440s, especially in Barcelona, where a party of “honored citizens” (the Biga) was opposed by merchants and artisans. (Existing tensions worsened under Juan II, whose insensitivity to all, including his popular son Prince Carlos, precipitated a revolt of the remença peasants. The Council of Catalonia raised an army to put down the rising, while Queen Juana tried to impose a settlement on the peasants and then allied with their leader. Meanwhile, the king’s pledge of Roussillon and Cerdaña to Louis XI in return for French intervention fired a resurgence of antiroyalist patriotism. But the Catalan cause so-called failed to elicit much response in the other realms, and its desperate bids to replace Juan with foreign rulers miscarried. In the end Juan prevailed through patient efforts. Girona and Barcelona returned to his fidelity in 1472, and the king confirmed Catalan privileges. But the remença conflict continued, as did disorders in Aragón, Valencia, and Sardinia. Juan’s son Fernando, having married Isabel of Castile in 1469, became king consort in Castile in 1474 and succeeded his father in the Crown of Aragón in 1479. The old dream of Hispanic hegemony was realized at last—in favor of a Castilian dynasty.

The Crown of Aragón had been an administrative state since the thirteenth century. It was not really an empire, nor were its institutions generated from some preconceived ideal of dynastic expansion. The viceroyalties and procuratorships of the later Middle Ages were descended from delegations of Provence in the twelfth century; they remained patrimonial lordships as well as offices to the end. Moreover, the insistence on privilege in each of the realms impeded the development of pan-regnal administration, although in various ways Jaime II, Pedro IV, and their successors promoted a community of interest. Federative impulses, such as the founding of a university at Lérida (1300) or the declaration that the realms be indivisible (1319), had little meaning outside the original nucleus of Aragón and Catalonia. The strength of the union, such as it was, lay in Catalonia’s mercantile and maritime energies, with Aragón and Sicily cast in the role of agrarian suppliers. But the federation was vulnerable to social, technological, and demographic constraints. Everywhere the multiplied working masses were forced into harsh and resented dependencies, while communications, investment, and banking lagged behind real needs. Moreover, the peninsular realms lacked sufficient populations to compete with Castile in the long term. Totaling perhaps 1,500,000 people before the Black Death, Catalonia, Aragón, and Valencia struggled to rebuild even as their rulers pretended to lordships stretching from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. The federation’s culture remained primarily Catalan. Whatever its limitations, the Crown of Aragón was one of the most durable dynastic polities of the Middle Ages. It was a major factor in Mediterranean history.

Thomas N. Bisson

Bibliography


ARAGÓN, CROWN OF See ARAGÓN, CROWN OF

ARAGONESE LANGUAGE

The county (later, kingdom) of Aragón originated in areas close to the Pyrenees Mountains, separating modern France and Spain, taking its name from the river Aragón. It was formed by the union of three counties: Aragón, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorza. The movement of colonists to the plains to the south led to the conquest of the Moorish city of Zaragoza in 1118, and eventually included Catalonia (1137) and other areas to the south such as Teruel, Valencia, Alicante, and the Balearic island Mallorca (in the thirteenth century).

The Ibero-Romance dialect of these areas reflects the position of Aragón between Catalonia to the east and Castile to the west. Castile came to exert an especially powerful influence, as its dialect began to im-
pose itself as the standard language of the kingdom of Castile and León. The distinctive phonetic features of Castilian came to be considered standard and tended to overwhelm local features relegated to more isolated rural regions.

Aragonese shares with Castilian, Leonese, and the Mozarabic dialects of the south the diphthongization of Late Latin e and o in all tonic syllables, regardless of phonetic circumstances. Although the e for the most part gave the same result as in Castilian—namely, ie as in tiempo (“time,” from tempus) or mel (“honey,” from mele)—there was considerable fluctuation in the phonetic result, especially in the earliest years, with forms like ia also being found, as in hierba (“grass,” from herba) and diente (“tooth,” from dente), in a limited area. Similar fluctuations appear in the form of the diphthong from o: fuoro (“municipal statute,” from foru) vs. cuanto (“neck,” from collu), buano (“good,” from bonu), and uc: pueio (“hill,” from podui). The result, ua, is much more widespread than ia.

Diphthongization also is found before the yod, unlike Castilian, which maintains a single vowel, as in fuella (“leaf,” from folia), tiengo (“I have,” from teneo; cf. Cast. hoja, tengo). The final -e was frequently lost, as in Old Castilian: fuert (“fountain,” from fonte); the final -e also tended to be lost, especially in the most mountainous areas and in eastern Aragonese, in consonance with this same feature in Catalan: blan (“soft, smooth,” from blandus).

As for consonants, upper Aragonese retained the initial f-, in sharp contrast with its loss in the more southern dialects under the influence of Castilian: fugir (“to flee,” from fugere) and fambre (“hunger,” from famen). The initial palatal fricative of Late Latin was kept as a hushing fricative, as in most of western Romance languages (excepting against Old Castilian): germanos (“brothers,” from germanus), and geitat (“he throws,” from jactat [z-]). Initial groups of consonant-plus-lateral are also retained: plorar (“to weep,” from plorare), clamar (“to call,” from clamare), and flama (“flame,” from flamma). The palatal lateral of Late Latin (resulting from the yod) was generally retained: güello (“eye,” from oc[u]lu, and viello (“old,” from vet[u]lu [bek’lu]).

One of the most notable features of upper Aragonese phonetic development was the preservation of the intervocalic voiceless stops, which in almost all other dialects of western Romance became voiced: arripa (“bank of a stream,” from ripa), cuta (“sharp,” from acuta), and pacio (“obscure,” from opacu). The voiced intervocalic stops likewise tended to be preserved, in contrast with Castilian, where they were frequently lost, especially in contact with front vowels.

Various explanations have been sought for this preservation, including the possible influence of Basque, but it seems more likely that it is simply a reflection of the isolated nature of upper Aragonese that escaped this particular phonetic innovation of late western Latin/Romance. Another distinctive feature of Aragonese was the voicing of voiceless stops after liquids and nasals: planda (“plant,” from planta), cambo (“field,” from campu), aldo (“all,” from altu), ordiga (“thistle,” from urtica), and bango (“bench,” from the Germanic bank). Directly related to the preceding change were assimilations of voiced stops to preceding liquids and nasals: amos (“both,” from ambos; likewise found in Castilian), forno (“base, depths,” from fundu), and retuno (toponym, “round,” from rotunda). Menéndez Pidal’s theory attributing the preceding changes to the Latin brought by speakers from southern Italy who also spoke Oscan is well known but has been questioned.

One other distinctive feature of some Aragonese dialects is the occlusive pronunciation of the Latin l: as either t, ts, or c; for example: (bielsa) beteico (“calf,” from vitellu), estibieco (toponym, lanuza, “summer pasturage,” from aestivella), and many other toponyms. This change recalls similar occlusive pronunciations of the geminate l: in Gascon, as well as that found in some Sardinian and south Italian dialects. Loss of final vowels allowed for the existence of words ending in consonants and consonant groups that are characteristic of Catalan (and also during some centuries, Old Castilian): -nt as in fuert (“fountain,” from fonte), and especially in the formation of plurals: labradors (“peasants”), cochins (“pigs”), and arbols (“trees”).

In morphology the forms of the masculine definite article are lo and o, as well as forms reflecting the geminate lateral l: of earlier Latin: ro and ra, similar to the Gascon form ero and in some isolated areas es from ipse, used as a plural, as in es arbrés (“the trees”). All compete with the Castilian el. Some adjectives tend to adopt the marked feminine ending -a, where other western Romance languages preserve the Latin third-declension common masculine/feminine ending: berda (“green,” from viridem), dolienta (“suffering, aching,” from dolentem), jovena (“young,” from iuvenem), and granda (“large,” from grandem). In verb morphology, the preservation of intervocalic voiced consonants left the -er and -ir conjugations with the -b- of the Latin imperfect are found, and a first- and third-person plural form based on the third singular: -omos, ón. The -er and -ir conjugations had a perfect in -ié: vendíe vendíés, vendié, and so on.

In word formation, -az(o) appears as an augmentative more than in standard Castilian: inocentaz, pobraz,
narizaza ("big nose"). The diminutive suffix -ico is often thought to be especially characteristic of Aragonese, although it is found all over the Iberian peninsula: jovencico ("young [one]”).

Written sources of medieval Aragonese, in addition to Tomás’s Documentos, are found in editions like Tilander’s Fueros de Aragón (1937) and Cooper’s Liber regum (1960).

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Bibliography

ARCHEOLOGY
Spanish medieval archeology as practiced in the 1930s and 1940s was politically conservative and designed in general to corroborate pan-Germanist hypotheses demonstrating medieval Iberian culture’s linkages to a Germanic cultural zone. As in the rest of Europe, some work was done on ecclesiastical buildings and castles, mainly from the standpoint of artistic styles and motifs. Gómez-Moreno’s study of Mozarabic churches (1919) is a model of the latter, though as much architectural as archeological in character. On the Islamic side, the journal Al-Andalus, from its inception in 1932, featured an archeological section conducted mainly by Leopoldo Torres Balbás and centered primarily on urban architecture and artifacts. During the 1930s, Torres was conservator of the Alhambra. Pan-Germanism was pushed during the Franco period, as was an abortive attempt to create a “Christian archeology.”

In the late 1970s, under the stimulus of Pierre Toubert’s 1978 Rome meeting on incastellamento, the process whereby in the early years of feudalism the landscape was reorganized in much of western Europe into “castral units” linking castle with dependent villages, a wave of extensive archeology ensued, mainly in Aragón, Valencia, Mallorca, and areas of Almería and Granada, broadly under the direction of archeologists and historians associated with the Casa de Velázquez. Extensive archeology consists mainly of broad-scale field surveys and site inspection, with only surface collection of ceramic remains. The key workers here were Pierre Guichard, André Bazzana, and Rafael Azuar working in the Valencian region; Patrice Cressier and Maryelle Bertrand in Almería; Antonio Malpica in Granada; and Philippe Sénac and Carlos Esco in Aragón. The picture of rural life in al-Andalus that emerged was a countryside organized in complexes of castles (husun; singular, hisn) and villages (qura; singular, qarya; in Spanish, alquería), the latter organized tribally, at least at the time of their initial settlement, and typically practicing irrigation agriculture. Clan settlement of villages explains the plethora of current and disappeared villages beginning with the particle Beni- “sons of,” as in Benigazló, from the Nafza Berber Ghazlun clan or Benisanó from the Hawwara Berber Zannun clan, both in the province of Valencia. In addition to villages, castral units included private parcels called rahals, owned typically by persons who had held high state office.

In general, the husun were not permanently garrisoned but served as refuges for the villages and their beasts in times of insecurity. At such times, the state would dispatch a qa’id (captain) to oversee the castle, to the see to make sure that it was provisioned with wood and water (which appears to have been a peasant obligation), or else to collect taxes owed the state. That is, the model does not envision a feudalized castle, with a permanent garrison and castellan whose role is to control the peasantry.

The irrigation element has been studied by Cressier in the Sierra de Filabres and by Miquel Barceló and members of his group at the Autonomous University of Barcelona working at sites in Mallorca, Albacete, Andalusia, and Castellón de la Plana. In Mallorca and Albacete they found long canal systems broken down into segments, each terminating with a mill; it is supposed that each segment represents an original clan settlement unit. Barceló’s hypothesis that Andalusian mills, typically terminate hydraulic systems in which the systems are secondary to irrigation can be contrasted with Catalan feudal mills heading systems. The idea that the latter in irrigation is an afterthought has both generated controversy and drawn attention to the hydraulic structuring of castral units. Barceló’s team has also studied the distribution and use of small-scale qanats, or filtration galleries, particularly in Mallorca, where they were built by peasants using common technology.

A third team, headed by Karl Butzer and Joan Mateu, studied irrigation agriculture (but not in conjunction with castral units) in the Sierra de Espadán, Castellón. Butzer types irrigation systems by scale: macrosystems corresponding to the great periurban
The study of pottery, in particular, by Juan Zozaya and Sonia Gutiérrez has allowed archeologists to define a paleo-Andalusi period extending from the Islamic conquest into the early tenth century and characterized by the persistence of late Roman pottery forms and ceramic techniques. This repertory is unglazed, typically made on turntables rather than kickwheels, and was limited to a few standard cookwares such as the olla and the marmita. Zozaya extends the concept of paleo-Andalusi culture to include such phenomena as the sharing of cemeteries and churches by Muslims and Christians, bilingual coinage, and certain architectural features; while Gutiérrez, Azuar, and Mateu have described early irrigation development in littoral marshes of the Lower Segura River basin dating to the eighth century, anteceding the development of the high medieval huertas.

On the Christian side some incastellamento studies have been carried out for Catalonia, and a great many ceramic studies document the diffusion and decline of Catalan greywares. Manuel Riu in particular has described this industry and its primitive firing techniques. Later, with the conquest of Valencia, the narrow roster of wares traditionally used by Catalans was vastly increased owing to contact with Mudéjar potters.

The Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval, founded in 1985, edits a journal (Boletín) and holds biennial meetings with published acts.

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Bibliography

ARCHITECTURE

Civil Architecture

Civil architecture includes both public and private buildings whose functions were not primarily related to religious life. Houses and palaces; government, commercial, and recreational buildings; as well as baths, hospital, and bridges, are among the numerous examples of civil architecture in medieval Iberia.

While substantial remains of Roman public and domestic architecture exist in Iberian cities like Mérida, evidence of civil structures from the earlier Middle Ages is scant. In some cases Roman civil structures were maintained during the Middle Ages, a good example being the so-called Alcántara bridge across the Tagus River at Toledo, which was rebuilt by the Muslims during the tenth century. The later St. Martin bridge in the city is an entirely thirteenth-century construction, built during the reign of Alfonso X and utilizing a series of pointed arches. Christian settlers in newly reconquered towns like Zaragoza (1118) or Cuenca (1177) acquired the formerly Muslim baths in those cities, and in Girona the Muslim baths were rebuilt using stone and date to the later thirteenth century.

The most prevalent form of civil architecture in medieval Iberia is the noble residence, whose primary development took place in urban settings beginning in the twelfth century. An example from the earlier Middle Ages is the two-story rectangular structure now known as Srenta, María de Naranco outside Oviedo, sometimes identified as the palace of Ramiro I (842–850). The upper story of this building is a barrel-vaulted rectangular room with carved capitals and porches extending on either side and an exterior staircase leading to the ground level below.

Though defensive elements occasionally remain a feature of the design (such as the towers in the early-thirteenth-century La Zuda Palace in Lérida), the noble residence is not primarily a military structure. A well-known twelfth-century example is the so-called Palace of the Dukes of Granada in Estella (Navarre). The ground level has a porticoed facade while the first story is pierced by a series of narrow, arched windows separated by thin colonnettes. In addition to the porticoed type, plain facades opened only by a single arched doorway are also a common design for the noble residence. This type is repeatedly illustrated in thirteenth-century miniatures of the Cantigas of Alfonso X, while an extant example exists in Tárrega (Lérida). The persistence of this design can be noted in the early-sixteenth-century Palacio de Ovando Solís in Cáceres, which also retains a fortified tower and machicolations above the entrance.
The majority of urban palaces date from the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The palace at Torredessillas (León) was built for Alfonso XI beginning in 1340 and its Islamic-inspired exterior and interior decoration is entirely the work of Mudéjar craftsmen. Examples of later medieval noble houses survive in a number of Iberian towns including Cáceres, Avila, Salamanca, and Santiago de Compostela.

Many noble houses were designed around an interior patio surrounded by an arcade or first-story gallery. Fourteenth-century examples are preserved at Torredessillas and the Episcopal Palace at Tortosa. Royal palaces also often contained larger meeting or assembly rooms (salones). One of the earliest preserved is located in the Episcopal Palace at Santiago de Compostela (mostly from the thirteenth century), consisting of a narrow rectangular space (31.9 by 8.3 meters) covered with low ribbed groin vaults springing from engaged piers on the lateral walls. Later examples include the much larger “Tinell” salon in the Episcopal Palace in Barcelona (1359–1370). This salon measures 33.7 by 17 meters and consists of a series of six grand transverse arches supporting a wooden roof. In other palaces interior columns or piers divided the space into a series of vaulted compartments, as seen in the ruins of the thirteenth-century palace at the monastery of Carcecedo, built for the sons of Alfonso IX. The construction techniques used for royal salones and patios are similar to those that appear earlier in chapter houses, refectories, cloisters, and dormitories associated with monastery and cathedral complexes.

Other forms of civil architecture in the later Middle Ages demanded large and open interior spaces. Economic and urban expansion in Catalonia during the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries produced a number of novel administrative and commercial buildings. The Salon of the Council of the One Hundred in Barcelona was built toward the end of the fourteenth century to accommodate the assemblies of this municipal institution, which had previously met in local monasteries. The wooden ceiling of the rectangular salon is supported by a series of transverse arches and the lateral walls are pierced with round windows embellished with tracery. The facade, dated at 1400–1402, follows the basic exterior form of the noble residence, but features smooth stonework and more elaborate and delicately carved Gothic ornament around the doorway and first-story windows.

The mercantile exchanges (lonjas) built in Catalonia were tall columned structures enclosing vast interior spaces. The Lonja in Barcelona dates to the second half of the fourteenth century. Its salon is a large rectangle measuring 33 by 21 meters, divided into three aisles by two series of tall arcades carried on piers supporting a wooden roof.

While the existence of hospitals is documented throughout the Middle Ages in Iberia, the late-twelfth-century Hospital del Rey in Burgos (now demolished), founded by Alfonso VIII, is among the earliest examples of a structure built expressly for the purpose of caring for the infirm. Constructed along the lines of a basilica, with a tall central nave supported by octagonal piers, the entrance to this structure was from one of the lateral sides, with beds probably located in the aisles. Other cities along the pilgrimage roads also had facilities for the sick, housed in monasteries or private residences. Hospitals built in Santiago de Compostela (Hospital Real) and in Toledo (Hospital de Santa Cruz) at the end of the fifteenth century followed a cruciform plan.

Despite some neglect and decay, the legacy of civil architecture in Medieval Iberia provides the basis for significant insights into secular life beyond the scope of castle, church, and monastery. The extant types and individual examples, dating predominantly to the thirteenth century and later, remain a viable record of the residential, mercantile, municipal, and infrastructural concerns of the men and women of the Middle Ages.

**Ecclesiastical Architecture**

The planning and construction of religious buildings demanded a significant measure of the economic, intellectual, and technical resources of the Middle Ages. The medieval church functioned variously to commemorate sacred sites, provide a setting for the ritual of mass and the veneration of relics, serve as the focus of monastic life, accommodate large numbers of pilgrims, and provide assurance of salvation for those whose donations paid for their expense. The history of medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Spain demonstrates the strength and continuity of native building traditions as well as their transformation by the individuals, events, and circumstances that affected the whole of Iberian culture.

The dominant type of church in Iberia and throughout western Europe during the Middle Ages was the basilica, rectangular in shape and directional in its focus upon an altar. The altar was located within a square or semicircular apse that projected from this simple rectangular form. During the Middle Ages this basic plan was modified to include a transept perpendicular to the nave and located in front of the apse often projecting laterally to form a Latin Cross; aisles flanking the central hall or nave and separated from it by series of cylindrical columns or square piers sup-
porting arches; and an enlargement of the apse with additional chapels adjacent to it or radiating from a walkway (ambulatory) surrounding it. In addition to the dominant basilican plan, examples of equal-armed Greek Cross churches also exist, with central rather than longitudinal focus.

Most larger early medieval basilicas were timber roofed, but stone vaulting, especially in the apse or transept is not unknown even in earlier periods and becomes more general by the middle of the eleventh century. Basilican churches were also enriched through the construction of a gallery or triforium above the aisles and a more complex treatment of piers that occurs with the development of more intricate methods of vaulting.

The primary building material in ecclesiastical architecture is smoothly hewn stone, varied in color and texture depending upon region. Other materials include spolia (reused parts of Roman buildings), rubble and irregular stone for vaults (or interspersed with courses of cut stone), and brick, which occasionally appears above doorways and windows or is the dominant building material in some styles. Medieval churches were often embellished with relief sculpture or fresco decoration. Related buildings, particularly in a monastic setting, served varied aspects of religious life: these include cloisters, refectories, chapter houses, and dormitories.

Construction was often a protracted process, and the results are not always homogeneous: churches begun during one period were often completed or modified at a later time and under different circumstances. Wherever possible the dating of ecclesiastical buildings is made on the basis of documentary evidence in the form of inscriptions, charters, or chronicles, and relative chronologies are established on the basis of visual similarities with documented buildings; all dating is subject to revision stemming from the reexamination of documents and the uncertainty of later re-buildings and restorations. Also, the progression of styles generally used to designate medieval architecture is not always applied appropriately in Spain. Therefore the material is divided into periods corresponding to major events in Iberian Medieval history.

586–711: The Visigoths to the Muslim Invasion

From the period following the conversion of King Reccared to orthodoxy (589) until the Muslim invasions of 711, literary and archeological evidence reveal the existence of as many as sixty churches in the Iberian Peninsula, of which no fewer than six preserve substantial parts of their original construction. These survive mainly in areas north of the Duero River, but it is likely that important Visigothic churches also existed in major urban centers like Seville and Toledo.

The basilica is the most common plan adopted for churches of the sixth and seventh centuries, but there is great variety among individual monuments and examples of the Greek Cross plan also exist. The scale of these buildings is small, with few more than 25 or 30 meters in length. In some cases, such as that of Santa Comba de Bande, Orense, similarities have been noted with Late Roman buildings in Ravenna, such as the fifth-century Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. Also characteristic of Visigothic churches are the use of the horseshoe arch and the importance of relief sculpture in the form of capitals and friezes.

San Pedro de la Nave (late seventh century) is a well-preserved example located near Zamora. Although basilican in plan, it may best be described as a progression of longitudinal and square spaces with attention focused upon the tall groin-vaulted square tower near the center of the plan whose supporting piers are embellished with attached marble columns and carved capitals illustrating scenes from the Old Testament. San Pedro de la Nave is built of heavy blocks of stone, with brick and rubble used occasionally for vaults and the upper portions of walls. The interior tends to be dark with massive, solid walls and vaulted areas keeping direct illumination at a minimum.

Despite their modest size, the achievement of the Visigoths in ecclesiastical architecture is impressive and hardly less remarkable than the oeuvre of the Church Father, St. Isidore of Seville (d. 639) and the seventh-century compilation of law known as the Liber Iudicorum. San Pedro de la Nave and other surviving churches are admirable technically and in their preservation of Roman building traditions both in Spain and elsewhere in the Mediterranean World.

742–1031: The Asturian and Leonese Kingdoms to the Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba

During the late eighth and ninth centuries, Christian architecture was confined almost exclusively to the extreme northeast region of Galicia, protected from Muslim raids by the rugged terrain of the Cantabrian mountains. With progress in the Reconquest and the shifting of the Christian capital to León, architectural activity in the tenth and early eleventh centuries extended south to the valley above the Duero River and east to Castile and Catalonia.

Located primarily around the successive strongholds and retreats of the Asturian kings, examples of late eighth and ninth century architecture are often ambitious in scale, inventive in their proportions, and
striking in their often rich decoration. San Julián de los Prados (Santullano) on the outskirts of Oviedo is a spacious three-aisled (40 meters in length) basilica built toward the end of the reign of Alfonso II (791–842). The nave arcade consists of piers supporting round arches, and there are three barrel-vaulted square apses. Although barely visible today, its arcades, walls, and vaults were decorated with fresco decoration from which both human and animal forms are conspicuously absent. San Miguel de Lillo on Monte Naranco just east of Oviedo (842–850) is a smaller basilica with a gallery above the entrance porch and a strong emphasis upon height in the tall central vaults (originally the church extended farther to the east). Building materials are primarily a combination of cut and rough stone with the occasional use of brick for the construction of arches.

The number of ninth-century ecclesiastical structures is small, but extant examples strive for dramatic effect in proportion and decoration, and mirror the aspirations of the nascent Asturian kingdom for legitimacy, recognition, and authority in Christian Spain. The architecture of this period (see also the preceding section, Civil Architecture) is contemporary with the first battles of the Reconquest and the compilation of exegetical texts on the Apocalypse by the monk Beatus of Liébana known as the Beatus Commentary.

A substantial number of ecclesiastical monuments from the tenth and early eleventh centuries were built in a region south and southwest of León and just north of the Duero River; other examples survive from Castile and Catalonia. The architecture from this period primarily served monastic communities who settled in areas of the Duero Valley claimed by the kings of León. These communities practiced their Hispanic rite and pursued a spiritual ideal amid the uncertain security of their isolated location on the frontier with Islam; indeed, Islamic military reprisals made at the end of the tenth century under al-Manṣür destroyed many foundations such as Valeránica in Castile and Tabara in southern León. The term Mozarabic (literally Christians living under Muslim rule) is accurate only insofar as place names, dedications, and chronicles indicate that many of the monks were refugees from Muslim territories.

Among the largest and best preserved churches of the period (30 meters in length) is San Cebrián de Mazote (early tenth century) in southern León. Mazote is a three-aisled basilica with a horseshoe-shaped apse flanked by squares chambers covered with groin vaults. Melon-shaped domes cover the apse and three tall spaces of the transept. A series of five horseshoe arches supported by marble columns divide the nave from the aisles. A horseshoe-shaped apse is also located at the opposite end of the nave, while the entrance to the church is from the south aisle. The columns at Mazote are slender, the interior light and delicate owing to the smooth stonework, stucco surfaces, crisp contours of the horseshoe arcade, and the height attained in the domed areas. Islamic-inspired features on the exterior of the church include the framing of horseshoe arches (alfiz), the use of small double-arched windows (ajíma), and the use of alternating orange and white stones above an arched doorway at the north transept (compare the Great Mosque at Córdoba). Tenth-century churches achieve a degree of sophistication and elegance not found earlier in the peninsula, and are contemporary with the flowering of the art of manuscript painting which produced some of the greatest masterpieces of early–Middle Age Apocalypse illustration to be found anywhere in Europe.

### 1031–1212: The Christian Kingdoms of Spain to the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa

During the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, territorial expansion and settlement, economic growth, urbanization, and the zeal of monastic reform and the Roman Catholic Church supported an eruption of architectural activity in Catalonia, along the pilgrimage roads from Jaca to Compostela, and southward into the broad area between the Duero and Tagus Rivers. Churches of this period are characterized by stronger receptivity to building styles and influences beyond the Pyrenees, provisions for lay worship with a resulting augmentation of scale, ambitious vaulting techniques, and impressive programs of monumental relief sculpture. Contemporary with the buildings of this period are the fall of the caliphate of Córdoba (1031), the Christian Reconquest of Toledo (1085) and Zaragoza (1118), the introduction of the Roman rite into Spain (1080), the First and Second Crusades (1095 and 1147), and the influences of the French Monastic reform movements of Cluny and Cîteaux.

The churchman Oliba (d. 1046), bishop of Vich and abbot of Santa María de Ripoll and San Michel de Cuxá, sojourned to Italy and is usually regarded as the force behind the adoption of novel architectural forms in his native Catalonia. The five-aisled basilican plan of Ripoll (consecrated 1032) shows a wide transept with a series of semicircular chapels extending toward the rear, two square towers, and an overall length of 60 meters. The exterior is articulated with a series of round (not horseshoe) arches, in low relief below roof level, deriving from Lombardy. While Ripoll is not vaulted, other Catalan churches of this period employ barrel vaults and compound pier supports.
ARCHITECTURE

(e.g., San Vicentes de Cardona, 1040) in their naves, an ambitious feature in churches of this size.

Another major achievement of the period was the building of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, which housed the tomb of the Apostle James (Santiago), discovered in the ninth century. Construction began as early as 1075 and was completed during the years 1122–1128. The church is a monumental five-aisled barrel-vaulted basilica with gallery and transept; and ambulatory connects the transept with the main body of the church, and communicates with a series of radiating chapels. The overall length is 90 meters. The size and plan show strong similarities with the church of St. Sernin in Toulouse, built during the same period and located along the popular pilgrimage road to the tomb of St. James. Settlement and traffic along the road prompted cultural development across northern Spain. The construction of St. Sernin may have begun earlier than at Compostela, but the architecture of the pilgrimage roads is best seen as the result of interaction and exchange between Spanish and French masons and sculptors rather than as an importation. Aside from the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela smaller pilgrimage road churches of the early twelfth century include the Cathedral of Jaca and the postela (Po´rtico de la Gloria), as well as in a number of other monuments including the cathedrals of Avila, Zamora, Tarragona, and Lérida. In some cases the architect’s name suggests a French origin (for example, Master “Fruchel” for the rebuilding of the cathedral of Avila) while in others the result suggests a synthesis of varied foreign elements by a native artist. Reasons for the incursion of this French style may be found in the success of Cistercian monasticism in Spain during the second half of the twelfth century and in the travels to France and impressions of influential prelates such as Martín de Finojosa, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Huerta and adviser to Alfonso VIII. The early cathedrals built in the Gothic style in Spain, like those of Avila, are large-aisled basilicas with massive compound piers supporting the pointed arches and groin vaults of the nave. Avila includes a triforium above the aisles and an enlarged apse with tall arcade surrounding the main altar.

Despite its dominance in the later Middle Ages the Gothic style was only one source of inspiration in the buildings of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The carved ornament in the cathedrals of Lérida and Tarragona owes much to the persistence of Islamic artistic traditions following the Reconquest, as does the dome covering the octagonal church of Torress del Río in Navarre or the ornate crossing dome in the otherwise austere early Gothic interior of the cathedral of Zamora.

Yet another indication of this process is the existence both in Sahagún and in Toledo of a number of modest churches built in brick and mampostería (rubble and mortar alternating with courses of brick) and based upon a tradition of architecture found in many urban centers of Muslim Spain. Sometimes called mudéjar, after the Muslim populations that remained following the reconquest of their cities, churches like the small Toledan basilica of Santa Cruz (ca. 1200) employ horseshoe arches and brickwork patterns of intersecting and polylobbled arches on the exterior based upon the vocabulary of Islamic art. Examples of Mudéjar architecture from the early thirteenth century may be found near Madrid (San Martín de Valdilecha) and later in other areas formerly occupied by Muslims, such as Daroca and Teruel in southern Aragón. The originality of this period in Iberian ecclesiastical architecture seems to lie in its variety and creative assimilation of elements of both Mediterranean and trans-Pyrenean styles. These artistic developments are contemporary with other cultural achievements such as the founding of the University of Salamanca (early thirteenth century) and the emergence of Toledo as a center for the activities of scholars and translators.

1212–1492: The Christian Kingdoms of Spain from 1212 to the Fifteenth Century

Following the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa and during the reconquest of the Muslim strongholds of Córdoba (1236), Seville (1248), and Valencia (1248), the Christian kingdoms of Spain embarked upon a period of ambitious ecclesiastical building throughout the thirteenth century under the guidance of influential bishops in the cities of Toledo, Burgos, and León. The grand cathedrals erected in the cities of Castile were built in a style based upon the major examples of Gothic architecture in northern France: the cathedral of Toledo had as its first architect a “Master Martín,” perhaps called from France by its archbishop Rodrigo.
Jiménez de Rada, who was educated in Paris. Toledo is a five-aisled basilica with (nonprojecting) transept and flying buttresses. It measures 120 meters in length and towers over the other buildings of the city. While grand in scale and spacious throughout, Spanish Gothic churches and cathedrals of the thirteenth century tend to achieve more balanced proportions as opposed to the preoccupation with height in their French counterparts. And there are striking examples of originality at Toledo, as in the Islamic decoration of the triforium arcades above the nave. The cathedrals of Toledo and Burgos were ongoing projects that outlasted the lifetimes of their founders and original architects: only León (ca. 1255–1300) achieves a homogeneity and suggests a closer relationship with a specific French Gothic model in plan, elevation, and proportions (Reims).

In the fourteenth century, building activity flourished in the Crown of Aragón, due in part to the kingdom’s commercial interests in Mediterranean trade. The cathedral of Barcelona (begun 1298) rivals in size and follows in general disposition contemporary examples of Gothic architecture in southern French cities such as Narbonne, Toulouse, and Limoges. A three-aisled basilica more than 100 meters in length, the interior of the cathedral is dominated by a tall and wide nave arcade that opens the view and circulation to the narrow aisles. This unifying tendency in interior space occurs as well in other Catalan churches, such as the cathedral of Mallorca (begun circa 1320), whose nave reached a width of almost 20 meters and a vault height of 40 meters.

Despite constant political turmoil and civil disturbances in the fifteenth century, grandiose architectural projects, such as the cathedrals of Seville and the nave of the cathedral of Girona, were continued or undertaken. Progress was often slow, involving a succession of architects both native and foreign, and energies were often directed more toward luxurious decoration and overwhelming size than innovations in design or structure. More manageable projects amid these periods of civil unrest were privately sponsored family tombs or chapels, built as independent structures or incorporated into the design of existing churches, usually as chapels entered from the aisles.

The cathedral of Seville is 145 meters long and 76 meters wide, with a height of more than 40 meters in the vaults of the ambulatory surrounding the apse. Construction began in 1402 but was not completed until a century later in 1519. During that time a number of architects were employed, including masters of Flemish and English origin. The influence, also seen in painting, manuscript illumination, and sculpture, and part of the rich decorative style known as “international Gothic,” is apparent in the flamboyant carving of the moldings in the triforium openings and the starlike patterns of the vaults at Seville. Despite the preponderance of artisans from northern Europe, the team of craftsmen at the royally founded Franciscan monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo (ca. 1490–1500) also included at least two mudéjares, responsible for some of the most ornately carved surface decoration in the ensemble: their inclusion exemplifies the continued influence of Islamic traditions in the art of the later Middle Ages in Spain.

The Gothic style persisted in Spain well into the sixteenth century, with the building of the cathedrals of Salamanca, Segovia, and Zaragoza. At Salamanca the vocabulary and plan continue the legacy of early Gothic structures in the peninsula while the tall proportions and narrower nave virtually eliminate and deny any sense of weight or mass.

Military Architecture

Long centuries of armed conflicts arising from conquest, reconquest, and civil war resulted in numerous fortified structures throughout Iberia during the Middle Ages. Whether in ruins or restored form, castles and walls remain a significant part of the Iberian landscape.

In addition to the natural protection offered by rivers, mountains, and other natural barriers, many villages and cities were dominated by their castles or surrounded by heavily fortified walls. Due to their strategic location, fortifications often have a continuous history of building stretching from Roman settlement to Arab conquest to Christian reconquest and further rebuilding in the later middle ages.
Cities such as León and Mérida were fortified with walls in Roman times, parts of which remained and were augmented and strengthened in the Middle Ages. The most common building material in these examples was roughly cut stone of varying shapes and sizes, reinforced with square, polygonal, or round towers and interrupted by gateways. The Puerta de Bisagra (antigua) in Toledo is a tenth century gateway, primarily a Muslim construction with horsehoe arch, flanking square towers, large, heavily rusticated stones, and an imposing monolithic lintel. The crenellated superstructure of this gateway, however, was rebuilt in the later twelfth or thirteenth centuries long after the Christian reconquest of the city in 1085. Here the material employed is brick and mampostería (a mixture of stone and rubble). Another material used for walls and favored by the Muslims is tapia, a mortar held in place by wooden forms until dry. This material is still visible in the remains of the castles of Montaungado in Murcia and Alcalá de Guadaira southeast of Seville. Later gateways, such as the Puerta de Cuarte in Valencia from the mid–fifteenth century, feature stone construction and strongly projecting cylindrical towers.

Other cities in Medieval Spain built their walls as the Reconquest extended Christian frontiers toward the south. Avila’s walls in New Castile, reinforced with eighty-eight towers, were originally built sometime after 1090; those surrounding the cities of Daroca in southern Aragón and Santo Domingo de la Calzada (Castile) were erected sometime in the fourteenth century.

Castle plans vary according to site and the technology of siege and defense, but standard elements are walls, keep (torre de homenaje), and ward. Walls are reinforced with towers of varying shapes, capped with crenellations (merlons and embrasures) and sometimes outfitted with machicolations, portions of projecting wall supported by corbels through which pitch could be poured on would-be attackers. Behind the walls was a walkway, parts of which could be dismantled to isolate the keep. Walls were interrupted by gateways and posterns, small doorways usually hidden from direct view. Arrow slits were usually located in the towers: as a consequence of effective firearms in the fifteenth century, walls were built lower but more solidly to resist siege by cannon rather than by scaling. The keep was the noble residence and final line of the castle’s defense. Recognizable by its great height (112 feet at Peñafiel in León), the keep was usually square and connected to the wall, but in some examples is located outside the walls (torre de albarrana) and accessible by a walkway. Until the fifteenth century the quarters of the keep were generally modest and not well lit, but in later examples they were embellished with decoration and amenities. Ceilings were vaulted rather than covered with timber to prevent entry from above. During the Reconquest, castles usually included chapels and churches for monks or members of military orders. Inside the walls the ward contained stables, living quarters for knights, cisterns, and storage areas for provisions. Many castles were fortified by outer (curtain) walls as well as dry moats to further stifle a siege.

In Spain as well as throughout western Europe, Christian castles built in stone were rare before the later twelfth century. After this time stone castles not only became more plentiful but also were built rapidly and at great expense. One striking early stone example is the castle/monastery of Loarre near Jaca in northern Aragón, a natural stronghold built in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries on a steep mountainous site. Its outer walls are articulated with round towers while the keep and church are protected by inners walls with square towers. The plan is irregular and compact with smoother stone and more sophisticated construction used for the basilican church within.

Zorita de los Canes, on the Tagus River near Gudalajara, is one of a few remaining castles built in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Order of Calatrava to protect the vast territories occupied during this active period of Reconquest. Originally a Muslim alcazaba, Zorita’s expansive plan and extramural tower (torre de albarrana) parallel the large and complex forms of castles built in the Holy Land during the Crusades such as Krak des Chevaliers.

A number of later castles, like the well-preserved Torrelobatón near Valladolid, are square in plan, with three rounded corner towers and the fourth occupied by a tall square keep with sentry towers at its corners. Although built upon earlier foundations, Torrelobatón dates in its present form to the mid-fifteenth century and served as a stronghold for noble families vying for political power with the Castilian crown. The compact plan follows a general tendency throughout Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Later castles, like Olite in Navarre (built by the French-born king Charles III) or Coca, near Segovia in Castile, were more luxurious in decoration and accommodations. Coca is essentially built of brick and mampostería, with full exploitation of textural variety and relief patterns, while Olite employs Gothic-inspired stone construction with pointed arches and elegant proportions. Both have irregular plans, spacious living quarters, and patios. They served the dual purposes of defense and residence, and their form is dictated both by a desire for comfort and entertainment as well as protection.

David Raizman
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ARCHIVES See libraries

ARIA NISM See church; heresy; theology

ARIA DÁVILA FAMILY

The Arias Dáviles were an important dynasty of converso officials in fifteenth-century Castile. Diego Arias Dávila (d. 1466), who before his conversion to Christianity was named Ysaque Abenácar of Ávila, was apparently in Segovia where he converted during the preaching campaign of Vicente Ferrer in 1411 (when nearly the entire Jewish community was baptized). Shortly after his conversion he was known as Diego Bolante, or Volador, and he later became a protector of Enrique IV (reigned 1454–1474). He married Juana Rodríguez (undoubtedly also a convert), who apparently died soon after, and then Elvira González of Ávila, also of Jewish background. As contador mayor of the kingdom (in charge of the finances), he was one of the most despised men in the realm. His considerable property was inherited by his two sons and one daughter.

His older son, Pedro, held the position of contador mayor after his father’s death. Juan, the other son (ca. 1430–1497), became bishop of Segovia. Enemies of Pedro convinced Enrique, falsely, of Pedro’s “treason,” for which the king had him imprisoned. He was severely wounded while in prison. He was married to María Ortíz Cota, of an illustrious converso family; they had five sons and two daughters.

Pedro died during the siege of Madrid in 1476, and his eldest son, Diego, inherited the position of contador mayor. Diego also was named lord of Puñonrostro, lands created by his grandfather Diego. He married Marina de Mendoza, the illegitimate daughter of the marqués de Santillana (Íñigo López de Mendoza). Diego died about 1482. His brother Juan was the first count of Puñonrostro.

The most important member of this family, however, was another son of Pedro, Pedrarias (Pedro Arias) Dávila, born probably about 1440. He was known as the gran justador, an accomplished soldier who headed the forces of Segovia and Toledo in the conquest of Orán (in North Africa) in 1509. He also apparently participated in the conquest of Granada for Fernando and Isabel. In 1513 they sent him to “discover” and govern the “Tierra Firme” in the New World, recently discovered by Balboa but not effectively explored. He became the governor of Nicaragua and established the colony of Panama. Pedrarias married Isabel de Boabdilla y Peñalosa, granddaughter of the famous marquesa de Moya, an intimate of Queen Isabel. One of their daughters, María de Peñalosa, was promised in marriage to Balboa, but instead married Rodrigo de Contreras, also a governor of Nicaragua. Another daughter, Isabel, married the famous explorer Hernando de Soto.

A purported “blood libel” case in Segovia in 1468 (if it ever happened) involved charges that some Jews had captured and tortured a Christian boy in nearby Sepúlveda. Juan Arias Dávila, the bishop of Segovia, ordered the arrest of sixteen Jews supposedly guilty of this crime. However, according to one source, the bishop himself came under attack and was compelled to go to Rome to defend himself. The motive for this attack on the otherwise respected bishop (who gave both an important library and a hospital to his city) was no doubt due to the revenge he took for the unjust charges against, and imprisonment of, his brother Pedro. The bishop plotted to seize Segovia and turn it over to the rebel forces that supported Alfonso, his half brother. In Rome the bishop had to renounce his authority over the diocese, and he remained in Rome until his death in 1497. The bishop, his deceased father, his mother, and other members of the family were later accused of heresy by the Inquisition.

NORMAN ROTH

Bibliography

ARIA S, MAYOR

Mayor Arias was the wife of Ruy González de Clavijo, who was sent by Enrique III (1390–1406) on an embassy to Tamburlaine (Timur) in 1403 and afterward wrote an account of the expedition, the Embajada a Tamorlán (1943). She is also the author of the earliest Castilian poem that can be attributed to a woman. A manuscript miscellany in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contains an exchange of poems between Mayor Arias and Ruy González, apparently written on the occasion of his voyage. Mayor Arias’s thirteen-stanza poem, which carries the misleading rubric “Dezir de otro mensagero . . .” (“Poem of Another Messenger”), consists of an address to the sea pleading for the safe passage and return of her husband. The second is a simple, shorter poem of farewell from the husband to the wife, again with an unhelpful rubric. “Ay mar braba esquiva” (“Oh Fierce Cruel Sea”) is by far the superior poem and, incidentally, of considerable historical and literary interest. The four-line estribillo, or refrain, allows us to identify it as a contrafactum, a remodeling, of an old song, “Alta mar esquiva,” which is known, albeit imperfectly, from three later versions. The theme of a woman’s complaint to the sea for carrying off her beloved at the behest of a king represents the earliest Castilian link with the cantiga de amigo (woman’s song) of Galician-Portuguese tradition. As such it seems to provide unique evidence of continuity between the two main branches of Iberian lyric, otherwise undocumented during the Late Middle Ages. Whether or not Mayor Arias wrote it herself has to remain an open question. But precisely those features that distinguish it from the conventional court lyric of the period—the personal touches, vigorous language, positive outlook—constitute strong indications that it was composed by someone who did not feel bound by conventions: therefore, quite possibly, a woman.

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ARMY, CASTILIAN, CATALAN, MUSLIM, PORTUGUESE

Military forces underwent a remarkable evolution during the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula. Starting with a fully professional army of long-term legionaries and auxiliaries that typify the Imperial Era, a series of invasions substantially altered the governmental systems and the armed forces they raised. The first of these incursions produced the Visigothic Kingdom, which was in the process of evolving from a migratory tribal kingship to an early form of territorial monarchy. Prior to the composition of the various codes of law promulgated by the Visigoths in Spain, we know little of their military organization beyond the fact that it consisted of tribal levies, assembled to fight under the king or leader designated by him. The system was apparently effective, capable of defeating a professional Roman army under Valens at Adrianople in 378. It proved sufficient over time to carry the Visigoths into the peninsula and defeat all of their adversaries there. Maintaining its primitive vigor was another story. By the sixth century, the Visigothic Code describes a military force raised by levies from each civitas, the old local Roman unit of government often converted into a county and placed under a Gothic comes, or count. These county levies were called tiufa and led by a tiufadus, the military count in command for military engagements, but occasionally subordinate to the city count in the event of any misconduct. Theoretically each tiufa numbered a thousand men, but it was levied primarily from the Visigothic populace, with only a small number of Hispanic-Romans recruited. Therefore, the Goths raised such levies only where they had active garrisons and population settlements in Spain. The hostis or expeditio provided the occasion for the largest military levy, and all garrison commanders along with nobles sworn to the king were enjoined to assemble their retinues, including even 10 percent of their slaves, in order to serve the royal need. Their armies consisted of both infantry and cavalry, but we have no adequate information regarding their relative proportion or comparative employment in battle. The major military reform law ordered by King Wamba in 673 indicates that the military establishment had become a problem by the seventh century. The numerous punishments meted out for failure to appear for service or for desertion clearly point to a growing deficiency in the Gothic monarchy, whose ability to maintain order and defend the realm was absolutely central to its continued existence. Even after Wamba’s enemies overthrew him, they continually endeavored to enforce modified forms of his military laws. However, the Goths seem never to have fully integrated the military structures into the Hispano-Roman society as a whole, a key to their collapse in the face of the Muslim invasion of 711–715.

The Islamic invasion brought combined armies of both Arabic and Berber North Africans into Spain. It
was a Berber army under its chieftain Tāriq that achieved the initial victory at the Guadalete River in 711, while demonstrating its ability to operate independently. An Arab force joined them in 712, the combined troops subsequently routing all of the Visigothic garrisons in the Iberian Peninsula within four years. Again, little is known of the nature of Muslim military forces at this point, save that they were fired by the words of the prophet Muḥammad and possessed a conviction the Goths could not match in combat. Once ‘Abd al-Rahmān I, last of the Umayyad dynasty that fled from Damascus in 750, crossed into Spain and began to organize a centralized emirate based in Córdoba, the outlines of a more formal military establishment began to take shape in the emerging state of unified Muslim Spain called al-Andalus. In addition to a succession of able emirs (after 929 known as caliphs), the real staying power of this empire lay in the bureaucratic state system evolved by these enterprising monarchs. Through the superior taxing system they introduced, the emir-caliphs maintained both a small standing force in Córdoba, along with a regional organization based in the local administrative units known as the kūras. These forces were placed under a vizier who took general charge of the military forces, yielding them to the monarch or his chief executive office, the hājib, when required. The kūras were often laid out along the lines of the former Roman civitates and Gothic counties. In these kūras, entire tribal or clannic groups called junds had been settled, and from the junds the local levies were raised and placed under the command of the royal officer or captain called the alcaide, directly responsible to the emir-caliph.

Down to the tenth century, al-Andalus fielded a centralized army from the kūras owing allegiance directly to the monarch. Against the emerging Christian states to the north, the caliphs organized frontier marches, an Upper March commanded from Zaragoza, a Middle March centered in Toledo, and a Lower March based in Mérida. As long as this system operated effectively under an able monarch, the armies of the Christian territories were no match for it in the field. Nevertheless, ‘Abd al-Rahmān III shifted the basis for army recruitment in the mid-tenth century, depending increasingly on imported Slavic and Berber troops, less on the junds in the kūras. His successor in control of the military, the capable hājib general Al-Mansūr, intensified these methods, placing decreasing dependence on the native kūra levies. While such personnel offered Al-Mansūr exceptional loyalty, enabling him to pursue many devastating campaigns deep into the Christian states with impunity, the system deteriorated under his successors. When the caliphate broke up into the smaller tā’īfa kingdoms after 1031, the overall effectiveness of the Muslim military establishment declined in the face of Islamic disunity. Increasingly the tā’īfa states required the infusions of North African Berber reinforcements to stand up to the aggressive expansionism of the Christian north. This came at a time when these emerging states were forging armies and pressing fortified settlements well south of the Duero River.

While encased in the Cantabrian Mountains of the north, the nascent state of Asturias had need of a military force to control the lands on its flanks, especially Galicia and the northern fringes of Castile. Fortifications, garrisons, and raiding parties covered the basic concerns of offense and defense required to protect the state in this excellent defensive terrain. However, when the Asturian kings expanded onto the Meseta plateau and transformed Asturias into the Kingdom of León through the capture of that city in the tenth century, the entire picture changed. Both pressed against and threatened by the Middle and Lower Marches of the Caliphate, the stimulus to enhance the military capacity of the Leonese state became intense. The Astur-Leonese monarchy recruited its traditional military forces from its magnates, who in turn gathered their forces from their retainers and bodyguards. As was true of much of the remainder of Europe at this time, an emphasis on mounted service was clearly present. Limited by economics and primitive state development to a comparatively small force, warriors on horseback covered a maximum of territory in a minimum amount of time, and were especially useful for lightning strikes and booty-gathering forays. The mounted aristocracy had foot soldiers among their retainers, who certainly made up the large majority of the forces for any extended campaign not exclusively intended as a raid. Certainly the movement onto the Meseta Plain opened the door to larger land holdings for the king, his nobility, and the Church, all of whom fielded military forces in time of need. Land revenues combined with enhanced booty opportunities enlarged the financial base necessary for expanded military needs. The royal tax base grew, especially given the ability to summon military expeditions (fossataria, fonsadera), and collecting fees (fossato, fonsado) from those who did not serve. But here seems to lie two important keys to the success of the Christian Reconquest. First, the Northerners’ ability to settle in force in the open lands of the Duero Valley was neither matched nor resisted by an equal capability on the part of the Muslims. Second, at a time when the caliphate increasingly resorted to outside forces while cutting back on domestic recruiting from the kūras, the Leonese state began to consider methods for raising a larger military force from among the settlers on the Duero River.
There exists considerable debate among historians as to the degree we can trust the later tenth- and eleventh-century documents, but it would appear that this era began to produce the types of settlements we can describe as towns of a rudimentary sort. These fortified settlements begin to offer the possibility of military service, the first important statement of which is contained in the Fuero de León (1017–1020), a municipal charter that influenced a number of others in the eleventh century. From this beginning, the municipal settlements beginning to multiply both north and south of the Duero River increasingly found a military service obligation included in their settlement charters (fueros). Their obligation more often took the form of defense (apellido) rather than offense (fonsado), and was restricted in time and to their immediate locality in the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries. They nevertheless offered regional security and relieved the king of the total responsibility of their protection. This situation enabled Fernando I and Alfonso VI to add territories and tax revenues, equipping a larger army by the distribution of lands to a growing aristocracy. The kings also exploited the situation to bully the ta’ifa princes into granting them annual tributes (parias) that served to expand the Christian warmaking ability still further.

Weakened by all of these factors, the central Meseta town of Toledo fell to the Christians in 1085, compelling the ta’ifa states to resort to the older tenth-century practice of securing reinforcement from North Africa. The Almoravid Berbers responded with an expeditionary force that defeated the army of Alfonso VI at Zallâqah in 1086. For the Muslims, the older policy of relying on outside aid did not constitute a simple return to the circumstances of the tenth century. These Berber armies brought a new political and religious system in their wake, one that threatened to unify the Iberian Islamic states in the hands of often puritanical and unpopular outsiders. The recruitment of North African reserves also threatened the advantage gained by León-Castile earlier in the eleventh century, although these large-scale reinforcements would always be sporadic during the following decades. To deal with the possibility of this threat, the Leonese monarchy also called upon outside aid from France, especially, but here too support was occasional and particular to special campaigns. The Crusade movement in the Near East, ironically encouraged by the success of the Hispanic Reconquest, began to drain such forces away by the early twelfth century. It became clear that the Leonese-Castilian military machine must be geared to deal both with the ta’ifa states and the North African campaigning forces if it hoped to continue its expansionist pressure on the central Meseta. The problem was made no easier when the expansion generated during the reign of Alfonso VII (1126–1157) produced yet another reformist invasion, that of the Almohads after 1150.

With population resources available for settlement growing tighter, and the monarchy splitting into a separate León and Castile in 1157, creative skills in military recruitment reached a decisive point and took the form of two major responses. The first was gradually to encourage the settlement of larger towns by offering greater personal freedoms, while slowly expanding the reach of their militias. These town militias had played no role in distant campaigns in the south during the eleventh century, such as Alfonso VI’s campaign against the Almoravids at Zallâqah. By the end of the twelfth century, they would be capable of campaigning for a month or longer with a striking range of two hundred miles or more, unparalleled for town forces at the time in Europe. Secondly, a new hybrid of monastic and military life, the military order, migrated from its place of origin in the Crusader Near East to appear on the Reconquest frontier in Iberia. Ideal for the garrisoning of castles and for initiating quick-striking raids (cabiéldadas, algaras), the military orders could also enhance the campaigning forces of the king along with the municipal militias. The Templars and Hospitallers had appeared earlier in the twelfth century in Aragón, but the Leonese and Castilian states would generate their own domestic versions, starting with the Order of Calatrava (1158), followed by the Order of Santiago (1170) and the Order of Alcántara (1176), these being the most important among several others. While these forces were insufficient to avert the defeat of King Alfonso VIII at Alarcos in 1195 at the hands of the Almohads, their fuller combination at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 proved ample for the same king to win a decisive battle that turned the course of the Reconquest, in the face of both the Andalusian levies and expeditionary forces from Almohad North Africa.

The evolution of the Portuguese army followed a track similar to that of León-Castile. As the kingdom secured its independence in the 1140s under King Afonso I Henriques, serious military threats loomed to the east from Alfonso VII and the Leonese monarchy, and to the south, where the Almohad revival threatened from across the Tejo River. Afonso’s greatest achievement, the capture of Lisbon in 1147, had only been accomplished with the assistance of troops from England and the Netherlands en route to the Second Crusade. But Portugal would respond to the stresses of the later twelfth century with an inventiveness equal to that of its Christian neighbors. The concept of military orders soon crossed to Portugal. The Templars arrived in the later twelfth century, and a
domestic version appeared with the foundation of the Order of Évora in 1166, soon renamed the Order of Avis in 1211. The expanded role of the municipal militias to supplement the levies of aristocracy and church emerges in the kingdom, as well. The Portuguese municipal forais (analogous to the Castilian fueros) suggest the development of two kinds of charter pattern. The northern pattern, based on the charter of Trancoso, sought a defense of the frontiers against León, limiting the offensive range of the militia by a brief three-day span of service. To the south and east, charters patterned after the forais of Évora and Santarém were granted to the frontier towns, designed to enhance knightly forces in the expedition and to be able to reach into Leonese Extremadura and Andalusia in service time. In no case, however, do the Portuguese forais suggest the creation of municipal militias with the operating range and the month or more fighting time span known in León-Castile. Portugal possessed neither the vast territories of its eastern neighbor nor (after the mid-thirteenth century) a frontier against Granada that would have encouraged the monarchy to require an expeditionary capacity from its municipalities.

The military situation in the Crown of Aragón was somewhat more complex. The two political entities that came to make up the crown, the Crown of Aragón and the County of Barcelona, existed separately until the dynastic marriage of Petronilla of Aragón and Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona in 1137. The Crown of Aragón evolved a military system similar to that of Castile, including the development of municipal militias with an expeditionary capability. Domestic military orders gained no foothold here, but the Temp- lars and the Hospitalers were very active. Feudal practices to secure a well-armed mounted force appear in all of the peninsular kingdoms, but were especially well-developed in Aragón, including a willingness to permit hereditary possession of fiefs, a practice not common in Castile. In the County of Barcelona, towns offered military levies to the count, but their militias did not indicate the long-range capabilities of those of the Reino de Aragón or of Castile. As was the case in Portugal, the territorial expansion was rather less extensive, and the counts were able to achieve their expansion with an army more centered on mounted feudal nobles. Alfonso II (Alfons I in Barcelona) was the first king to exploit the military establishment of both reino and county. With his Aragónese resources, Alfonso moved south to take Teruel, while his comitial forces enabled him to pursue his claims in southern France. After the trans-Pyrenean zone was closed by the disaster at Muret in 1213, the monarchy turned its attention toward the south and the taifa of Valencia, and to the east toward the Balearic Islands. King Jaime I expertly combined his Catalan and Aragónese forces for the conquest of Mallorca and the assault on Valencia. Town forces from Lleida, Tarragona, and Barcelona, along with outstanding contributions from the Catalan nobles such as the Moncadas, accomplished the overseas conquest of the former, while the Aragónese nobility and the militias of Teruel and Zaragoza combined effectively in the latter campaign.

The victory attained at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 demonstrates the manner in which both Muslim and Hispanic Christian forces operated in combat in the thirteenth century. The Muslim army was a composite of both peninsular units and an Almohad expeditionary force from North Africa. The Christian army possessed contingents from Castile, Aragón, and Navarre, each led by the kings of their countries. French units had participated early in the campaign, but departed before the climactic confrontation in Andalusia. Having found a way to penetrate the Sierra Morena mountains, Alfonso VIII descended into the southern foothills on the Islamic flank. Muḥammad al-Naṣir, the Almohad king, promptly regrouped his forces at Navas de Tolosa, setting the stage for the grand conflict on 16 July. Both sides utilized a conventional arrangement of their troops along a line with a center and two wings, backed by a reserve force to be unleashed at the critical moment. The Muslims, who possessed the larger force, also added a line of light skirmishers at the front. On the opposing side, the Aragónese under Pedro II held the Christian right, the Navarrese under Sancho VII held the left, and the center disposed itself in triple layers, with a vanguard, the main body, and Alfonso himself directing the reserve. The Christian forces consisted of the royal standing army, the various aristocrats of the realm with their levies, the military orders of Calatrava and Santiago, and cavalry and foot soldiers of the municipal militias, of which Ávila, Segovia, Medina del Campo and Toledo were specifically mentioned in the chronicles (with indications of many more townsfolk mixed among the various components). The Almohad line of skirmishers, formed of arrow slingers and javelin hurlers, advanced toward the Christian vanguard, which responded to this provocation by rushing and scattering their tormentors on the way to attacking the Muslim center. The left, center, and right of each side promptly joined the conflict. As the struggle progressed, the Christians began to force the Muslims backward. Then Al-Naṣir dispatched a large portion of his reserve to brace the Muslim lines. In reaction to this, the Christian lines began to buckle, and a number of soldiers fled. Alfonso committed his reserve, including his best cavalry, to bring the infantry back into line, causing the momentum to swing back to the Christian army. Slowly the Muslim
The armed nobility had divided into an upper stratum of grandes, hidalgos, and caballeros de linaje, who tended to ride in a long-stirrup, stiff-legged style that favored charges and contact with their enemies, while the lesser caballeros and jinetes favored speed and maneuver with a short-stirrup, bent-knee style. Some of these last two categories served with the towns, which formed into leagues (hermandades). Such forces threatened the royal efforts to consolidate national monarchies. In all three Christian kingdoms, kings sought to build independent military forces through the payment of money in lieu of service, using these revenues to pay for a growing standing army. Civil wars and succession crises delayed these endeavors until well into the Trastámara age. It would then be left to the Catholic Kings to bring these reforms to fruition, generating from the militarized heritage of the Reconquest and the organizational skills of Renaissance despotism the armies that would march across Europe and the New World in the sixteenth century. However, this society organized for war continued through its traditions to threaten even the Hapsburg monarch Carlos V in the Communero Revolt and the Germania of Valencia from 1519 to 1521.
iate patterns imitating the style of a carpet like those used in mosques and in synagogues. The most famous example from Spain comes from the Christian period, the Damascus Keter (Burgos, 1260), which has fourteen such pages. Also typical are the outlines of the forms done in microscopic script (minute Hebrew lettering). This manuscript probably was imitated in the Parma Bible (fourteenth century). Another interesting example is in the Lisbon Bible (1483). Far more important are the numerous elaborate carpet pages of the First Kennicott Bible (La Coruña, 1476), which also used as a model the Mudéjar style of carved wooden ceiling found in such structures as the Church of Santa Cruz in Toledo and the Alhambra (apparently authorities have not hitherto realized this source).

Whereas Castilian illumination drew heavily on Muslim as well as contemporary Christian influences, the numerous illuminated manuscripts of Aragón-Catalonia were inspired exclusively by the Gothic school of Provence and France, and later by the Italian school that dominated Catalan art of the fourteenth century. An important example of the latter is the Copenhagen Moreh nevukhim (1348) and its obvious relation to the Master of St. Mark. Another example, not hitherto noticed, is the borrowing of decorative elements (foliate designs, birds, flowers) in the Barcelona Haggadah from the Barcelona Llibre verde of the same period.

Hebrew manuscript illumination appears to have come to a virtual halt with the destruction of many communities in 1391, but strongly reemerged with new traditions in the fifteenth century, in places as far removed as La Coruña and Seville, but the main activity was in Portugal, where Bibles, prayer books, and at least one richly illuminated manuscript of Maimonides’ Mishneh Torah were produced. These are profusely illuminated, in some cases every page, in a variety of rich colors and designs and with liberal use of gold.

In addition to the carpet pages and illuminations of scenes, Spanish Hebrew Bible manuscripts are unique for the illustration of Temple cult objects and vessels (the menorah, etc.), with many full-page illuminations. It has been demonstrated by Gutmann and others that these reflected a longing for the messianic return to Palestine and the rebuilding of the Temple. This was not a longing unique to Spanish Jews, but its symbolic portrayal in such illuminations is unique.

The most important illuminated Bibles are the Damascus Keter (Burgos, 1260), the Cervera Bible (Toledo?, 1300; of special importance is the magnificent full-page stylized menorah flanked by olive trees, in subtle blues and gold and strikingly “modern” in design), the Second Kennicott Bible (Soria, 1306), the Oxford Ibn Gaon Bible (Soria, ca. 1300), the Perpignan Bible (1299; Paris, Bibliothèque National, Ms. hebr. 7—the earliest to illustrate the cult utensils), the Parma Bible (Catalan, fourteenth century), the Duke of Sussex Bible (Catalan, fourteenth century), the King’s Bible (Solsona, 1384), the Farhi Bible (1366–1382; richly illuminated, it took seventeen years to complete!), the First Kennicott Bible (La Coruña, 1476), and the various Portuguese Bibles of the fifteenth century.

In addition to their obvious importance for Jewish history, these volumes contain many details that are of interest for general Spanish history (coats of arms, illustrations of buildings, portraits of kings, soldiers, etc.). All of these deserve study.

Next in importance to Bibles are Passover haggadot (orders of the Passover meal and service), which usually are even more richly illuminated than Bibles, and also contain material of great historical interest. The rare Castilian (so-called Moresque) Haggadah (ca. 1300) should be pointed out, particularly for what may be a portrait of the king and for its architectural details, as should the famous Golden Haggadah (Barcelona, ca. 1300; available in facsimile edition), another mid-fourteenth-century Barcelona Haggadah, the magnificent Sarajevo Haggadah, the Kaufmann Haggadah (certainly not French or Italian, as has been argued; it has the coats of arms of León, Castile, and Aragón!). Both the Golden and Sarajevo Haggadahs have been published, as well as others.

Other illuminated Spanish manuscripts include the Oxford Catalan Maimonides (Guide) (Hebrew translation, fourteenth century); the Lisbon Maimonides (Mishneh Torah) (1472); the previously mentioned Copenhagen Moreh (Guide), unique for its important picture of a Jewish astronomer lecturing students; and various prayer books and other legal and philosophical works.

Other Artistic Forms

Jewish rings and seals existed from very early times (a ring was discovered in the Montjuich cemetery excavations in Barcelona), and were prevalent in Spain. The most sensational discovery purports to be the ring of Nahmanides, found at Acco in Israel, but the most famous and artistically important is that of Todros Abulafia, presumed to be the son of the famous Samuel ha-Levi, treasurer of Pedro I and builder of the El Tránsito synagogue of Toledo. The seal indeed reproduces the quatrefoil design, with a castle in the center, found over the window of that synagogue. The fleur-de-lis decoration is found also on other Jewish seals. Other seals include that of the Jewish community...
of Seville, various Passover seals for certifying unleavened bread, and signet rings.

Synagogue architecture is another artistic form. Important miscellaneous items include the famous key presented by the Jews of Seville to Fernando III (1248), with its Hebrew and Spanish lettering praising the king in the biblical language normally used for God, and an important picture of a ship, and the elaborate Hebrew eulogy and symbols of León and Castile on the same king’s tomb in Seville.

Of interest is a unique Passover plate produced in Spain (Valencia, and specifically Manises, has been suggested) that may or may not have been done by a Jewish craftsman (the errors in the simple Hebrew words can easily be explained in view of many similar examples). It is of typical Majolican design, elegant but unremarkable save as an indication that undoubtedly other such plates once existed.

The subject of some debate is the Berlin rug that has been identified as a synagogue carpet (fourteenth century) with a design that, it is claimed (likely wrongly), represents a menorah, and with several stylized images of either a Torah ark or possibly the Temple. In any event we know of the existence of such rugs in synagogues, used as wall covers or even ark covers, from Jewish sources.

The names of various Jewish and/or converso artists of the fifteenth century (best known are Juan and Guillen de Levi) have survived. Jews did do work for Christians on cult objects and even prayer books. The fame of Jews as goldsmiths, jewelers, and dyers of fabrics is attested in numerous sources, particularly their employment by kings and the royal families.

NORMAN ROTH

Bibliography


ART, MUSLIM

For medieval Iberia, the term Islamic art refers to the arts made between the eighth century and the end of the fifteenth for Muslim patrons in the parts of the Iberian Peninsula where Islam was the religion of the rulers. Two other terms are also used to refer to related arts in the region. Mozarabic, from the Arabic muda’ijan (Arabized), refers to the art of Christians living under Muslim domination, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and Mudéjar, from the Arabic must-
the model for all minarets in the Muslim west, as well as many church towers after the Reconquest. The decorative and spatial culmination of the mosque was the maqṣūra, or area near the mihrab reserved for the caliph. Built on the orders of Al-Ḥakam, who reigned from 961 to 976, this part of the mosque was taken to unprecedented heights of decorative elaboration with the addition of marble capitals, cusped and intersecting arches, complex surface patterning with geometricized vegetal motifs, and Arabic inscriptions. The beautiful glass mosaics that cover the walls and central dome of the maqṣūra were executed in imitation of those that decorate the mosque of the Umayyads’ ancestors in Damascus, for whom the Umayyads of Spain felt a special affinity.

None of the other congregational mosques that were erected in other cities of medieval Iberia survives, but such small mosques as that of Bab Mardum (Cristo de la Luz, 1000) in Toledo show that the architectural styles of the capital had wide currency. The ruins of Madinat al-Zahra, the splendid Umayyad palace-city built outside of Córdoba in 936, show that Umayyad styles of architectural decoration were not restricted to religious architecture. Córdoban features continued to be held in esteem after the fall of the Umayyads in 1031, as can be seen in such palaces as the Aljafería at Zaragoza, erected by a local tā’ifa ruler in the eleventh century, where cusped and intersecting arches were developed to an unusual degree. The integration of al-Andalus with northwest Africa under the Almoravid and Almohad Dynasties of Morocco in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries led to the creation of a hybrid architectural style, in which the exuberance of Umayyad decoration was rationalized and standardized. Only fragmentary remains survive from this period, such as the Giralda (1184–1198), once the minaret of the enormous congregational mosque erected in the Almohad capital at Seville.

Although Almohad power waned in Iberia after their disastrous defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the Nasrid sultans, who reigned from 1230 to 1492, emerged as major patrons of architecture for the remaining centuries of Islamic rule in Iberia. The Nasrids are primarily remembered for the Alhambra at Granada, originally a palace-city overlooking the city itself, but remains of several other Nasrid buildings—although no important religious ones—survive (e.g., Granada, Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo). Nasrid architecture achieves its stupendous effects through the manipulation of exquisitely molded, carved, and painted surfaces of plaster, wood, and glazed tile applied to a rather indifferent armature constructed in brick, stone, and wood.

The primary role of the Qurʾān and of writing in Islam led to the development of the arts of the book—comprising calligraphy, illumination, illustration, and binding—in all regions of the Islamic world. Al-Andalus cannot have been an exception to the general rule, but the widespread destruction of Islamic books following the Christian Reconquest has skewed the picture, and only very few manuscripts survive to testify to the development of these arts in the region. Paper was made locally at Játiva beginning in the eleventh century, but—as elsewhere in the Islamic west—manuscripts of the Qurʾān continued to be copied on parchment in a distinctive maghribi (western Islamic) script, characterized by a watery brownish pen line of consistent width with looped descenders. Manuscript illumination was based on geometric motifs with vegetal fillers, executed in gold and several colors. The one illustrated manuscript known to have survived is a thirteenth-century copy of the romance of Bayad and Riyad (Rome, Vatican; Ar. 368). Its illustrations show some familiarity with contemporary work in northern Mesopotamia.

The finest work of the caliphal period is represented by a group of sumptuous carved ivory boxes made for members of the Umayyad court. Such masterpieces as the Mughira Casket (Paris, Louvre; 968) and the Pamplona Casket (Pamplona, Museo de Navarra, 1004–1005) are decorated with an extraordinary variety of figural motifs (the meaning of which have yet to be satisfactorily explained), as well as inscriptions specifying for whom they were made. Although the production of ivory caskets ceased as suddenly as the caliphate itself, workshops continued to produce exquisite wooden furnishings with carved and marquetry decoration in ivory and precious woods. The most important example to survive is an enormous minbar, or pulpit, made circa 1120 in Córdoba for the Almoravid mosque in Marrakesh, Morocco (Marrakesh, Badi’ Palace Museum). The history of Iberian Islamic metalwork is known primarily from utilitarian objects cast from copper alloys as well as from scientific instruments, arms and armor. Many objects of precious metal must have been melted down for cash. One exception is a wooden box covered in hammered silver gilt and niello (Girona, cathedral) made in 976 for the Umayyad heir-apparent Hishām and clearly related to the group of ivory caskets.

The production of silk was introduced to Iberia by the Muslims, and sumptuous textiles, such as the so-called Veil of Hishām (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia) display a mastery of tapestry weaving in colored silk and gold-wrapped thread. Drawloom weaving, which allowed the repetition of complex patterns, was introduced by the eleventh century. Early
examples are based on Near Eastern models, but as in the other arts, a distinctive local idiom quickly emerged. An enormous crimson silk curtain (Cleveland, Museum of Art) dating from the fifteenth century represents the apogee of Nasrid textiles. The art of knotting pile carpets was also introduced to Iberia from the eastern Islamic lands, and many fine examples have been preserved, including some woven in the fifteenth century with the armorial bearings of noble Castilian families. Early Iberian ceramics are rather mediocre earthenwares decorated with colored slips, but, from the early thirteenth century and particularly under Nasrid patronage, workshops at Málaga and other centers produced some of the finest and largest examples of overglaze-painted lusterwares ever made, such as the Alhambra vases and the Fortuny tablet.

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Bibliography


ARTILLERY

Artillery is defined as hurling objects against enemy objectives by the use of machines that greatly exceed the capability of unassisted human muscle power. The Roman world had developed a variety of such hurling weapons, basically of two types: the arbalest and the catapult. The former took the shape of a large crossbow, placed on a stand or carriage, with each of its arms tightened separately by a windlass. The arbalest could hurl large pointed bolts or small stones on a flat trajectory against humans or lightly fortified objectives. The catapult existed in two varieties: the einarm, powered by wooden springs, and the larger mangonel, consisting of a lever arm with its base inserted in twisted fiber, often human hair. The crew twisted the fibers tightly together with twin windlasses while holding the throwing arm with a restraining device. When tightened fully, the object to be thrown was placed in a holding enclosure at the free end of the arm. Once released, the throwing arm swung, propelled by the tension of the twisted fibers at its base until stopped by the padded crossbar. Both the swing and the abrupt stop of the arm contributed to the velocity of the projectile, which traveled in a high, rounded trajectory. Projecting rocks of fifty pounds or more over two hundred yards, the mangonel could hit fortified walls from a safe distance. Catapults remained in wide use in the Middle Ages in Iberia and elsewhere, but damp or humid weather inhibited the building of tension in the fibers of the mangonel, making it less serviceable north of the Pyrenees.

A significant improvement, imported from the East, appeared in the twelfth century in the form of the traction trebuchet. In lieu of twisted fibers and torsion power, the traction trebuchet balanced the throwing end of the arm with the power of a crew of men pulling lines attached to the arm. By the thirteenth century an improved variety of this machine, the gravity trebuchet, replaced the crew of pullers with heavy counterweights. These consisted of containers filled with measured amounts of weights that could be adjusted to the weight of the projectile and the distance it had to travel.

Modern models have thrown three-hundred-pound stones over one hundred fifty yards, and potentially can hurl lighter objects to a maximum range of eight hundred yards. Both trebuchet models have more power, flexibility, and accuracy than a catapult, and are less affected by weather. The first European use of the traction trebuchet occurred during the Christian siege of Lisbon in 1147, and its presence is noted in the Occitan-Catalan regions circa 1200. The gravity counterweight model appears to have been employed by King Jaime I of Aragón, noted in his chronicle of the assault on the regions north of Valencia. The contemporary Escorial manuscript of the Cantigas de Santa María depicts this model as well, and records of their use continue well into the fifteenth century. Cortés utilized one in his siege of México-Tenochtitlán in 1521. In addition to projectiles, these powerful machines were used to hurl dead humans, putrefying animal carcasses, and assorted forms of refuse into besieged castles and towns to encourage the outbreak of disease. Besieged areas often built trebuchets to destroy the machines of their attackers.

The last dramatic breakthrough followed the trebuchet rather closely in the thirteenth century; this was the use of gunpowder and the cannon. (Both remained
highly experimental until the end of the fifteenth century.) Gunpowder was a blend of saltpeter, sulphur, and carbon, mixed in either a milled powder or in pellet form. It was initially used by Muslim Iberians, packed in vessels and hurled by trebuchets. By the early fourteenth century, gunpowder became itself the propulsive force for projectiles fired from a metal cannon. Again, the first recorded peninsular use was by the Moors, against Aragon in 1331. Some cannon were small-bore, fired bolts and pellets, and were employed against personnel. Others were larger bore, made of cast or beaten metal, and fired projectiles in a manner similar to the trebuchets. Once perfected by Italian casting methods in the later fifteenth century, cannon reached targets at distances of over two thousand yards. They were widely used in the armies of Fernando and Isabel, shattering the fortified places in Granada, and drastically shortening the final campaign against the Moors.

James Powers

Bibliography


ASCETICISM

Asceticism (in Greek, *askēsis*; training, exercise discipline) is the practice of austerity and self-denial; it is an ideal to which all Christians are called, but is usually associated with monks and other members of religious orders. The verb *askēein* (to strive, run) appears only once in the New Testament when St. Paul (1 Cor. 9: 24–25) compares the Christian life to the games of the amphitheater:

You know that while all runners in the stadium take part in the race, the prize goes to one. . . . run so as to win. Athletes deny themselves. . . . They do this to win a crown of leaves that withers, but we a crown that is imperishable.

By the fourth century asceticism was a characteristic of Egyptian desert monasticism and the inspiration for the monastic life of western Europe, with famous female, as well as male, ascetics. Celibacy (complete abstinence from all sexual activity), fasting (especially rejecting meat), vigils (long hours of prayer, especially at night, thus reducing the hours of sleep and bodily rest) were typical ascetic practices; more extreme forms included wearing a shirt of rough animal hair next to the skin, and whipping the body with a cord of chains, itself later considered a discipline. *The Rule of St. Benedict* (ca. 529), subsequently the cornerstone of all institutional monasticism in Europe, emphasized moderation in all things, and rejected such extreme practices.

Asceticism had a negative side—self-denial—that saints, mystics and spiritual writers understood as a means of controlling pride and fighting bodily lusts. Fasting, for example, meant the control of one’s circumstances, which strengthened the will; it also implied rejection of the values of a materialistic world. The positive side of asceticism aimed at the imitation of the sacrificial life of Jesus, the expiation of one’s sins and those of the others, and thus the deeper following of Christ. Theoretically both the positive and the negative sides of asceticism sprang from the love of God and aimed at overcoming obstacles to that love.

Asceticism was never an end in itself but a means and preparation for union with God through the development of interior tendencies to charity.

Ascetic monks served the Church as missionaries to pagan peoples: the activities of the Italian Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604) to England, those of the Englishman Winfrith/Boniface (ca. 675–754) in Frisia and Germany, and the missions of the French monk Ansgar (801–865) to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark serve as typical examples. But since the time of the early Church and throughout western Europe, the ideals of monastic asceticism had meant withdrawal from the broader secular society, lifelong stability in the monastery of profession, and the cultivation of both an inner spirituality and of the arts of peace. In Reconquest Iberia, however, a military and crusading spirit exemplified monastic asceticism. The Cistercian Order, which came to Spain within the wake of the Reconquest and was used by count-princes as a stabilizing influence in frontier regions, inspired a number of military religious orders. The Order of Calatrava, founded in 1158 by King Sancho III of Castile; the Order of Alcántara, founded in 1158 with the support of the Cistercian bishop Odo of Salamanca; and the Order of Christ, organized in 1319 by King Dinis of Portugal as replacement for the Knights Templar—all combined Cistercian spiritual ideals with the active military /missionary goal of wrestling land from the Muslims. The military values of an iron discipline, obedience, and devotion to duty represented the new ascetic values, and since conversion to Christianity was considered an indispensable part of becoming civilized, the sword and violence replaced prayer and piety as instruments of that conversion.

Christians in most parts of western Europe lived in relatively homogenous religious milieus. Christians in the Iberian Peninsula, however, because of the proximity of Muslims and Jews, perceived their religious faith as a cultural and racial difference. Just as their
sense of identity stressed this difference, so too did their ascetic ideals.

BENNETT D. HILL

Bibliography


ASTROLOGY AND ASTRONOMY, CHRISTIAN

Few today realize that the modern clock, with its markers indicating twelve equal hours, is the direct descendant of the medieval horologe, on whose face were depicted the starts and planets of the heavens. Instead of using rotating hands, the entire face of the horologe rotated past a stationary marker representing the horizon, in an attempt to reflect simultaneously what was occurring in the sky above. The significance of this observation is that the rotation of the heavens, the alternation between day and night, unrelentlessly regulates the lives of plants, animals, and humans. This constant alternation with the regular appearance of the sun during the day and certain stellar patterns at night eventually came to serve as markers—predictors, in a way—for the somewhat regular patterns of nature. Heavenly patterns, associated with certain seasons, could in turn serve as predictors for following seasons.

Observation of the stars, then, has always contained, beyond the mere theoretical, a practical component. Medieval astronomy and its bedfellow, or perhaps its raison d'être, astrology, derived from the Greeks both directly and indirectly. The direct route, through the Romans, proved somewhat sterile. The indirect route, through the Arabs, on the other hand, provided an impetus over the stretch that eventually would lead to Nicolas Copernicus (1473–1543).

When Greek astronomy passed on to Rome, for myriad possible reasons—economics, war, plague, barbarian invasions—it degenerated to a low level and had little impact on medieval culture. The major Greek work passed on to the west was the outdated—by Ptolemaic standards—cosmology found in Plato’s Timaeus. Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) reveals in his Etymologies the kinds of information arriving through this direct route. A major problem with information arriving directly from Rome was that it was unaccompanied by a theoretical background or the means to acquire it. Only a portion of Aristotle’s writings came through this route. The fundamental interest of Christian astronomy, prior to the impetus it received from Arabic science in the tenth century, consisted essentially of explaining philosophically rather than empirically the composition of the universe—that is, of explaining cosmology as it was understood from the few Greek sources available.

Nestorian Christians fleeing persecution of the Byzantine Church (fifth century) brought to Persia much Greek knowledge. This, translated into Syriac, was passed on into Arabic, and subsequently into Latin and on to the Christian west.

Those who chide Arab astronomy for not advancing theoretically the Greek science passed on to them often fail to consider what the Arabs did achieve: accurate measurements, compilation of useful tables, refinement of instruments of astronomical observation, and a most important motive for pursuing all of this: astrology.

According to Pederson, Gerber of Aurillac (ca. 945–1003), later Pope Sylvester II, “introduced the abacus, the armillary sphere, and, apparently the astrolabe as teaching aids into the schools in which he taught.” By 1277, King Alfonso X lists at least fourteen instruments of observation and mensuration including horologes in his Libro del saber de astrología. Such instruments enabled refining of astronomical science as the means to astrological prediction.

Astrology has always found proponents and opponents, yet the medieval church did not militate against it per se, providing it avoided any manner of determinism. The writings of the church fathers and the contents of Greek cosmology generally, although not always, found easy compromises. A major concern of Christianity was ensuring that empirical observation did not infringe upon the rights of a deity whose ways were considered infinite and inscrutable. When irreconcilable differences occurred, theology prevailed.

Medieval cosmology, never summarized or presented comprehensively in any one work, nevertheless manifests three major tenets: that the universe was geocentric, spherical, and finite. Heliocentric and geoheliocentric theories proposed earlier never took root. Geocentricity became so essential to western thought that attempts to displace the centrality of Earth met substantial resistance. One of the alleged reasons why the Inquisition burned Giordano Bruno at the stake (1600) was his support of heliocentrism; nearly half a century later, Galileo spent the final days of his life (d. 1642) under house arrest for his heliocentric theories. In the Ptolemaic view, with the Earth at center, the universe extended outward in a series of concentric spheres, each constituting a heaven inhabited by one of the seven planets (from Greek planetes, meaning “wanderer”)—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The “Eighth Heaven” was the abode of the fixed stars—that is, the constellations, especially the twelve of the zodiac, which never varied in their
have concerned themselves with astronomy. They wrote on calendars, and their works are known only through extensive quotations by later writers. The earliest Iberian Jew to work on mathematical astronomy proper whose works have survived is Abraham bar Ḥiyya (d. ca.1136) of Barcelona. He wrote in Hebrew, employing a technical vocabulary of his own making, the following: *Surat ha-Ares*, a nontechnical exposition in the tradition of the Arabic *hay‘ah* literature; extensive tables (*Luhot ha-Nast*) and instructions for their use (*Heshbon Mahalakhot ha-Kokhavim*); and some shorter items, including one on the differences between Ptolemy and Al-Battâni. Astronomical material is also included in Bar Ḥiyya’s encyclopedia, *Yesodei ha-Tevunah*. Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167) wrote a treatise on the use of the astrolabe, *Kli ha-Nehoshet*, and several sets of astronomical tables, all lost, and a number of other important works. Although Ibn Ezra was born and educated in Spain, and he has long been identified in Jewish tradition as the archetypical Spanish erudite, most of these works were actually written in Italy.

Several Jewish astronomers collaborated in writing and translating treatises for the corpus of astronomical works created under the patronage of Alfonso X of Castile. The most important of these was Isaac Ibn Sid, who is considered the outstanding Jewish astronomer of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, hardly anything is known about Ibn Sid other than his name and the record of a few of his observations. We know he was the author (not translator) of ten of the Alfon-sine treatises and served the king in the preparation of the Alfonsine Tables. His reputation in Toledo was as an astronomer (fl. 1263–1267). Yehudah b. Moses ha-Kohen (Mosca) was another famous translator of works for Alfonso, apparently related to the astronomer Yehudah b. Solomon Mosca, author of the astronomical *Misphatei kokavim: otot ha-shamayim*. He translated the famous *Lapidario* as well as Azarquiel (Al-Zarqālī), and together with Ibn Sid translated other works. The Toledan Judah ibn Mattka was, for all we know, not an astronomer, but he included in his encyclopedic *Midrash Hokhmah* extensive summaries of Ptolemy’s *Almagest* and the nonconformist theories of al-Bīrūnī. Ibn Mattka presents some detailed criticisms of Ptolemy’s computation of the planetary sizes and distances. Although it remains unpublished, it incorporates interesting astronomical discussions as well that are devoted ostensibly to religious matters; for example, in the section treating of the secrets of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. *Midrash Hokhmah* was very influential in the diffusion of astronomical knowledge among Jews; it also preserves for the modern scholar fragments of the commentary to the *Almagest* written

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**Bibliography**


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**ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY, JEWISH**

Hasan ha-Dayyan (fl. ca. 950) and Isaac ben Baruch (1035–1094) are the earliest known Iberian Jews to
by one R. David, perhaps David ibn Nahamias of Toledo.

Another Toledan, Isaac ben Joseph Israeli, produced in 1310 *Yesod ‘Olam*, on the face of it a practical handbook for computing the Jewish calendar but contained as necessary ancillary material exhaustive discussions of solar and lunar theory, and much other material as well. *Yesod ‘Olam* survives in over thirty manuscript copies; it and Bar Hiyya’s *Surat ha-Ares* were undoubtedly the two most popular specimens of medieval Hebrew astronomical literature. In two other works, *Sha’ar ha-Shamayim* and *Sha’ar ha-Millu’im* (both of which are accompanied by tables), Israeli discusses those elements of astronomy, especially planetary theory, that were necessarily left out of his work on the Jewish calendar. Israeli’s own son Joseph wrote a summary in Arabic of *Yesod ‘Olam*, which was then translated by another family member into Hebrew. *Yesod ‘Olam* was dedicated to Rabbeinu Asher (Ben Yehiel), a German rabbi who had just assumed the spiritual leadership of Spanish Jewry. Israeli wished to impress this presumably uncultured northerner with the achievements of Spanish Jewry and, it seems, he met with some success. Asher’s son Judah (d. 1349) himself took up astronomy and produced a book, *Hugqot Shamayim*, whose excellence was attested to by later astronomers. Judah’s student Solomon Corsos, who may have worked at Avila, commented upon *Yesod ‘Olam*. Joseph ben Isaac ibn al-Waqar, yet another Toledan, drew extensive astronomical tables in Arabic (ca. 1357) and in Hebrew (ca. 1395); these have yet to be closely studied. Solomon Franco (fourteenth century) wrote an astronomical handbook of his own (including tables) and also a treatise on the astrolabe.

We know also of quite a number of Aragónese Jewish astronomers who flourished in the fourteenth century. Most important is Jacob ben Yem Tov Po’el (Bonjorn), whose widely diffused tables were translated into Latin and Catalan. A number of Jews worked in the service of Pedro IV the Ceremonious (1336–1387), most notably the Mallorcan cartographer and instrument maker Isaac Nafuci, and Jacob Corsino, who was active in the preparation of Pedro’s own astrological tables and also left us a treatise on the astrolabe. At the end of this century (1391) at least two copies of a complete and illuminated star catalog were prepared on vellum somewhere in central Iberia, close to the thirty-first parallel.

Judah ibn Verga, who worked at Lisbon in the middle of the fifteenth century, composed a number of astronomical treatises. By far the most accomplished Hispano-Jewish astronomer of that century is Abraham Zacut. Zacut taught at Salamanca, for whose meridian he drew up a set of tables; the Latin version, *Almanach perpetuus*, played no small role in the navigational feats of that great age of exploration.

Jewish thinkers shared in the deliberations of Hispano-Islamic savants concerning the true physical structure of the heavens. Maimonides notes his study of this issue with the students of Ibn Baṭja; and the purportedly truer (in the philosophic sense) models of al-Bīrūnī were available in Hebrew translation. Most worthy of scholarly attention are the detailed alternative models developed by Joseph ibn Nahamias in his *Nūr al-‘ālam*, which he himself translated into Hebrew as *Or ‘Olam*. The criticisms and innovations in more technical matters of two other Iberians, Al-Zarqālī and Jabir ibn Aflah, were translated into Hebrew and aroused considerable interest.

Astrology seems to have always been a matter of some controversy, though on the whole it probably was accepted by a majority of Jews. Abraham bar Hiyya offered a vigorous defense; two of his contemporaries, the mystic Bahya ibn Paqudah and the philosopher Judah ha-Levy, were both critical, as was Maimonides. It appears that, especially in the fourteenth century, astrology figured prominently in polemics with Christians, on account of its pertinence to the issue of freedom of action. The apostate Abner of Burgos (Alfonso de Valladolid) appealed to astrology in his attacks on Judaism, prompting a lengthy rebuttal of astrology from Isaac Polgar in his *’Ezer ha-Dat*.

Few astrological texts were produced. Most interesting is Bar Hiyya’s astrological history, *Megillat ha-Megalleh*. A small section of Ibn Mattka’s encyclopedia is devoted to astrology. Joseph ben Abraham ibn Waqar promulgated a synthesis of astrology, philosophy, and cabala. Astrology was also utilized in many biblical commentaries. The aforementioned Jacob Corsino, together with two Christians, composed *Tractat d’astrologia* for Pedro IV.

Finally we must take note of the deeper resonances of astronomy in Hispano-Jewish culture. Intellectuals in the main assimilated the notion that astronomy is the noblest of the sciences and a requisite stepping stone to further spiritual development. Solomon ibn Gabirol (ca. 1020–1057) devoted an entire section of his masterpiece *Keter Malkhut* to the science of the stars and, among other poets, most notably Isaac ibn Ghiyat found inspiration in the stars for many verses.

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Bibliography


**ASTROLOGY AND ASTRONOMY, MUSLIM**

The Andalusian heritage is extremely rich in the fields of astronomy and astrology, two branches of knowledge that were closely related in the Middle Ages. Even, as hence, with a study of the development of astronomical instruments and the compilation of astronomical tables, one should bear in mind that the main purpose of most of the instruments was to simplify the tedious computations involved in the casting of a horoscope and that tables were compiled because planetary longitudes are an essential part of the same horoscope.

During the first century after the Muslim conquest, a Latin astronomical, but also astronomical, tradition survived in al-Andalus. ‘Abd al-Wahid ibn Ishag al-Dabbti (fl. ca. 800), the first Andalusian astrologer who left a written work, composed an astrological *urjuza* (didactical poem in *rajaz* meter) of which only thirty-nine verses are extant and in which astrological predictions are based in the late Latin “system of the crosses” (*tariqat alkhānān al-ṣulāb*). This Latin astrological tradition was much more crude than the standard Hellenistic one adopted by the eastern Arabs and introduced later into al-Andalus, and Al-Dabbti’s *urjuza* was probably corrected, in the eleventh century, by a certain Oueldalla (‘Abdallah ibn Ahmad al-Tulaytuli) and finally translated into Spanish (*Libro de las Cruces*) by Yehudah ben Moshe (fl. 1225–1276) for King Alfonso X. A second instance of such Latin influence is probably to be found in sundials. Qasim ibn Mutarrif al-Qattan (and many other sources after him) describes, toward the middle of the tenth century, a *balāṭa*, a very primitive kind of horizontal sundial in which the vertical gnomon is fixed in the center of a semicircle and the limits of the hours are determined by radii that divide the circle equally into fifteen-degree arcs. This instrument is very different from the standard Hellenistic horizontal sundial (in which the solar shadow in the solstices describes two arcs of a hyperbola, while in the equinoxes it describes a straight line) and I believe that it corresponds to a Latin tradition related to the kind of instruments that are often found in churches and that are called incised dials or mass clocks in England.

Andalusian astronomers seem to have been interested in designing astronomical instruments. The astrolabe, the standard analogue computer used to quickly solve problems of spherical astronomy and astrology, appears mentioned for the first time in an anecdote in which the characters involved are the emir ‘Abd al-Rahman II (821–852) and his astrologer, Ibn al-Shamir. This instrument attracted the attention of Maslama al-Majriti (ca. 950–1007), who wrote a commentary on Ptolemy’s *Planisphaerium*, the main treatise inherited from antiquity in which the theory of the instrument is analyzed. Maslama’s disciples Ahmad Ibn-al-Jaffar (d. 1035) and Abû-l-Qasim Asbag ibn al-Samh (d. 1035) wrote books on the use of the astrolabe and the latter also on its construction. Ibn al-Samh’s treatise on the use of the instrument was later adapted by the collaborators of Alfonso X in their treatise on the spherical astrolabe (*astrolabio redondo*).

The polar stereographic projection used in the astrolabe implies that the local horizon is projected as an arc of a circle and, therefore, the instrument requires a special plate for each latitude. If an adequate plate for the required latitude is not available, approximate

![Astrolabe. From Córdoba. Moorish, 1154. Engraved with Latin text in Italy during the 14th c. Jagellon Library, Museum, Cracow, Poland. Copyright © Giraudon/Art Resource, NY.](image-url)
methods that do not yield sufficiently accurate results need to be used. To avoid this inconvenience, two Toledan astronomers of the eleventh century, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Yahyā al-Naqšī (d. 1100), called Ibn al-Zarqālūh or Ibn al-Zarqālūlūh (also Azarquiel), and Abū-1-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Khalaf al-Shajjār al-Ṣaydalānī (fl. 1068–1072), designed the first universal astrolabes based on a meridian stereographic projection in which any horizon is projected as a radius of the instrument and a rotating ruler can easily become a movable horizon and be adapted to any required latitude. Ibn al-Zarqālūh seems to have been the first to design a universal instrument of this kind. The description of two varieties of the so-called azafea (al-ṣaffa) were dedicated by him to the ‘Abbādī prince and later king of Seville, Al-Mu’tamīd (1069–1091). Unlike the standard astrolabe, Ibn al-Zarqālūh’s instruments lacked a rete or spider, the rotation of which represents that of the celestial sphere around the earth. This is probably why ‘Alī ibn Khalaf designed, in 1071 to 1072, a new instrument that he called al-asturlab al-ma’mūnt and dedicated to King al-Ma’mūn of Toledo (1043–1074). This instrument was called, in the Alfonsoine translation, Lamina universal and Orizont universal, and it superimposed a rotating rete on the standard grid of coordinates characteristic of Ibn al-Zarqālūh’s azafeas. Finally, a last attempt to design a plate for all horizons, to be used with a conventional astrolabe, was done, in the thirteenth century, by the astronomer of Granada Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Bāsā. This new instrument bears the influence of the two aforementioned Toledan astronomers and of the characteristic Eastern “plate of horizons” usually ascribed to the Syrian astronomer Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (d. ca. 864).

Both the standard and the universal astrolabe solved, quite easily, the problem of the division of the houses that was necessary to cast a horoscope; still, the computation of planetary longitudes using a set of astronomical tables (zīj) implied quite a long work. This is why equatoria (instruments consisting of Ptolemaic planetary models drawn to scale) were designed in order to offer graphical solutions to the problem. Although a possible Eastern origin has been suggested, it is a fact that the earliest descriptions of the equatorium appear in al-Andalus in the eleventh century. They were written by the aforementioned Ibn al-Samḥ and Ibn al-Zarqālūh, and by Abū-1-Ṣalt Umayyaa ibn Abī-1-Ṣalt (ca. 1067–1134). The two former treatises were the object of an Alfonsoine Spanish translation that could be the starting point of the long tradition of Latin treatises on this instrument that appeared in Europe between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apart from its practical nature, the instrument described by Ibn al-Zarqālūh contains an important theoretical development. The complexity of the Ptolemaic Mercury model led him to represent the planet’s deferent as an oval (bayḍa) curve (called figura pinnata in the Spanish translation), practically equivalent to an ellipse. Thus, he seems to have been the first astronomer with enough courage to cross the boundary of an astronomy based on circles and introduce a new astronomy of noncircular curves.

Astrolabes and equatoria are analogue computers, not observational instruments, the description of which is rare in the Andalusian tradition. Only two instruments of this latter kind appear documented: one of them is Ibn al-Zarqālūh’s treatise on the construction of the armillary sphere extant only in the Alfonsoine version (Libro de las Armellas). The second was designed by Jābir ibn Aflāḥ (fl. 1150). Conceived as a large-sized observational instrument (Jābir mentions a diameter of about six spans for the basic graduated circle) that can be mounted on any one of the three astronomical planes (horizon, equator, or ecliptic), it has been considered a predecessor of the torquetum, a European instrument described for the first time toward the end of the thirteenth century.

A third center of interest in Andalusian astronomy can be found in astronomical handbooks with tables (zīj). The first zīj was introduced in al-Andalus in the time of ’Abd al-Rahmān II (821–852), and it was probably a work of Indian descent, the Sindhind in the recension made by Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (fl. 800–847), which, in the second half of the tenth century, was revised and adapted by Maslama al-Majrīt and his disciples. The time of Maslama was also that of the introduction, in al-Andalus, of the more elaborate Ptolemaic astronomy, but the Indian tradition was never completely forgotten in this country. A good example can be found in the Tabulae Jahen (an adaptation of Al-Khwārizmī’s Sindhind to the coordinates of Ja‘n to which Ptolemaic or original materials were added) of Ibn Mu‘ādah (d. 1093), of which only the canons are extant in a Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona. Much more successful were the Toledan Tables, only known through a Latin translation extant in an enormous number of manuscripts. These tables seem to have been the result of a hasty adaptation, done circa 1069, of all the available astronomical material (Al-Khwārizmī, Al-Battānī, and the Almagest) to the coordinates of Ja‘n supplemented by the coordinates of Toledo. Its authors were a group of Toledan astronomers led by the famous qādī Abū-l-Qāsim Sā’īd ibn Ahmad ibn ’Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mūhammad ibn Sā’īd (d. 1070). Among them we find Ibn Al-Zarqālūh and ‘Alī ibn Khalaf as well as others. Even if the results achieved were not brilliant, the Toledan Tables incorporated the first results of a programme of observations that were continued by Ibn
al-Zarqâlluh until much later, as well as a set of trepidation tables that appear for the first time in al-Andalus. Trepidation theory — also called theory of accession and recession — which was later (ca. 1085) the object of further study by Ibn al-Zarqâlluh in his book *On the Motion of Fixed Stars*, has an obscure Eastern origin but was mainly developed in al-Andalus. Its purpose is to furnish astrologers with astronomical works of Ibn Ba‘jjah (1070–1138), Ibn Tufayl (before 1110–1185), Ibn Rushd (Averroës) (1126–1198), and Maimonides (1135–1204), but it is only with Abû Ishâq Nûr al-Dîn (ibn) al-Bîtrûjî, a disciple of Ibn Tufayl, that a complete cosmological system appears in his *Kitâb fī l-hay‘a‘a*, probably composed between 1185 and 1192. With a limited knowledge of the astronomical literature available, he conceives a homocentric system that is purely qualitative, has too many defects and inconsistencies, and could never have been the base for the computation of a set of tables. It is, however, interesting to remark that, in order to explain the transmission of motion between the physical planetary spheres, he does not use Aristotelian but neoplatonic dynamics.

**Julio Samsó**

**Bibliography**


**ASTURIAS, KINGDOM OF THE**

The history of the kingdom of the Asturias (ca. 718 to 910) has to be reconstructed largely on the evidence of two brief chronicles first composed in the late ninth century, one of which, the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, survives in two variant versions compiled early in the tenth century. The other chronicle, known as the *Chronicle of Albelda*, from the monastery in which a short continuation was added to it in 976, is much briefer than the Alfonsine texts, but is independent of
them. To these chronicles can be added a few notices of the kingdom in the Arab historians of Umayyad Spain and in some of the contemporary Frankish annals. There also exists a body of charters relating to royal and other deeds of gift and sale, but many of the earliest of these are either forged or have been interpolated.

Although it is possible to reconstruct an outline history of the kings of the Asturias, it must be appreciated that this has to be done on the basis of a predominantly late-ninth-/early-tenth-century perspective. Thus, information concerning the creation of the kingdom and the first hundred years of its existence may be affected by the strong ideological preoccupations of the reign of Alfonso III (866–910). Particular care is needed in assessing the foundation legends of the kingdom and its royal dynasty.

In the Asturian historiographical tradition members of the family of the penultimate Visigothic king Wittiza (692/4–710) are cast consistently as the villains in the story of the fall of that kingdom and the ensuing foundation of the Asturian one. Wittiza himself is portrayed as an enemy of the father of Pelagius, who was to become the first king of the Asturias, and the cause of the latter’s exile. When Pelagius subsequently led a revolt in the Asturias against the Arabs, one of Wittiza’s sons, Oppas—who is made out to be either the bishop of Toledo or of Seville—accompanied the Arab army that was sent to crush him. In the two versions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III an elaborate but fictitious exchange of insults is made to take place between Pelagius and Oppas immediately prior to the battle fought at Covadonga, in which the Arabs are defeated and the independence of Pelagius’s tiny kingdom is established.

In reality, very little is known of the causes and events of the Asturian revolt, or of the origins of Pelagius. Even the date of the battle of Covadonga is uncertain, though the traditional date of 718 is probably to be preferred to the more recent suggestion of 722. A local revolt, allied to a subsequent lack of interest on the part of the Arab governors in restoring their hold over the northern mountains of the Iberian Peninsula explains how the kingdom came into being, and why it was able to survive. In retrospect this was anachronistically seen as the beginning of the whole process of the Reconquest, and the crucial battle came to be associated with a miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary.

After the Battle of Covadonga the chronicles record nothing of the reign of Pelagius beyond his burial at Cangas de Onís and the succession of his son Fáfila (737–739). That the kingdom he had created covered little more than the region of the eastern Asturias, centered on Cangas, is probable, and no further extension of its territory occurred until the accession of Pelagius’s son-in-law Alfonso I (739–756) following the accidental death of Fáfila. Alfonso was the son of a duke of the region called Cantabria, the precise area of which in this context cannot be deduced. But his inheritance must have led to an eastward extension of the kingdom into Basque regions. Alfonso’s son Fruela I the Cruel (756–768) faced what the chroniclers describe as a Basque revolt, and made a diplomatic marriage to a Basque wife after its suppression.

It is possible that the chronicle references to revolts on the part of both Galicians and Basques in this period are ideologically tainted, and that what was really at issue was resistance to Asturian conquest. Under both Alfonso I and Fruela I the western frontiers of the kingdom were expanding rapidly, first to the river Miño and then to the Atlantic coast. Although in the later perspective of the Reconquest this was a liberation, there are no good reasons to assume that in the eighth century the Basques or the Galicians wished to be ruled by the Asturias.

Warfare was also initiated on the southern frontiers in the reigns of these two kings. Various settlements in the northern Meseta were captured, and their Hispano-Gothic populations moved north into the Asturias. Rather than occupying the newly acquired territory on the Leonese Plateau, the kings were trying to create a deserted zone between themselves and the Arabs in the south and center of the peninsula. The Asturian chronicles attribute this activity to Alfonso, while Arab sources give the credit to Fruela.

Following the latter’s murder in 768, the throne did not pass to his infant son Alfonso, but was taken in turn by a number of other members of the ruling family. This concern, not so much with primogeniture but with preserving a dynastic succession, is in marked contrast with the practices of the preceding Visigothic period. The first of these kings was Aurelius (768–774), a cousin of his predecessor and possibly implicated in his killing. After his death power passed to Fruela’s brother-in-law Silo (774–783), and then to an illegitimate son of Alfonso I called Mauregatus (783–788). Of these kings hardly anything is known, and in general this was a period in which no further territorial expansion took place, and in which relations with the Arab south were generally pacific. Under Aurelius a servile revolt occurred and was crushed—a tantalizing episode about which no further details are preserved.

It was expected that Fruela’s son Alfonso would obtain his father’s throne on the death of Silo, when he was chosen by the Asturian court nobility. However, Mauregatus staged a coup, probably with Galician
buildings in the city, the Church of San Julián el Real was recorded his building projects in Oviedo, the new capital action is reported in the Asturian sources, though Arab cause Alfonso had been briefly overthrown in a coup.

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armies did move in 801 and take Barcelona, no compa-

matic contact with the Asturias. A planned Frankish

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other raids that did penetrate the kingdom, and which

are recorded in the Arabic sources. In 797, in the period

of disorder in the south following the premature death

of Hisham I, Alfonso sent a raiding expedition down

the western side of the peninsula; it reached as far as

Lisbon. Some of the loot from this was sent to the

Frankish king Charlemagne, who had been in diplo-

matic contact with the Asturias. A planned Frankish

intervention in the peninsula in that year did not occur
due to fighting in Saxon, and when the Frankish

armies did move in 801 and take Barcelona, no compa-
rable Asturian expedition was launched, probably be-
cause Alfonso had been briefly overthrown in a coup.

After his restoration to power in 802 little military action is reported in the Asturian sources, though Arab raids did occur in 823 and 838. Instead the chronicles record his building projects in Oviedo, the new capital he had founded following his accession. Of the extant buildings in the city, the Church of San Julián de los Prados, with its remarkable frescoes, is normally attrib-
uted to the reign of Alfonso II. However, it is possible that this should be redated to the time of Alfonso III (866–910). Other fragments of buildings, including the Camara Sancta, a reliquary chapel attached to the first cathedral of Oviedo, may be attributable to Alfonso II. For the chroniclers, Alfonso’s work in the city marked a restoration of “the Gothic order,” and from his reign dates the beginning of the self-presentation of the Asturian kingdom as the successor to and heir of that of the Visigoths, with consequential claims to a peninsula-wide authority.

Alfonso II’s failure to marry, which later earned him the epithet “the Chaste,” led to the throne passing to a nephew, called Nepotian, upon Alfonso’s death in 842. However, the new ruler was instantly chal-
lenged and overthrown in a civil war with Ramiro I (842–850), son of Vermudo I the Monk. As with his father, Ramiro’s backing came from Galicia. Although Nepotian is treated as a usurper in the chronicles of the time of Ramiro’s grandson, there is little doubt that he was a legitimate, if unsuccessful, king.

Under Ramiro I Arab raids against the kingdom occurred in 846 and 849 or 850, but his son Ordoño I (850–866) was able to take a more active role in events in the south, and the Asturian kingdom entered a new phase of expansion for the first time in nearly a cen-
tury. Some of the former settlements on the Meseta, such as León, were repopulated, and a number of oth-
ers, including Talamanca and Coria, were looted, their Muslim garrisons massacred, and their inhabitants enslaved. An expedition sent in 854 to aid rebels in To-
ledo against the emir Muhammad I (852–886) proved a disaster, but Ordoño was more successful in opposing the growing power on the eastern fringes of the king-
dom of the local Muwallad potentates of the Bantú Qäsi. In 859 the most powerful of these, Mūsä Ibn Mūsä was defeated at Albelda.

The kingdom was subjected to large-scale raiding by Umayyad armies in 863, 865, 866, and 867. Al-
though the new king, Alfonso III (866–910), suc-
cceeded his father in a period of military difficulty, his reign was marked by more extensive and irrevocable expansion of the kingdom southward and repopulation of settlements on the Meseta and in Castile. Castile made its first appearance as a county at this time, and its principal town of Burgos was subsequently founded in 883. Alfonso’s successes were in large measure due to the growing internal difficulties of the Umayyad regime, and the decline of its central power in the 880s. In 878 Alfonso won a significant victory over an Arab raiding army at Polvoraria, which gained him a three-
year truce. After renewed raiding in 882 and 883 a peace was reached that lasted for the rest of the reign.

The peace with Córdoba and the growth of repop-
ulation and the development of towns south of the As-
turian mountains led to a shift in the political balance of the kingdom. Frontier settlements in the south, such as Zamora, grew in importance, and a southward move of the capital from the distant if secure Oviedo became necessary. The Kingdom’s authority over the increas-
ingly important frontier fortresses, together with Al-
fonso’s son’s impatience with their father’s longevity, led to a coup in 910 in which Alfonso was deposed. He died the same year, and claims in twelfth-century sources that he did so while returning from a final expedition against the Arabs, which his sons let him lead, should be doubted. His eldest son García (910–914) moved the capital to León, and so with Al-
fonso III the kingdom of the Asturias came to an end.

Roger Collins
ATHANAGILD, LORD OF TUDMIR

Athanagild was the son of the Visigothic noble Theodemir, lord of a region in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula that was known to Arab authors as Tudmir. This included seven towns, most of which have been identified, including Orihuela, Lorca, and possibly Valencia. Theodemir’s status and the virtual independence of this region under his control was guaranteed by the treaty of capitulation he made with the Arab governor Abd al-Aziz ibn Mūsā in 713. It is probable that by about 740 Athanagild had inherited his father’s political authority, and the Chronicle of 754, which is the only source that refers to him, describes him as “the wealthiest lord of all.” He was also notably generous, and this may explain the significance of the only episode in his career that the chronicler records. Around 743/4 the governor Abū al-Kattar (743–746) obliged Athanagild to pay a fine of 27,000 gold pieces, but this was paid for him by the Syrian army, which had entered Spain with Baij ibn Bishr in 742. This may imply that elements of this body were being settled in the region at this time, despite the terms of the treaty of 713. At the instigation of the Syrians, Athanagild was reconciled with the governor and was rewarded by him. Nothing more is known of his life, but the region of Tudmir had certainly lost its independent status by the 780s.

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AUGUSTINIAN See MONASTICISM; RELIGIOUS ORDERS

AUTO DA FE

Literally an “act of faith,” an auto da fé (de fé in Spanish) was a penance demanded by the Church from a person found guilty of religious error, in faith or doctrine. The Papal Inquisition, founded in the thirteenth century, normally held ceremonies for the reconciliation of penitents in churches, but the new Spanish Inquisition, after 1478, moved such ceremonies to public streets and squares. First in Castile, and soon afterward in the Crown of Aragón, convicted “heretics,” after secret trial and sentencing, were processed through the...
streets of their native towns, barefoot, carrying candles, and clad in mitres and robes known as sambe-nitos, which detailed graphically the offences for which they had to do penance. A large crowd, including local ecclesiastical and secular authorities, would assemble to hear a sermon against heresy, and the reading of the penitents’ sentences. Relapsed heretics, primarily “Judaizing” Christians up to about 1510, were then handed over to the secular authorities for burning at a separate site. In a dramatic early case, 750 were processed in an auto da fe in Toledo on 12 February 1486, while in both 1502 and 1504 over a hundred individuals were burned after autos da fe in Córdoba. Later in the sixteenth century, many other types of people, such as former Muslims, Protestants, and even gypsies and bigamists, were processed, but in decreasing numbers. Autos da fe in Spain, while losing none of their terror for those directly involved, became popular spectacles, but increasingly damaged the country’s reputation abroad.

JOHN EDWARDS

Bibliography


AUTOBIOGRAPHY

It is unusual for autobiography to be allowed its own entry in works of reference: users of the Dictionary of the Middle Ages, for instance, or of Cassell’s Encyclopaedia of World Literature will look in vain for an entry. Yet autobiography is not merely one kind of biography, for it often has as much in common with other kinds of first-person expression as it does with most third-person narratives of a life.

There are classical and medieval Latin precedents—and sometimes direct sources—for most forms of biography in medieval Spanish: Berceo’s Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos, or Gutierre Díez de Games’s El Victorrial, or Fernán Pérez de Guzmán’s volume of biographical sketches, the Generaciones y semblanzas. The range of precedents for autobiographical writing is much more restricted, though they include two masterpieces, St. Augustine’s Confessiones and Peter Abelard’s Historia calamitatum. These, however, with their strongly confessional nature, seem to have had more influence on other genres than on autobiography.

The distinction often made between real and fictional autobiographies is hard to maintain in practice. Leonor López de Córdoba’s Memorias, guaranteed by the author to be a truthful account, can now be seen to present a reordering and reinterpretation of events. At the other end of the spectrum, the Libro de buen amor, though clearly dependent on Latin and vernacular precedents for every episode, gives us a strong (though perhaps misleading) impression of the personality behind the narrative, and was at one time read as genuinely autobiographical. Other fictional constructs have always been recognized as such: Juan de Flores’s Grimalte y Gradisa—in direct line of descent from two woman’s-voice autobiographical narratives, Ovid’s Heroides and Boccaccio’s Elegia di madonna Fiammetta—and the brief but memorable snippets of recollection by several characters in Celestina (though we should recall that behind one of these there probably lies a memory of Fernando de Rojas’s childhood).

Third-person biographies and first-person, more or less fictional, narratives converge in several forms of autobiographical writing in late medieval Spain. Some travel books take a personal approach to their subject; this is especially noticeable in Pero Tafur’s...
Andanzas y viajes. Teresa de Cartagena’s Arboleda de los enfermos gives us a memorable and convincing impression of the pain of growing deafness, and of life within a convent. Autobiographical vignettes may also be found in letters. The great majority of surviving medieval letters are more or less formulaic compositions, concerned with affairs of state or of business (that is why they have been preserved in archives), and some of those that do have a personal tone are concerned with other people, rather than with the writer’s own life. Others, however, do speak of the writer’s life and concerns. We have nothing in medieval Spanish comparable to the fifteenth-century letters of the Paston family, and for a collection of letters that open a window onto a woman’s life we have to turn to Catalan, to the letters written by Sereneta de Tous to her husband, Ramon from 1374 to 1376. There is, however, a letter in Castilian by Constanza, wife of Juan Manuel, sent in 1327 to her father, Jaime II of Aragon, begging him to send Aragonese doctors to treat her worsening illness.

Most of the letters that can be regarded as autobiographical writing are from the fifteenth century. A particularly interesting collection preserves letters written between 1420 and 1431 by Fernando Díaz de Toledo, particularly the letters written by Sereneta de Tous to her husband, Ramon from 1374 to 1376. There is, however, a letter in Castilian by Constanza, wife of Juan Manuel, sent in 1327 to her father, Jaime II of Aragon, begging him to send Aragonese doctors to treat her worsening illness.

The harvest of autobiography in medieval Spanish is small, but the quality is exceptionally high. Part 3 of the Libro de las tres razones has long been acclaimed as a masterpiece of first-person narrative; Leonor López de Córdoba’s memoir has, in the last thirty years, been recognized as a key text with an authentic personal voice, and similar recognition for the archdeacon of Niebla’s letters will not be long delayed.

**Bibliography**


AVERROÈS, ABU 'L-WALÎD MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD B. RUSHD

Commentator on Aristotle, philosopher, physician and jurist; the greatest intellectual figure of Islamic Iberia. Averroës (the name is a corrupt Judaeo-Latin transcription of the Arabic name Ibn Rushd) was born in Córdoba in 1126, into a family of eminent judges. Little is known for certain about his early career, but he undoubtedly received the traditional Islamic education in Arabic literature and linguistics, jurisprudence and theology, together with instruction in medicine and philosophy. Of the great Muslim sages of medieval Iberia, Ibn Rushd can personally only have known Ibn Tufayl, who became his mentor at the court of the Almohad caliph Abu' Ya'qub Yusuf. In an incident that Gauthier has described as being “of capital importance not only in the biography of Averroës, but in the development of European philosophy” Ibn Tufayl introduced Averroës to the learned sovereign, who was deeply impressed by his subject’s thorough knowledge of the opinions of the “philosophers” (that is to say, the Arabic falasifa working in the tradition of Aristotle and the Neoplatonists). Abu’ Ya’qub subsequently called upon Averroës to make Aristotle’s hitherto all-too-obscure writings more perspicuous by means of commentaries. As a result of the caliph’s favors, he was appointed cadi of Seville in 1169, chief qadi of Córdoba in 1171, and physician to the court of Marrakesh in 1182. The accession to the caliphate, in 1184, of Abu’ Yaq’ub’s son, Al-Mansür, did not at first change Ibn Rushd’s fortunes. However, around 1194/5, Al-Mansur found himself obliged to dissociate himself from him, yielding to the growing pressures of popular fundamentalism; Averroës’s philosophical writings were burned, and the philosopher himself exiled to Lucena, southeast of Córdoba. This sentence, so obviously out of tune with the caliph’s own intellectual leanings, was soon revoked, however and Averroës was allowed to return to Marrakesh, where he died on 10 December 1198. Averroës’s cardinal legacy are his commentaries on Aristotle; they earned him the antonomastic title “the Commentator” among the Latin schoolmen, who kept relying on his translated commentaries after St. Thomas Aquinas had tried to supplement them with his own work and even after the great Averroistic crisis of the 1270s. Significantly, Aristotle’s works continued to be accompanied by the elucidations of his commentator in the printed editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Averroës composed two kinds of commentaries, “short” and “middle,” on most of the writings of the Aristotelian corpus accessible to him; in addition, we have “long” commentaries on the Posterior Analytics, Physics, De Caelo, De Anima and Metaphysics. The short commentaries or epitomai (in Arabic jawâmi’) are manuals of Aristotelian philosophy, paraphrases written early in Averroës’s career, and show the commentator under the influence of the Neoplatonizing Aristotelianism of his predecessors Al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna). In the later middle commentaries (Arabic, talkhîs), more detailed expositions of the philosopher’s thought, we already witness a gradual emancipation from this older tradition of interpretation and see Averroës working toward an ideal of recovering Aristotle’s thought in its original purity. Ibn Rushd’s exegetical endeavors culminated in the long commentaries (Arabic tafsîr), scrupulous word-for-word commentaries of a rigorous literary form resembling that used in traditional Qur’anic exegesis: and appropriately so, for the words of Aristotle had by that time gained almost divine authority for Averroës.

The long commentary on De Anima, fruit of a lifelong exploration of Aristotelian psychology, contains Averroës’s final and most mature solution to the problems posed by Aristotle’s notoriously difficult remarks on the nature of the “agent intellect.” According to Aristotle, there is an active and a passive aspect to the human mind: the intellect, which is passive insofar as it receives the immaterial forms of sense percepts, is seen as active inasmuch as it must, prior to their reception, abstract these forms from the material conditions of sense perception. Averroës believed that both the active (or “agent”) and the passive (“material,” “possible”) powers of the intellect were one for all human beings. The possible intellect, being the receptacle for the forms of material things, could not itself possess such a form; otherwise it would interfere with and distort the forms it received. But if it was immaterial, it had to be unique, for it is matter that causes plurality. The unicity of the agent intellect, on the other hand, safeguards the universal validity of human cognition in that the individuals’ data of sense perception are abstracted and universalized by one faculty common to all. The activity of thought can on this interpretation only be ascribed to the individual inasmuch as his or her material organs of sense are necessary to furnish the transpersonal intellect with data to abstract. The thoughts themselves are no single person’s possession; rather, the intellect is envisaged as a common pool of knowledge participated in by the individual according to each person’s abilities. Full “conjunction” with the transcendent intellect, the possession of all possible knowledge, is the end and rare fulfillment of intellectual activity. Despite the denial of personal immortality that it implies, this theory of “monopsychism” exercised a deep and lasting influence on the development of philosophy in the Latin west. Its adoption by some Parisian masters in the latter...
half of the thirteenth century provoked the most profound intellectual crisis in the as yet young history of medieval Aristotelianism, but even the condemnations of 1270 and 1277 could not, in the long run, thwart its attraction. As Philip Merlan has brilliantly argued, the structures of Averroean psychology continue to be discernible in contemporary philosophy, especially in the Kantian tradition (compare with Kant’s transcendental unity of apperception/Bewußtsein überhaupt).

Averroës never held the theory of “double truth” often falsely attributed to him: in his view, the truths of philosophy and religion were in perfect agreement. As he wrote in chapter 2 of the Fasl al-maqaṣl, “truth does not oppose truth but accords with it and bears witness to it.” Hence, contradictions between religious and demonstrative truth can only be apparent, caused by the fact that the Qur’an frequently uses symbols and rhetorical or dialectical arguments in order to reach the majority of the people. The superficial oppositions thus arising must be resolved by an allegorical interpretation (tawīl) of Scripture that penetrates from the level of its apparent (zahir) to that of its hidden (batin) meanings. But tawīl is only for the philosophers and should be taught esoterically, as it would endanger the faith of those untrained in demonstrative reasoning. With philosophy thus becoming the ultimate judge of the meaning of revealed truth, Averroës takes a rationalist stance toward religion: it has nothing to offer that reason cannot reach autonomously and without the veil of symbols. This attitude, while replacing faith with intellectual conviction, does not overtly challenge the truth of Islam (which does not contain any supernatural mystery in the Christian sense); however, it relegates it to the pragmatic role of teaching the “simple people” through symbols what the philosophers know with the clarity of reason.

As in the speculative branches of philosophy, Averroës also championed a resolute return to the principles of pure Aristotelianism in the natural sciences. In what has called the Andalusian revolt against Ptolemaic astronomy, Averroës and his contemporary Al-Bitruji (Alpetragius) censured Ptolemy for departing from Aristotelian physics by postulating epicycles and eccentricities; but unlike Al-Bitruji, Averroës’s grasp of the Aristotelian alternative to epicycles and eccentricities remain unsatisfactory and vague. Averroës was not prepared to meet Ptolemy on the level of empirical observation; indeed he dismissed his computational evidence as “arrived at by the use of instruments” and “based on the senses,” opposed to the empirical method “the true theories based on rational precepts” (especially on the Metaphysics). According to Averroës, Ptolemaic astronomy was in outright contradiction to these rational principles, mainly because it assumed circular movement not around the center of the universe and two contrary motions for one planet (nature would not employ two movements for what it could possibly achieve with one, Averroës claimed, for “nature does nothing in vain”). He hoped to account for the movement of the planets by positing, in Aristotelian fashion, simple homocentric spiral motions in one direction—without, however, checking the empirical viability of this proposition. It is interesting that Averroës’s criticisms of Ptolemy, although almost exclusively negative in their failure to provide an alternative theory, later influenced Copernicus by convincing him of the shortcomings of traditional astronomy.

Similarly, the Kulliyat ft-t-tibb (Generalities in Medicine in Seven Books), or Colliget, imparted impulses toward a reform of medical science to Renaissance physicians, who appreciated Averroës’s detached and apparently disinterested attitude vis-à-vis Galen without seeing the rather reactionary Aristotelianism underlying it. In a detailed analysis of the Colliget chapter on respiration, Bürgel has discovered general tendencies comparable to those also present in Averroës’s astronomy: a preponderantly (albeit not exclusively) speculative approach rooted in Aristotelian natural philosophy, a preparedness to sacrifice scientific progress to defend the teachings of the master, and, to a lesser extent than in astronomy, resignation in the face of technical difficulties. In the Colliget, health is defined in the traditional manner as an equilibrium of the four humors; accordingly, the task of the physician consists in preserving this harmony or in restoring it when it has become disturbed through illness. The physician fights the cause of an illness with its opposite: an excess of moisture with dryness, a superabundance of heat with cold, and so forth. In spite of interesting medical details, the Colliget is intended as a compilation of received medical wisdom rather than an original work; but it has certainly not yet received the scholarly attention that it deserves.

The same could be said a fortiori of Averroës’s handbook of Islamic law, the Bidayat al-mujtahid wa-nihayat al-muqtasid (Beginning for Him Who Works Toward an Independent Judgment and End for Him who Contents Himself with Received Opinion), a book that became a standard work of reference in the Islamic world (unlike Averroës’s philosophical writings, which remained virtually unread by his fellow Muslims). The Bidaya aims at furnishing the reader with an exposition of the differences of opinion between the various juridicoreligious schools concerning the main points of the law. The objective is to enable the user of the Bidaya to come to an ijtiḥād, an independent legal judgment based on free choice among the orthodox traditions. The opinions taken into consideration
are almost exclusively Sunnite, Averroës’s acquaintance with the Malikite tradition (in which he was brought up) being most profound, but he is careful to be scrupulously objective and impartial in his presentation. Brunschvig has described the *Bidaya* as the “most accomplished example of the methodical application of the principles of Islamic law to the entirety of Sunnite jurisprudence.” Together with Averroës’s other writings, it testifies to the versatility and greatness of an encyclopedic mind.

**PHILIPP W. ROSEMANN**

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**AVIS, HOUSE OF**

Founded by Dom João, Master of the order of Avis in Alentejo, Portugal. He was the illegitimate son of Pedro I and a Galician woman, Teresa Lourenço. Born probably in Lisbon (14 August 1357) he died in the same city (14 August 1433). He ascended to the throne via the revolution of 1383–1385. On 2 February 1387 he married in Oporto Philippa of Lancaster (1359–1415), sister of the future king of England, Henry IV. Philippa was the daughter of John Gaunt and his first wife, Blanche. By Philippa João I had eight children: Duarte (1391–1438), who succeeded João I; Pedro (1392–1449), Duke of Coimbra; Henrique (1394–1460); João (1400–1442), Fernando (1402–1403), who died in prison in Fez, following the disaster of Tangier (1437); and Isabel (1397–1471). The first two died at a very early age. In 1430 Isabel married Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. João married his niece, Isabel (1404–1465), daughter of the first duke of Bragança and his first wife, Beatriz. Before his marriage to Philippa of Lancaster, João I had two children by Inês Pires: Afonso, the first duke of Bragança, and Beatriz (1382–1439). She married Thomas Fitzalan, the Seventh Earl of Arundel, and moved to England. Duarte I married Leonor of Aragón in 1428. The firstborn, Afonso V (1432–1481), married Isabel, daughter of Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, and Isabel of Aragón. Afonso’s sister, Joana, married (1455) Enrique IV of Castile. By Isabel, Afonso V had his successor João II (1445–95). João II married Leonor, daughter of Fernando, son of King Duarte, and Isabel, daughter of Afonso, Duke of Bragança. The accidental death of his legitimate son and heir to the throne, led João II to pass the succession to Manuel, the queen’s brother.

**LUIS REBELO**

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**AZARQUIEL**

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Yahyā al-Naqqāsh (d. 1100), known as Ibn al-Zarqālluh or Ibn al-Zarqiyāl, was the most important astronomer of the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula. He worked in Toledo under King Al-Mu’ātn (1037–1074) and later in Córdoba, which then belonged to the ‘Abbādī kingdom of Seville. According to the *Yesod ‘Olam* of Isaac Israeli (fourteenth century), he started his career as an instrument maker who worked for the Toledan team of astronomers led by gāḏi Ṣā’id al-Andalusi (1029–1070). His interest in designing new astronomical instruments appears very early. In 1048–1049 he dedicated a treatise on the *azafea* (al-ṣafṭa) to the ‘Abbādī prince of Seville, al-Mu’ayyad bi-Naṣr Allāh, who was then only eight or nine years old and later became king Al-Mu’tamid (1069–1091). The *azafea*, like the astrolabe, is an analogue computer used to solve graphically problems of spherical astronomy and astrology, but while the astrolabe needs a specific plate for each latitude, the *azafea* is a universal instrument that can be used for any latitude. His description on the construction and use of the instrument is extant both in Arabic and in the Spanish Alfonsine translation (*Libro de la Açafeha*). At a later date, he seems to have dedicated a simplified version of the same instrument to the same Al-Mu’tamid. This variant became very popular in medieval Europe through Latin and Hebrew translations of the treatise on its use. He also dedicated to Al-Mu’tamid a treatise on the use of the *equatorium* (ex-
tany in Arabic), another analogue computer, the purpose of which is to calculate planetary longitudes. His descriptions of the construction of such an instrument (ca. 1080–1081) and of an armillary sphere are known to us only through Alfonsoine translations (Libros de las laminas de los siete planetas, Libro de las Armellas).

Ibn al-Zarqalluh’s collaboration with qādî Sa’îd and his team must have awakened his interest in observations astronomical tables, and astronomical theory. He made solar observations for twenty-five years, both in Toledo and in Seville, and he observed the moon for thirty-seven years, introducing a modification in Ptolemy’s lunar model. His solar observations were incorporated to the solar mean motion tables extant in the Toledan Tables as well as to the solar tables of his perpetual Almanac. The former also include a set of “trepidation tables” (used to calculate the value of the precession of the equinoxes—then considered to be variable—for a given date), apparently related to the work of Ibn al-Zarqalluh, for he wrote, circa 1085, an important Treatise on the Motion of the Fixed Stars (extant in a Hebrew translation) in which he designed three different geometrical trepidation models. With them he tried to obtain results that would fit the observations made by Hipparchus (147 B.C.) and Ptolemy (139 A.D.), as well as those used by Thābit ibn Qurra (831 A.D.) and, finally, Al-Battānī (883 A.D.) and Ibn al-Zarqallūh’s own observations (ca. 1075). The same kind of historical preoccupations appears in his book on the Sun, written between 1075 and 1080 and known only through indirect sources. Its title was either On the Solar Year (Fī sanāt al-shams) or A Comprehensive Epistle on the Sun (al-Risala al-jāmi’a fī-l-shams). In it Ibn al-Zarqallūh improved enormously on the corrections made, circa 830, by the astronomers of the ‘Abbasid Caliph al-Ma’mūn, in Baghdad and Damascus, on Ptolemy’s solar model, and established, very accurately, that the solar apogee has a characteristic motion of 1 degree in every 279 solar years. Furthermore, a study of the different values of the solar eccentricity established by the aforementioned Hipparchus, Thābit, al-Battānī, and himself led him to design a solar model with variable eccentricity that became extremely influential in later Andalusian and Maghribī astronomy and reached Europe, where it was mentioned by Copernicus.

JULIO SAMSÓ

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AZORES, THE

The Azores were likely the only great Atlantic archipelago adjacent to the Old World that was wholly unknown either to the ancients or to the medievals. The first of the group was found by the Portuguese around 1427, and the last in 1452. Their discovery, together with the (re-)discovery of the Madeiras a few years earlier, provides sure indication that by the first quarter of the fifteenth century, Portuguese navigators were able to operate hundreds of miles beyond sight of land; sailing thus was necessitated by return journeys from Africa, since the prevailing bands of northerly winds blowing down the African coast from Europe obliged navigators to turn far westward to sea in order to find southerly winds to carry them home.

The Azores were uninhabited when discovered, and the nearest, Santa Maria and São Miguel, are over seven hundred miles from the Portuguese coast. From these islands, prevailing winds blow toward the European continent; it is difficult to sail directly from Portugal toward them, as only an occasional wind blows from east to west. Hence, it is logical that their discovery should belong more to the activities involving African coastal exploration than to commerce with the northern countries of Europe itself.

The Valsequa map of 1439 is the first to show the archipelago (minus Flores and Corvo, not yet discovered) in its correct number and alignment from northeast to southwest. It bears the legend (though some maintain it was inserted later): “These islands were found by Diego de Silves, pilot of the king of Portugal, anno MCCCXXVII.” A different date is supplied by the German cartographer Martin Behaim, married to the daughter of the Captain-donatary of Fayal and Pico, in his globe of 1492: 1431. The problem is not solved by a donation of 1433 from King Duarte to his brother, the Infante Henrique, for it fails to mention the islands at all; rather, it is not until 1439 that they were included in a donation to Henrique from the regents of the young Afonso V.
This document provides the first indication of an attempt to colonize the group, for it is stated that Henrique had already given orders to plant sheep on the seven islands then known, as a provision for eventual settlers. The first of these were next brought out to Santa Maria and São Miguel from the rural districts of central and southern Portugal by the man thought to have been the first Captain-donatary, Gonçalo Velho Cabral. In 1450, the peopling of Terceira began when the Flemish, Jacomé de Bruges brought families with him from Portugal. It is also interesting that after 1474, a number of Madeiran families emigrated to these islands. Meanwhile, around 1466, another Fleming, Jos de Utra (alias Jobst Hurter), future father-in-law of Behaim, was awarded the captaincy of the islands Pico and Fayal, and it is known that he enticed many of his countrymen to settle there. One of these, Guilherme de Silveira (alias Willem van der Haaghen), quarreled with him, and then endeavored to settle two of the remaining three islands of the group, São Jorge, and the outermost Flores. Graciosa was not settled until around 1510, through the offices of Pedro Correia and Vasco Gil Sodre. Little Corvo’s settlement is not dated exactly, but seems to have occurred as a spillover from Flores. In addition to Flemish immigrants, it is also known that Spaniards, Italians, French, and even Englishmen settled the islands in smaller numbers, but all were later absorbed into the local Portuguese culture.

The islands were densely wooded when discovered, and naturally, their main industry was to provide timber for continental Portugal, and for naval construction along its littoral. But soon land began to be burned off and cleared for cereal production, the islands’ first large-scale industry, which then began exporting large amounts to Portugal and to Africa. Wheat continued as the islands’ main export commodity throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries—unlike Madeira, which had already switched almost wholly to sugar by the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Sugar, incidentally, was also tried in the Azores, where the climate proved less than ideal, though there are no indications as to the quantity exported. In addition, the islands grew yams and sweet potatoes, fruits of all sorts, and even pine nuts. In the sixteenth century, dyestuffs were produced, and still later, citrus products and linen.

Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Azores served as the jumping-off places and havens of returning exploration; Columbus stopped at Santa Maria, while the Corte Real brothers and João Fagundes Laborador all set sail for destinations in the New World from the islands, even ships returning from Brazil and India frequently called there.

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AZURARA, GOMES EANNES DE
Portuguese chronicler (ca. 1410–1473/4), the son of a cleric, João Eannes de Zurara, who succeeded Fernão Lopes (1380/90–ca. 1460), and had a long and distinguished career as the first official chronicler. King Duarte had created the post of cronista-mor do reino (chief chronicler of the kingdom) in 1434 and appointed Lopes, who had already been the keeper of the royal archives since 1418 or 1419. The decision of Duarte was motivated by his wish to have a record of the deeds of the Portuguese kings, continuing a literary tradition that dated from the fourteenth century. Fernão Lopes had worked for thirty years and was old and tired; by a decree of 6 June 1454, Afonso V appointed Azurara the keeper of the royal archives. But before the date of this appointment, probably in 1452, Lopes had already passed on to his successor the task of continuing the chronicles. Lopes seems to have rewritten a general chronicle of Portugal, beginning with the founder of the monarchy, before he produced the chronicles of Pedro I, João I, and Fernando, respectively the grandfather, father, and uncle of King Duarte. He had covered a large period of history that extended from 1357, when Pedro ascended the throne, to 1411, when João was still ruling, and had described the problems of the emergence of a national state in the throes of a conflict with Spain. Azurara was the chronicler of the Moroccan wars and of Portuguese maritime expansion. Yet whereas Lopes, writing about the past, could detach himself to a certain extent from the political questions of the day, Azurara had difficulty in avoiding his involvement in the contemporary events he was reporting.

Azurara’s first work, the Crónica da Tomada da Cidade de Ceuta (1450), dealt with the conquest of the Moroccan city of Ceuta in 1415. It describes in detail how the idea of the Conquest was born in the courtly circle of João I. Initially the king wanted his sons to be knighted in a tournament in Portugal, but they objected to the idea and showed their interest in seeing real action in the service of God and in defense of the Christian faith, this, however, was not the only reason for his attack on the city. Azurara shows how commercial and strategic advantages were to be gained.
from the expedition given the wealth and the position of the city, and ascribes to João Afonso, royal treasurer, an important role in this project; it is the latter who convinced the princes to embrace the idea when their father seemed reluctant to accept it.

The secrecy of the military preparations, which raised fears in many European cities, and the clash of opinions that divided the royal council, are described by Azurara in great detail and in such an accomplished style that it is believed that a large part of this chronicle had already been written by Lopes, or that Azurara inherited the manuscript from him and later it shaped it in his own way. Committed as he was to the values of chivalry, Azurara was able nonetheless to paint a broad picture of the different motivations that led João I to attack Ceuta, going even so far as to express veiled criticism about the violence of the assault.

In the chronicles of *Conde Dom Pedro de Meneses* (1463) and *Conde Dom Duarte de Meneses* (1468), Azurara tells the history of the Portuguese in North Africa from 1415 to 1464. João Pedro de Meneses, Count of Viana, was the first governor of Ceuta (1415–1437) and Dom Duarte (1414–1464), his illegitimate son, ruled the city in his absence (1431–1437), becoming the governor of El-Qsar es-Seghir, or Alcácer-Seguer, in the autumn of 1458. Both were loyal subjects of Afonso V. Duarte lost his life to cover the retreat of the king in one of his expeditions into Muslim territory. Azurara reports meticulously in the Meneses chronicles, in a brilliant rhetorical style, successive military operations that are extolled as feats of chivalry, relying heavily on the oral testimony of the noblemen who participated in these actions. But for the chronicle of Duarte—Azurara’s most accomplished piece of work—he went to North Africa to gather wider information, staying there from August 1467 to the summer of 1468.

With the capture of Ceuta, Muslim trade moved to other cities and the Portuguese adopted a dual policy: advance along the Moroccan seaboard and explore Africa’s Atlantic coast. In his *Crónica dos Feitos da Guiné* (1453), based on the lost chronicle of Afonso de Cerveira, Azurara describes voyages along that coast and praises Prince Henrique for promoting them. He portrays also the arrival in Portugal in 1441 of the first African slaves, showing sympathy for their plight.

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